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HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

FROM

ITS ORIGIN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

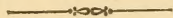
BY

W. M. BLACKBURN, D. D.

Dec 7 '54

"The roots of the present lie deep in the past, and nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how the present comes to be what it is."

—Prof. W. Stubbs, Oxford.



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PREFACE.

WRITTEN history must be eclectic. In constructing a volume of the present size very much must be left unsaid. My aim is to present, from an evangelical point of view, an outline of the great facts and doctrinal developments in the history of the Christian Church, from the time of our Lord to our own day; to set forth the epochs and their characteristics, treating each period according to a plan best adapted to it; to state causes and results; to group the facts about representative men, places, principles, doctrines, or movements, and maintain their chronological order, as nearly as possible, while preserving unity of subjects and the logic of events; to survey the facts from other base-lines than the old pagan imperialism, the papacy, or some one form of Protestantism; to exhibit the vitality, growth, declensions, revivals, and reforms of the Church; to trace the progress of civilization, tolerance, and religious liberty; and give most space to those ideas and events which enter into the Christian civilization of Western Europe and North America. If my readers were Russians their interest would lie in the course of

the Greek Church; but as they are of English speech, if not chiefly of Saxon race, their inquiries will naturally be in the drift of history towards themselves. Hence the Greek type of Christianity, after the year 451, receives less attention than the Roman; and gradually the Roman yields the preference to the Germanic type, to the Western National Churches, to anti-papal movements, to mediæval dissent, and to those reforms, on various bases, which culminated in Protestantism.

Some new methods and combinations—such as the three ministries, the circuit of early churches, the chart of early controversies, the new Europe with its six types of missions and its monasticism, the dissent and reformatory movements from the year 1000 to 1650, the circles of Protestant reformers—have been suggested partly by recent historians, but more by my own efforts at compression.

To all authorities and sources, ancient, modern, original as far as possible, and certainly numerous, my debt is here gratefully acknowledged. Decided as are my convictions in theology and polity, due heed has been given to the following maxim of Lord Bacon: "It is the office of history to represent the events themselves, together with the counsels, and to leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the liberty and faculty of every man's judgment." Also Dr. W. D. Killen says: "It is the duty of history to daguerreotype, as plainly as possible, the proceedings of the various parties in the ecclesiastical drama; and a pure

theology has nothing to fear from a correct report even of the faults of its advocates." What Tillemont hoped for his great work may here be expressed for this small one, "that the book will not be without a power of practical edification."

W. M. B.

CHICAGO, 1879.

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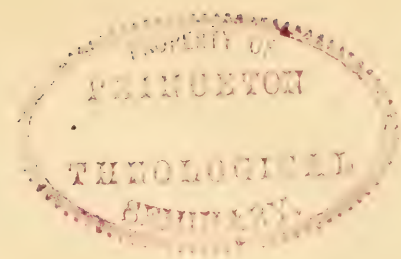
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PERIOD I.

THE ORIGIN, EXTENSION, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

A. D. 1—325.

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES THE ONLY STANDARD OF FAITH AND PRACTICE—THE CHURCH TRIED BY JUDAISM, PAGANISM, PHILOSOPHY, AND SPECULATIVE THOUGHT—A SERIES OF PERSECUTIONS—DEVELOPMENT OF TRUTH AND ERROR—PATRISTIC THEOLOGY NOT SYSTEMATIC—PRESEBYTERY GRADUALLY OVERSHADOWED BY PRELACY.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDING OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

CHRISTIANITY has this advantage, its origin is known. It had a historical beginning. We have not to search for the first notices of it among fragmentary records and dim inscriptions on broken monuments, nor in myths, legends, obscure liturgies, and confused traditions. The statements recorded in the New Testament concerning its rise and progress belong to the realm of actual history. They relate to persons, acts, events, and institutions. They bar out all theories which seek the origin of Christianity in natural forces and the spirit of an age, and which make it the result of race, climate, epoch, the fusion of older elements, and the development of certain tendencies towards a new form of civilization. It began in an age which violently opposed it. Against no other religion was such a battle waged. In the pagan world, the leaders of the people were drifting from the worship of the gods into blank skepticism. The best philosophies and ideals of virtue did not repress vice. The Jews cherished hopes of a Messiah, but they did not honor the child of Mary, and elevate him to the Messianic office. Jesus did not meet their expectations. His miraculous birth, the supernatural events attending his child-

hood, the ministry of angels, the renewal of inspiration, the divine titles given to the Holy Child, the presentation of him to several classes of Jews and even to Gentile Magi, and the new prophecies concerning him, led a few devout souls to recognize him as their Messiah, according to their light. But the majority seemed to ignore him during his childhood, and while he grew to manhood at Nazareth. The leading parties opposed him during his brief ministry, and crucified him. They represented a race and an age of which he was not merely the outgrowth.

The terms Christ and Christianity suggest a cause and an effect, an author and a system. Jesus was the Christ, not in being the Messiah according to the popular ideas of the time, but in being the Prophet, Priest, and spiritual King for all people of all ages. He had been the Jehovah of the ancient Church of God from the time of the first promise in Eden. In it he had dispensed salvation through sacrifices, types, and prophecies. Henceforth he would dispense his saving grace more personally by his teachings, his obedience to the law, his atoning death, and his royal power. Hence, with the change of dispensations there was a change in the Church from the Jewish to the Christian form. All the enduring elements of the old Church were carried forward into the new, and in him was preserved the continuity of ecclesiastical life.

In tracing the outlines of Church history, our point of departure is not strictly the origin, but the propagation of Christianity.* We assume that our readers have at hand the New Testament, in which are the great facts and truths to be taught to men for their redemption. But at the outset there should be a clear idea of the power and method, the agencies and means, by which the religion and Church of Jesus Christ were

*A remarkable preparation for the spread of Christianity is seen in certain facts: 1. The wide extent of the Roman Empire, with its general peace, laws, and rights of citizenship. 2. The prevalence of the Greek language and culture. 3. The dispersion of Greeks and of Jews almost everywhere in the empire; they had a mutual influence on each other. Many Greeks became proselytes to Judaism. The dispersed Jews were called Hellenists (or "Grecians," in Acts vi, 1; ix, 29; xi, 20). Hellenism was the bridge over which Christianity passed from the Jews to the Gentiles. 4. The synagogues in the towns and cities of the empire; and 5 the Greek version of the Old Testament ready for the missionary.

first extended. How came there to be in the Church a standard by which to judge of its later growth, its deviations and eclipses, or its reformatations and revivals? At its basis are certain perpetual ministries—those of Christ, of men, and of the Holy Ghost.

I. THE THREE MINISTRIES.

1. *The ministry of Jesus Christ.* A plain fact here will neutralize the theory that he gradually became conscious of his Messiahship during his public life, and overturn all that is built upon a mere assumption. His first public act of authority was the expulsion of the traders from the temple in Jerusalem. Whom did he then claim to be, and assent to be called? The beloved Son of God, well-pleasing to the Father; the equal of the Lord God; the superior of John the Baptist; the one who shall baptize with the Holy Ghost; the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world; and the Messiah, for he had so taught his first disciples that they said, "We have found the Christ." He had assented to be called "the Son of God, the king of Israel." He had wrought his first miracle at Cana. He now performs other miracles, which Nicodemus regards as evidences that he is a teacher come from God, and that God is with him. In the private interview with this ruler of the Jews, he teaches, not only the doctrine of regeneration, but also salvation by faith in himself. He shows that he is fully conscious of the great purpose for which he is sent into the world, and of the death which he shall die. Thus he enters upon his ministry when about thirty years of age, in the full consciousness of his position, offices, work, and powers.

His public life, of about three years, was one of extraordinary activity. His teachings reached all classes of people in Palestine.* His words form the groundwork of the doctrines taught by his apostles. His miracles were not only evidences of his divine mission and kingly sovereignty over all realms of creation, but also works of mercy and types of spiritual

*There were two centers of our Lord's ministry: 1. The evangelical was Capernaum, or the synagogues of Galilee. His missionary labors were recorded by Matthew, Mark, and Luke. 2. The theocratic center was Jerusalem, with the temple. This was the chief center and source of the enmity, which led to the national rejection of him as the Messiah. John traces the rise, progress, and culmination of this enmity, which is an important factor in the history.

cures. His peculiar death was involved in his priestly office, he being both priest and sacrifice. The Good Shepherd gave his life for the sheep. He laid it down on the cross; he took it again in the grave. He ascended to the right hand of his Father, not only to be glorified, but to continue his ministries as Teacher, Intercessor, and King.

2. *The ministry of men, the first of whom were the apostles.* One part of Christ's work was to organize a band of men, to whom he would commit his Gospel. "He ordained twelve,* that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach." They were with him as aids to his ministry and learners in his school. Even the chief of them—Peter, James, and John—did not clearly understand his character and words while he lived on earth as their teacher. Their great work was yet future. Three events occurred before they were fully qualified for their work: the crucifixion of Christ, his resurrection, and the descent of the Holy Spirit at the Pentecost. The first gave them the central theme of all preaching, Christ and him crucified. After the second they received their new commission to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature. Under this commission the apostle was more than a messenger and missionary; he was an ambassador with delegated authority to act in Christ's name, to command, institute, ordain, and regulate whatever was necessary in the Church. By the third they were enlightened and spiritually qualified for the work of apostles.

3. *The ministry of the Holy Spirit.* Upon this our Lord laid great stress. He said to the faithful of the twelve: "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart I will send him unto you. He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you. When he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth." The Holy Ghost took up the work of redemption at the point where Jesus Christ had left it, and applied its benefits to men. The advent of the Divine Spirit was as real as the incarnation of the Son of God. At Pentecost he

* Judas is reckoned with the twelve, although Jesus "knew from the beginning who should betray him."

came more personally and powerfully into history than ever before. The personal "ministration of the Spirit" is a distinguishing mark of the great Christian era in which we live. It will never cease until the work of redemption on earth is completed. He is the bond of vital union between the three perpetual ministries.

The book entitled "The Acts of the Apostles" contains also the acts of the risen Lord and the acts of the Holy Spirit. We find the three ministries in co-operation. The first results were manifest at the great Pentecost, when the apostles were filled with the Holy Ghost, whom the reigning Lord had sent as the Comforter. Souls were converted to Christ through their preaching; the Christian Church was organized;* and in it, as they were needed, the proper offices for all time were instituted by authority, and not by mere development. What are these offices? To this question different answers are given by large bodies of Christians who, severally, maintain prelacy, presbytery, or independency. The historian must recognize the later existence of these systems as facts, and the right of every advocate to appeal to ancient history in support of his own. But genuine antiquity must be found in the Holy Scriptures. The general view taken in this history is that the office peculiar to the apostles ceased with their death; that presbytery, a middle term between prelacy and independency, was the original polity of the Christian Church, although it was simply outlined in the New Testament, and may admit of several forms; and that, rightfully, the highest ecclesiastical power resides in councils of presbyters, who represent a believing people. This book is not written to advocate any theory, and all systems are treated as facts in the Divine Providence. Besides the offices of deacon, elder, and presbyter, there is common to all Christian believers a ministry in prayer, instruction, example, charity, and beneficence; and this is perpetual.

Another result of these three co-operating ministries is the New Testament, written by men inspired by the Holy Ghost,

*In the election of Matthias (Acts i) the apostles and brethren acted independently of the Jewish Church, of which they were still a part. Thenceforth they assumed new ecclesiastical powers and privileges. The number of spiritual converts to Christ at that time can not be certainly told. Probably most of the one hundred and twenty (Acts ii, 15) were of the five hundred in Galilee.

and under the direction of Christ. In the history of the Christian Church it has had its ministry, carrying with it the Old Testament. Thus the Church is perpetually under the teaching of God, which did not cease when the last page of revelation was turned; for the Bible still goes on into history. It makes the history, for it makes the Church. As said a Swiss school-master in the days of the Reformation: "The Christian Church is born of the Word of God; it must abide by this Word, and listen to no other voice." The later history is a sort of onflowing of revelation's ceaseless stream,—a continuation of human teachings inwrought with revealed truths. It repeats them; it perpetually illustrates them. The Bible has supplied the Church with the bread of life. Nothing but a firm adherence to Holy Scripture has ever made a sound Church or an earnest Christian. Therefore it is our test. How are we to know whether certain rites, ordinances, creeds, laws, and institutions have a rightful place in the Church? By comparing them with what is enjoined or permitted in the Word of God. How are we to know who were true Christians, heaven-commissioned reformers, or genuine martyrs? By measuring them by the Divine Word. Therefore, we look for the Bible in the hands of the scholar and the preacher; in the cell of the monk and the luggage of the missionary; in the palace of the emperor, and the hut of the peasant; in the heart of the convert, who counts the advantages of his native heathenism as loss for Christ, and on the lips of the persecuted one who endures the rack or the flaming pile,—and thus we judge whether they are worthy of a place in Christian history.

II. THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

The Lord had said to the apostles, "Ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." Here was a method of gradual advance from those who knew most of the truth to those who were less informed, and then to those most barbarous. In its progress the Gospel gradually reached Judeans, Hellenistic Jews with Judaized Gentiles, Samaritans who were half Jews in religion, devout Gentiles, and idolatrous pagans.*

*This plan is evident in the Acts, thus:

I. The Church among the Jews—chapters i-vii. Peter the eminent leader, and next to him John and Stephen.

The apostles began their work at Jerusalem. The center of enmity against Christ must be made the first capital of the Church. It seemed a bold movement; for they had not previously shown a daring spirit. All at once they manifested new life and new gifts. These poor, illiterate Galileans spoke in languages known to the devout Jews, who had come up from the chief provinces of the Roman Empire. They caused surprise and inquiry. At Babel there was confusion because men did not understand each other's speech; here men were confounded because they did understand. Comparative philology is unearthing the roots from which the great languages have grown, and thus illustrating the primal unity of races in Adam. The Pentecost was the type and presage of the nobler discovery that nations of Aryan, Semite, and Turanian speech are to find their spiritual unity in Christ. These apostles were not only teachers, but also translators orally of divine truths. At the outset they gave sanction to popular versions of the divine Word.

These men, who lately could not claim a synagogue nor the dignity of a sect, were now the ministers of the revealed Word and the appointed sacraments which were necessary to the forming Church. In organizing the Christian Church there were these stages: the conversion of new materials by the Holy Ghost; their separation from unbelievers by confessing Christ, being baptized and added* to the original band; their union as believers in Christ; and their gradual separation from the Jewish Church. Thus the faithful came early within the definition of a visible Church, as a congregation of believers in which the

II. The Church among half-Jews, Hellenists, and devout Gentiles—viii-xii. Philip the Evangelist leads among the Samaritans, and Peter admits the Gentile Cornelius into the Church. The Gospel is carried into Ethiopia, and to Hellenists of Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch (xi, 19). Christianity is in transition to the heathen world.

III. The Church among the idolatrous Gentiles—xiii-xxviii. Paul the chief apostle in the work among the Greek-speaking peoples. His three missionary circuits, and his journey to Rome as a prisoner, give the plan to this part of the history.

* The speedy and large additions are emphasized; Acts ii, 41—About three thousand souls in one day; Acts iv, 4—"The number of the men was about five thousand," probably the total of believers then in Jerusalem; Acts v, 12—Multitudes, both of men and women; Acts vi, 11—The number of the disciples multiplied greatly, and a great number of priests believed.

Word of God is truly preached, the sacraments duly administered, cordial fellowship maintained, and proper discipline observed. Inspiration holds up the bright picture of their faith, their unity, their communion, their worship, their self-denying charity, and their social bliss. They were miraculously purified from hypocrisy, and graciously sustained in trials. The arrest of Peter and John did not disorganize nor dishearten them.*

The Jews were the first, and during thirty-five years the only, willful persecutors of the Christians. It seems that Pilate, who had been urged to crucify Jesus, was not asked to repress his followers. But Pharisees and Sadducees, long at variance in religion and politics, united in their enmity, first against the preachers, and later against the people.† In vain did they attempt to suppress the miracles and that preaching which kept the name Jesus ringing in their ears. Prisons were in vain when a divine hand opened the doors. Rage yielded somewhat to reason when Gamaliel showed the folly of violence. The Church needed early to understand the philosophy of persecution, though her foes, and, later, even Churchmen, were to be ages in learning experimentally that it has no logic to convince the thinking mind, no pathos to warm the soul, no terrors to convert men. It confirmed the true disciples in their faith, and united them in sympathy for Peter and John, who were the chief sufferers. It gave dignity to their cause.

The Hellenists‡ now came to the front. Many of them seemed dependent on those daily supplies provided in common for the needy, and for those sojourners who had exhausted their purses by tarrying in the city to enjoy the unusual privileges of the time. They complained that their widows were overlooked in the distribution of supplies. Rations were not

* Acts ii, 42-47; iv, 32-37: "At a later period every exhortation to almsgiving, and every sentence which alludes to distinctions of rich and poor in the Christian Churches, is decisive against the [theory of a] community of goods." (Milman.) Justin Martyr refers to such charities in his time as are described in the Acts. The original design was not accumulation of property, but a fund for beneficence. The contributions were voluntary in spirit and measure, as they had been during Christ's earthly ministry.

† Compare Acts iv, 1-7; v, 17; vi, 9-11, with viii, 1-3; ix, 1, 2. Herod's persecution (Acts xii, 1-4) may be regarded as Jewish.

‡ Jews of foreign lands, speaking a foreign language. The term may include proselytes to Judaism.

served to them. This led to the election of the seven deacons.* Probably most of them were Hellenistic in sentiment. Nicolas was a proselyte of Antioch. It was important to bring into prominence men who were the freest from local and national prejudices, generous in their sympathies, ready to place Christianity on a footing of true catholicity and universality, lest the plastic Church should be cast into molds of conformity to Jewish rules and rites, customs and ordinances. They would be a plank from the shore to the ship which conveyed the Church from the Jews to the Gentiles. Stephen and Philip were of this class, in their principles and spirit.

Stephen, full of faith and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people. This started a fresh tempest of persecution. He was arraigned. In his defense he declared that God's religion was not bound up in Judaism; that his presence and favor had not always been confined to the Holy Land; that there had been changes in the institutions of worship; and that even the temple was transitory, compared with the better covenant in Christ.† He was stoned to death by an angry mob. "And Saul was consenting unto his death." This young Benjamite was a Hellenist; and yet no other Jew is named as so fierce a persecutor of the Church as was Saul. The leader in "the great persecution,"‡ he made havoc of it, tearing it as a wild beast; he entered houses, dragging men and women to prison as a fisher drags his net. But he could not forget his crime against Stephen. And after his conversion, when the Lord told him to escape quickly from Jerusalem and save his life, he said: "Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee: and when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him." Augustine said, "The Church owes Paul to the prayer of Stephen."

From the beaten fire the sparks were driven widely, to kindle new flames in distant quarters. The teachers "were all

* Compare Numbers xi, 1-17, where the complaints of a hungering people led to the appointment of the seventy elders.

† Compare John iv, 23, with Acts vii, 48, 49. Both Jesus and Stephen asserted the intended universality of Christianity.

‡ Acts viii, 1; xi, 19.

scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles." The persecution seems to have been most severe against the Hellenistic element of the Church. Certain unnamed men went as far as Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching to none but Jews. The transition of Christianity to the Gentiles was now to begin. Like its author, it must needs go through Samaria. There Philip, followed by Peter and John, reaped a measureless harvest in a field partly sown by our Lord. Philip went southward, baptized an eminent officer of Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, and preached in all the cities* till he came to Cæsarea. In that new city was a large element of Greeks and Romans. There the door of the Church was unbarred to the Gentile world, and the gates of heathendom were opened to Christianity when the Lord employed various ministries to bring Peter and Cornelius together. The one was a foreign missionary, clearly taught that the Christians must not regard the Gentiles as a ritually unclean race to be shut out from the kingdom of Christ. If the other was not a proselyte to Judaism he was the noblest pagan of whom we have any description. Peter preached the simple Gospel. The Holy Ghost was conferred upon the household of Cornelius, and his family, friends, and kinsmen were at once baptized. This great event was reported in Jerusalem. Then was started the question which long disturbed the Church, and almost rent it in twain, Was it right for Gentiles to enter the Church without first becoming Jews? Those who called him to account heard his recital of the facts, "held their peace, and glorified God, saying, Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life."

Peter had broken through the wall of partition between the Hebrews and the pagans. It was the crowning act of his ministry. He now ceases to be prominent in history. He was not the man to extend Christianity among the idolatrous heathen. He was imprisoned and released by an angel at the time when Herod Agrippa I† vexed the Church and slew James, the

*Peter followed him in this region, and found "saints" at Lydda, and Sharon, and Joppa. After Æneas was healed of palsy, and Dorcas was restored to life, "many believed in the Lord."

† Herod, assuming the honors of a god, died as a wretched man about A. D. 44. Near this time Paul began his vast foreign missionary work.

brother of John. He seems to have labored, thereafter, among the Jews. The Jewish part of the Christian Church might claim him as a leader when he seemed to admit that Gentile converts should practice Jewish rites. Paul rebuked his timid conduct. But their variance was momentary. Already had Peter given his right hand and hearty hospitality to the young Saul, when few of the brethren could believe that "he who persecuted us in times past was now preaching the faith which once he destroyed." In his old age he commended "our beloved brother Paul."*

Saul, a native of Tarsus when it rivaled Athens in culture, a Hebrew by descent, a Hellenist by birth, a Roman by civil rights, a zealot for the religion of his fathers, and a persecutor who threw the whole Church into alarm, had been converted, baptized, and called into the apostleship by the personal revelation of Jesus Christ. His qualifications were extraordinary. In mind, genius, and personal power he took the highest rank. His conscientiousness, his intense energy, his burning zeal, his firm decision, his iron purpose, his generosity, his sympathy, his benevolence to the human race, his eloquence, learning, and logic, were all devoted to the risen Lord. He knew sufficiently his age and its religious systems in their rivalries and conflicts. He knew Judaism, as then misinterpreted and arrayed against Christ and his Gospel. It had been impersonated in himself when he was a strict Pharisee, and the chieftain warring against the Church. He knew paganism; its Greek and Roman religions, idolatries, and licentiousness, and enough of its poetry and philosophy to strike at the very root of its errors. It knew not God; it made gods for itself. In it were no "primitive truths" which could save men.† It was the moral pestilence raging over all the earth. He came to know Chris-

*Paul, Peter, and John, "confessedly the three grandest characters and most influential actors in the early Christian Church. In the character of their minds and in their religious tendencies they are intimately related, forming, as it were, mutual complements to each other." (Islay Burns.) If there be a Pauline, a Petrine, and a Johannean theology, there is between them no radical difference of doctrine or essential variation of statement.

† "No one who has not examined patiently and honestly the other religions of the world can know what Christianity really is, or can join with such truth and sincerity in the words of St. Paul, 'I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ.' (Max Müller.)

tianity, with its redemptive powers, its requirements, its charity, its pure morality, its noble philosophy, and its matchless theology. It asked faith in the Lord Jesus as the motive power in life. It alone offered to the race the fatherhood of God, the kingdom of his Son, the holiness of his Spirit, and a brotherhood of men. It alone sent a Gospel, and offered a deliverance to the whole creation, which was groaning in bondage, and waiting for the sons of God to be manifest. Paul took the broad view that Christianity must reach out far beyond Judaism, and finally remove paganism, and bring the creation "into the glorious liberty of the children of God." Understanding these three systems, Paul was qualified to be the eminent leader of that host of missionaries, who should preach the Gospel to the pagan nations until they are all gathered into the kingdom of Christ. He must meet and vanquish paganism on its own soil, and lay down the method of future conquests. The career of no other mere man has produced such lasting effects upon the history of the world.

He preached to his Jewish kindred until Antioch was prepared for him. Certain Greeks* there had been visited by Hellenistic teachers, "and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord." They were the nucleus of the first Gentile Church. Barnabas was the usher of Paul, the missionary. "The disciples were first called Christians at Antioch;" there they may have been first known as Christians in the full sense, as a body distinct from the Jews, and unwilling that Judaizers should entice them into the ritualism of a forsaken Church.† There, too, was the first of those contributions which Paul so often secured for the poor saints in Judea.

Antioch became the new center of evangelization. It was the mother Church of the Gentile world. From it Paul went out upon those widening missionary circuits through Asia Minor, then into Europe, until he was at Rome, a prisoner, dwelling in his own hired house, visited by inquirers, and preaching with all confidence, no man forbidding him.

* Not *Hellenistas*, but *Hellenas*, is the reading most approved.

† Acts xi, 26, with Gal. ii, 11-19. Not Paul but Christ was their leader. By a custom almost universal a leader's name was given to his followers, *e.g.*, Platonists, Epicureans. These believers at Antioch were thought to be worth naming, on account of their strength, their religion, or their supposed philosophy. There is no proof that the name was given in contempt.

Think what a world St. Paul had to face when his Lord said to him, "Go to the Gentiles." His mission was cast in an empire which aspired to unite all nations under its military sway. There was no uniform civilization; no unity in the various religions of the provinces. The Brahmin, the Nile-worshiper, and the Druid differed from the Roman. The higher modes of civil life had worn out for lack of enduring warp and woof. Creeds, manners, philosophies, literature, oratory, heroism, honor, and social virtues were perishing. When Caligula declared himself a god, he proved himself worse than a man, and when the monster was worshiped, the people confessed their amazing degradation. Palaces were often houses of lust. The splendor of the rich was the curse of the poor—it took from crime its dishonor, and from law its force. About three-fourths of this people were wretched slaves, decimated by famine, by suffering, and by the combats of the circus. The best lands were becoming a desert—the finest cities reeked with abominations. The very religion of paganism was a source of immorality. Paul did not overdraw it in his epistle to the Romans. There were truths in the Aryan systems, but truths held in unrighteousness were powerless for good. Vices were attributed to the gods and practiced by their votaries.

The lofty ideas of a future life, which still gleam in the teachings of Socrates and Plato, scarcely lent a glimmer to the dying philosophies of the Stoics, Epicureans, and Academicians. Faith went down in the flood of skepticism.* Reason and noble thought sat silent at those voluptuous feasts where men said: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

Into that pagan world went Paul, fully conscious that his preaching would be an offense to the Jew, foolishness to the Greek, and a jest to the Roman, and yet that no knowledge

* In the year 79 Vesuvius belched forth the storm of ashes which buried Pompeii and Herculaneum. Pliny the Elder perished in it. His nephew, Pliny the Younger, eighteen years of age, led his mother to a place of safety. He says of the crowd of people, wildly rushing about in the stifling night, "Some prayed for the death which they feared. Many lifted their hands to the gods; more were convinced that there were no gods at all, and that the final endless night, of which we have heard, . . . had come upon the world. I thought I was perishing in company with the universe, and the universe with me—a miserable and yet a mighty solace in death."

of physical laws or intellectual science would ever cure its disorders and woes. Only the Gospel could purify the lives of men by renewing their natures, reconstruct society by regenerating individuals, and cast into that haughty, glittering, pretentious, and abominable civilization the elements of truth, virtue, order, brotherhood, and progress. But we do not ignore the fact that the Jewish, Greek, and Roman civilizations were helpful to Christianity. On his wide mission he found Jews with their Scriptures and synagogues, their education and their hopes of the Messiah. The Aryan peoples, whom he addressed by voice and pen, were not utterly wild and savage. Within the Roman Empire was the most advanced civilization of the age; the most vigorous heathen intellect, the best pagan culture, the languages not yet surpassed, the literature still cherished by us, the art unexcelled, and laws which endure in modern governments. If it had not existed the barbarous peoples, who finally made spoil of its European domain, might have invaded it sooner, and stayed the conquests of the Church, or trodden it into the dust. Emperors might persecute, but the empire must aid Christianity and then pass away. Its roads and ships were for missionaries as well as for consuls. Its civil law afforded to Paul no small privilege when he pleaded, "I am a Roman citizen," and once, at least, was safe from the violence of a mob. "Greek culture and Roman polity prepared men for Christianity," said Thomas Arnold. The mission of Greece was to train the intellect; that of Rome to enact law; that of Judaism to educate the conscience and contribute the highest preparation for Christianity, whose mission was, and is, to redeem the world by regenerating men.

There was a spirit of inquiry springing from the want of light upon the human soul, its duties, and its destiny. This may account for the fact that the foreign religion of Serapis was winning ground among the Greeks and Romans. It presented the doctrines of a resurrection, a judgment, and a future life. It taught men to bury, and not burn, the lifeless body. "The fact deserves notice, as it indicates the annihilation of all reverence for the old system of paganism, and marks a desire in the public mind to search after those truths which the Christian dispensation soon revealed. A moral rule of life, with a religious sanction, was a want which society began to feel when

Christianity appeared to supply it."* The younger Pliny, feeling the want, but declining the offered relief, sadly wrote, "Our vices are too potent for our remedies."

Adopting the method of a gradual advance, Paul went first to the Hellenistic Jews in their synagogues, and then to the Gentiles. We now notice the following peculiarities of his work:

1. He usually kept to the front, building on no other man's foundation. Large towns and cities were made new centers of evangelization. "He is in all the great capital cities of the West; in all the great centers of civil, commercial, and intellectual greatness; in Antioch, in Ephesus, in Athens, in Corinth, in Rome. He is among barbarians at Lystra, in Galatia, in Melita. He is the one active, ruling missionary of what we may call the foreign operations of the Christian Church."

2. He appears as the chief agent in settling the polity of the Church, if not also its theology. From him, not from Peter, came the fullest instructions concerning deacons and elders, or presbyters; the latter being identical with the bishops (*episcopoi*) in that age.† In the writings of no other apostle are there so many rules expressed or implied, touching discipline, ordinations, the sacraments, and popular instruction; nor such full and clear statements relative to man's natural sinfulness and needs, his inability to save himself, justification by faith in Christ and its results, the fruits of the Holy Spirit in believers, and the triumphs of the Christian over trials, sufferings, and enemies. The experiences of David voiced in the Psalms, and of Paul traced in his letters, have ever since been means of assurance, comfort, fortitude, and hope to those who are called to endure and be holy.

3. Paul did most to rescue Christianity from Judaism. The one system ran a twofold danger from the other. The Jews

* Finlay, History of Greece, i. 84.

† Acts xi, 30: *Presbuteros*—"These were the overseers or presidents of the congregation—an office borrowed from the synagogues, and established by the apostles in the Churches generally. Acts xiv, 23: They are in the New Testament identical with the *episcopoi*. Chap. xx, 17, 28; Titus i, 5, 7; 1 Peter v, 1, 2: So Theodoret on Phil. i, 1. The title *episcopos*, as applied to one person superior to the *presbuteroi*, answering to our 'bishop,' appears to have been unknown in the apostolic times." (Dean Alford, Gr. Test., on Acts xi, 30.)

outside the Christian Church denounced Christ and persecuted his followers. The rigorous Jews within the Church insisted upon conformity to their ritual, as a condition of membership in the Christian fold. They said, "Except ye be circumcised and keep the law of Moses, ye can not be saved." Questions of this sort led to the First Council, that of Jerusalem, where the pastor James (probably the Just) presided. The result of it was a letter to the Churches not fully solving the exciting question, but enjoining abstinence from meats offered to idols, from blood, from strangled animals, and from licentiousness. These might be regarded as elements of that universal law given to Noah. Conformity to Judaism was not required, Peter did not ask it.

A colony of Gauls had settled and fixed their name in Galatia. Their country-folk still used the Celtic language in the fifth century. Warm hearted and impulsive, they had received Paul as an angel, and then been fascinated by Judaizers. He saw that the Gospel might be repudiated, and he poured out his soul in a letter to the Galatians refuting the errors. It may be too much to say that it "has had a more powerful effect upon the religious history of mankind than any other composition which was ever penned, any other words ever spoken;" but it probably "severed conclusively, though not at once, Christianity from Judaism." With him the controversy was a long battle, and it finally caused his arrest and his journey to Rome.

4. He exceeded all other apostles, so far as we can know, in work, if not in perils and sufferings. He was "in labors more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft." The care of all the Churches among the Gentiles came upon him. Of most apostles and their co-workers we have such traditions as these: Andrew labored in Scythia and in Greece, where he was crucified; Philip in Phrygia; Thomas in Parthia, Persia, and India; Bartholomew in Armenia; Matthew in Ethiopia, after writing his Gospel; Simon Zelotes in Northern Africa; Jude in Arabia and Libya; and Mark founded the Church at Alexandria.

Nothing is certainly known of the labors of Peter, except his writings, after his brief stay at Antioch. History is quite as silent about him as the Romanists are about his wife, whom

tradition reports as a worthy helper in his ministry. No facts prove that he resided at Rome. If he was ever there at all, he may have suffered martyrdom there about the year 67. The better tradition confines his later labors to Asia Minor or Babylon, a seat of Jewish culture.

Paul was probably absent from Rome after his first trial, when the great fire of 64 raged for nine days. The emperor Nero found himself suspected of having kindled the flames, and his activity in sheltering and feeding the homeless, and his pagan sacrifices, did not allay suspicion. Perhaps he resolved to charge it on the Christians, some of whom were in his own household. He may have confounded them with those Jews who talked loudly of a Chrestus* soon coming to dethrone the Cæsars, for which Claudius (41-54) had banished some of them, and perhaps Christians with them. But his hatred was, doubtless, more positive. He must relieve himself of this infamy at any cost. "Hence," says Tacitus, writing from the heathen point of view, "to suppress the rumor, he falsely charged with the guilt and cruelly punished those persons who were commonly called Christians and were hated for their enormities. This name was derived from one Christus, who was put to death as a criminal by Pontius Pilate. . . . This accursed superstition, for a moment repressed, broke out again and spread, not only through Judea, the source of the evil, but through the city of Rome, where all things vile and shameful find room and reception. First, those were seized who confessed that they were Christians; next, on their information, a vast number were convicted, not so much on the charge of burning the city, as of hating the human race. In their deaths they were made a subject of mockery. They were covered with the hides of wild beasts, and worried to death by dogs, or nailed to crosses, or set on fire to serve as torches at night. Nero lent his own gardens for the spectacle. He gave a chariot race on the occasion, at which he mingled freely with the crowd in the garb of a charioteer, or actually held the reins. The populace, with its usual levity, showed compassion for the sufferers, justly odious as they were held to be, for they seemed to be pun-

*"We *Christians* are accused of hating what is *Chrestian* (excellent)." (Justin Martyr.)

ished, not for their actual crimes, nor for the public good, but to glut the ferocity of a single man."

This first imperial persecution may have been limited to Rome and the vicinity. But we may suppose that the Christians suffered in other quarters, for Tacitus goes on to say that to supply money "all Italy was pillaged, the provinces ruined, even the gods plundered and their temples despoiled." The nerves of Seneca were shaken; he thought that paganism needed an infusion of morality, and became a martyr for his efforts. Paul returned to Rome, but found wrath flaming in Nero, at whose order, probably, he was beheaded about the year 67, a few weeks before the tyrant committed suicide. The contrast is striking; Paul the martyr to his faith, Nero the monster in his fears!*

John still remained. He probably resided at Ephesus as the center of his apostolic labors. From his silence upon questions that had enlisted the zeal of Paul we may infer that the alliance and the conflict between Judaism and Christianity had virtually ended, and that many Judaizers had run into heresy. The Church had been freed from ritualistic bondage. The Seven Years' War in Judea also contributed to this result. The Jews, who rejected the true Christ, hailed almost every demagogue as their Messiah. Ringleaders entangled them in plots and seditions. The Romans provoked them to revolt. The war broke up society and made cities a desert. The saddest prophecies were fulfilled in the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, about the year 70, when more than a million people perished. Fire and shovel leveled the temple to the ground. The effects upon Christianity were manifest. The Jews no longer existed as a nation to oppose it. Thenceforth they were to wander at large over the earth, an evidence of divine prophecy, a homeless people, with the ancient ritual in their hands, but without the means and place to maintain its holiest worship. It was in vain for Judaizers to insist that

*"Consult your histories; you will there find that Nero was the first who drew the imperial sword upon the Christian sect, then making progress especially at Rome. But we glory in having our condemnation hallowed by the hostility of such a wretch. For he condemned whatever was of singular excellence. . . . By his cruel sword the seed of Christian blood was sown at Rome." (Tertullian.)

Christians must keep the law of Moses. Only circumcision was left to them. Then the writings of Paul must have been read in a new and convincing light by thousands whom the law had ushered into the school of Christ.

Meanwhile, the Church in Jerusalem had seen her pastor, James the Just, slain by a Jewish mob. His nephew, Symeon, had led the Christians out of the siege to Pella, east of the Jordan. Some of them may have dwelt in Perea and Moab, where the ruins of Christian churches are the wonder of the traveler. Some of them seem to have drifted towards the early Gnosticism of Simon Magus and Cerinthus, or cast their hopeless lot among the nurses of those little sects which pieced out theories of law and Gospel with the rags of Plato and Zoroaster. The Docetists held that the body of Christ was a mere phantom or appearance; they denied his humanity. The Ebionites held that Jesus was a real man and the Messiah, in whom a higher spirit (the Logos) dwelt from the time of his baptism until he was about to be crucified; they denied his divinity.* The writings of John were the antidote to such errors.

Symeon brought back the truer disciples to Jerusalem, where they dwelt as a sad flock amid the memorials of glory and desolation. He is the last-named Christian who persisted in the Jewish rites. Having witnessed the astounding events of a hundred years, he died a martyr to his faith and to the blood of David that ran in his veins. It is said that many thousands of Jews, seeing the temple, the altar, and the nation at an end, yielded to the kindly invitations of Jesus Christ. But the mother Church never rose again to eminence. She had fulfilled the designs of her Lord. She was not to be exalted by men to an unwarranted primacy. She sits veiled in her heavy grief, and history passes from her to the Gentile lands.

The Apostle John was involved in the next persecution, waged by Domitian,† who was scarcely less vicious and cruel

*These sects, with the Nazarenes, Nicolaitanes, Cerinthians, and Elxaites were not nearly enough Christian to be classed as heretics, unless we follow Epiphanius and count barbarism and stoicism among the heresies. They were the tares among the wheat, and they are not worthy of being stored in Christian History.

† Tacitus says: "I was promoted to office by Domitian before he openly professed a hatred of all good men; after that I sought no further advance-

than Nero. Even to such men divine honors were paid. Flatterers said, "If Domitian be not a god absolutely, he is at least a god to the Romans." In the theater he and his wife were cheered as "Our Lord and Lady," the Jupiter and the Juno of the empire. At length his title upon a public edict was "Our Lord and God!" The people admired the phrase. Such rulers were jealous when Jesus Christ was called the Lord, or the Son of David, and a king. In hating the Jews he included the Christians, who were held up as atheists and deniers of the Roman deities, and sent into exile or into the Catacombs. John was banished to Patmos. Perhaps he labored there in the quarries; certainly he there received "the Revelation of Jesus Christ," in which were letters to the Seven Churches of Asia Minor. He was doubtless their overseer. He seems to have returned to Ephesus when the exiles were recalled by Nerva, the first of a series of just and humane emperors. The legends that John had been put into a caldron of burning oil, and that he fled in horror from a bath because Cerinthus was there, are of less value than this: When too aged to preach he was often carried into the Christian assembly, where he said, "Little children, love one another." He died soon after the close of the first century.

Among the pupils of St. John we may reckon Ignatius and Polycarp, the chief of the Apostolic Fathers, so called from having been associates or learners of the apostles. These two will come before us in the further history; the five others belong simply to the class of writers, for we know almost nothing of their lives.* It is well to notice how one line of communication, reaching from our Lord through one hundred and seventy years, was formed by four teachers. Irenæus, who died about 202, thus wrote, with a vivid recollection of his youth: "I can describe the very place where the blessed Polycarp used to sit and talk; also his personal appearance, mode of life, and his discourses to the people; and how he would speak of his familiar intercourse with John and with others who had seen the Lord. He told us whatever he had heard from

ment." Senators and philosophers were banished, so that "nothing noble or virtuous might confront men's view. Our very sighs were noted down as evidences of guilt."

* See Note I to this chapter.

them concerning the Lord's teaching and miracles. I listened attentively, and treasured up these things, not on paper, but in my heart."

NOTES.

I. *The Apostolic Fathers.* Barnabas and Clement of Rome, who were probably not co-laborers of Paul; Hermas, a Roman, who seems to have written "The Shepherd," an allegory; Ignatius and Polycarp (see Chap. II). The best writings ascribed to these five men are so far below those of the New Testament that they afford some proof of its inspiration. Their theology is mainly Christian, and their spirit devout. Some of them have evidently been interpolated with statements about the sign of the cross, holy water, the letters I. H., as the anagram of Jesus Christ, celibacy, honors to Mary, purgatory, and the full subjection of presbyters to bishops. To these five some add Papias, the promoter of a secret undergrowth of superstitions, and, far more worthily, the unknown author of the Epistle to Diognetus, "an exquisite specimen of the sentiment and religion of an early period." It was written at a time when the Christians were widely dispersed and clearly distinguished from the Jews.

II. *The causes of the rapid spread of Christianity* are found in the three ministries, and in its adaptation to meet the spiritual wants of mankind. But skeptics have sought for the causes in the society of that age. "Some have imagined that the kindness of the Christians to the poor induced multitudes to embrace their faith; but it is here forgotten that the profession of Christianity involved an immediate risk of life. Others have represented that the profligate lives of the pagan priests caused many to become Christians; but the profligacy of the priests could not infuse the love of a faith which put credit, property, and life itself to the hazard. Others again, as Celsus, Julian, and Porphyry, have affirmed that the Churches gathered by the apostles were composed of plebeians and women, *i. e.*, of persons deficient in intelligence, rank, and wealth, who might easily be persuaded to believe any thing by persons of moderate talents; but this is not true, for among those converted by the apostles were many persons of wealth and learning (1 Tim. ii, 9; 1 Peter iii, 3; Col. ii, 8), and 'a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith' (Acts vi, 7)."

III. *Causes of Roman persecution.* (1) The Church was morally aggressive and successful. (2) Christianity was an "exclusive religion." It knew only one method of salvation; and hence it squarely opposed all heathen systems. It required men to abandon all their sins and renounce all idolatries. (3) The Christians contemned the religion of the state, which was closely connected with the Roman government; and the Romans, although they tolerated religions from which the commonwealth had nothing to fear, would not suffer the ancient religion of their nation to be derided, and the people to be withdrawn from it. Yet these things the Christians dared to do. They also assailed the religions of all other nations. Hence,

they were thought to be unfriendly to public peace. (4) The Christian worship had no sacrifices, temples, statues, or oracles; hence, its professors were deemed atheists, and by the Roman laws atheists were regarded as the pest of human society. (5) Moreover, the worship of so many pagan deities afforded support to great numbers, who were in danger of coming to want if Christianity should prevail. Such were the priests, soothsayers, statuaries, players, gladiators, and others, who depended for a livelihood on the worship of the heathen gods, or on spectacles which the Christians abhorred. (6) Their cautious method of performing the offices of religion, dictated at first by fear of persecution, caused horrid calumnies to be circulated against them. Licentiousness and magical rites were popularly imputed to them; and it was believed that national calamities were sent by the gods, because the Christians, who contemned their authority, were tolerated. (7) By the law of reaction paganism was revived in no small degree. The priests became more active, and the people more interested in their rites.

IV. *The effects of the pagan persecutions* were not altogether unfavorable to the progress of Christianity. They restrained hypocrisy. "Their extreme barbarity was not only revolting to the spectators, but gave fortitude to the sufferers, whose constancy in torture won the admiration of the best part of the heathen, and convinced them of the sincerity of the Christians. And, further, Christians were dispersed into distant lands by the cruelties practiced against them, and they carried with them the doctrines of the Gospel to places which would otherwise have long remained without them."

V. *Number of pagan persecutions.* There were more than ten local and provincial, and less than ten general, persecutions. In a list of the emperors most concerned in our history the italics denote the persecutors, as usually given, those marked † the general persecutors, and the small capitals the most favorable emperors:

<i>Nero</i> , . . . A. D. 54-68	<i>Sept. Severus</i> , † . 193-211	<i>Valerian</i> , . . . 254-260
VESPASIAN, . . . 70-79	Caracalla, . . . 212-217	GALLIENUS, . . 260-268
<i>Domitian</i> , . . . 81-96	Elagabalus, . . 218-222	Claudius II, . . 268-270
NERVA, 96-98	ALEX. SEVERUS, 222-235	<i>Aurelian</i> , . . . 270-275
<i>Trajan</i> ?, 98-117	<i>Maximin</i> , . . . 235-238	TACITUS, . . . 276
Hadrian, 117-138	The Gordians, 238-244	PROBUS, etc., . 276-284
ANTONINUS PIUS, 138-161	PHILIP ARAB., . 244-249	<i>Diocletian</i> , † } . 284-311
<i>Marc. Aurelius</i> , 161-180	<i>Decius</i> , † . . . 249-251	<i>Galerius</i> , } . 284-311
Commodus, . . 180-193	Gallus, etc., . . 251-254	CONSTANTINE, . 311-337

° LYONS corresponds with Smyrna.

Pothinus.
Martyrs of 177.
Irenaeus.
Arles Council 254.

CIRCUIT OF CHURCHES, 100-325. The most historical are Antioch, Athens, Smyrna, Lyons, Rome, Carthage, Alexandria, Caesarea. In these are the eminent Christians of the age. They are radiating centres of Christianity which extends to Persia, Spain and Britain.



CHAPTER II.

*FROM ANTIOCH TO LYONS.**

100-200.

PLINY THE YOUNGER was one of the noblest Romans of the new age, when people talked happily of the "good emperors." In his charming "Letters" we meet with some of the best men and women of pagan society, and find sketches of a few of the notorious scoundrels in politics. He had some belief in Providence. As a lawyer in Rome, he was active in bringing to punishment those consuls who robbed provinces, and informers who became princes among millionaires and the terror of good citizens. He was rich, liberal, and kind to the tenants and slaves on his estates. He was no Stoic. He wrote, "To be touched by grief, to feel it, but fight against it; to make use of consolations, not to be above the need of them,—this is what becomes a man." He built a temple at Tifernum, and another at his villa near Rome. He offered to contribute largely towards establishing a school far up at Como, where he was born. What will this literary gentleman say of Christianity?

To men of his stamp the change from Domitian to Nerva was a moral revolution. It marked an epoch. The good old emperor was not a tyrant, hating all virtuous and learned men. He did not claim to be a god, and then act like a demon. He issued no special edict against the Christians; and yet their religion was not a *religio licita*, one recognized as lawful by the Senate. In less than two years his royal mantle fell upon his adopted son, Trajan (98-117), who was a Spaniard by birth, and a new Augustus in enterprise and policy. From the Roman point of view Trajan was the ideal of a wise, moderate, just ruler and reformer.

* The plan in Chapters ii, iii, and iv is to follow, as nearly as is practicable, a circuit of Churches—thus, Antioch, Athens, Smyrna, Corinth, Rome, Lyons, Carthage, Alexandria, and Cæsarea. This order of the leading historical Churches, from the year 100 to 325, is remarkably chronological as to the chief emperors and the representative Churchmen.

He brought in that golden age which ended with the Antonines. In Church history he appears to less advantage.

Traveling widely over the empire, he must have seen that Christianity was planted in the great capitals, and was extending rapidly towards (if it had not reached) Edessa in the east, Carthage in the west, Seville in Spain, Lyons in Gaul, and the British Isles. In many a village the Jews and pagans must have run to the magistrates, crying, "These who have turned the world upside down are come hither also: these all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there is another king, one Jesus." If the Christians met in secret retreats, or at night, it was through fear of persecution. They wisely shrank from hounding spies and treacherous informers. The old law against every illegal religion might be revived. Trajan seems to have given heed to some accusers, who charged that their prudence covered base plots and crimes, their rites were magical arts, and their nightly meetings were infamous revels, in which only pagans might indulge. Loyalty and purity were expected of Christians. They were transforming society; and any idol-maker or temple-sweeper might cry that his craft was in danger, and raise against them the mob, which never reasons, and can scarcely be resisted. The emperor issued an edict forbidding guilds or clubs, as dangerous to the state. It was easy to turn this against that vast Christian brotherhood extending throughout the empire, bound together by sacred ties, in correspondence with each other, and having much in their doctrine and worship that was mysterious to the heathen mind.

Pliny was sent to govern Bithynia, where he saw the Christians so powerful that the temples of the gods were almost deserted, and few sacrifices were bought in the markets. He writes that the walls of the new theater at Nice are cracked from top to bottom; but Trajan replies, "These paltry Greeks are too fond of gymnastic diversions." He tells how the people of Nicomedia gazed stupidly on the burning of their city, and had no buckets or engines to stop the flames. He proposes to organize a fire company; but Trajan answers: "Remember such societies have greatly disturbed the peace of your province. Call them by what name you please, they are sure to become factious associations, however short their meetings may be." Does he here refer to the Christian meetings?

Pliny is busy in his efforts to supply Nice and Sinope with water from pure fountains, when he finds that the magistrates are bringing Christians to trial for their religion. Appeals come to him. He writes* to the emperor for advice. He knows not their crimes, nor the punishment due them. He has not attended any of the trials. Shall he make any distinction between young and old, the tender and the robust? Shall he release them when they repent or recant? The rest of his letter should be read thrice over, as it has been called "the first apology for Christianity." It is a testimony to the virtue of the first believers, and the brightest picture of Christian life that has come to us from a pagan hand, although shadowed by the faithlessness of some who denied their Lord. It echoes the hymns of those who pledged fidelity to each other, vowed to live holily, and shared in the simple joys which rose above their common sorrows:

"My method has been this: I asked those brought before me whether they were Christians. If they confessed, I asked them twice afresh, with a threat of capital punishment. If they persisted obstinately, I ordered them to be executed; for I had no doubt that, whatever the nature of their religion, a willful and sullen inflexibility deserved punishment. Some that were infected with the madness, being entitled to the privileges of Roman citizens, I reserved to be sent to Rome, to be referred to your tribunal. As information poured in that they were encouraged, more cases occurred. A list of names was sent me by an unknown accuser, but some of the accused denied that they were or ever had been Christians. They repeated after me an invocation of the gods and of your image. They performed sacred rites with wine and frankincense, and reviled Christ, none of which things, I am told, a real Christian would ever be compelled to do. Therefore I dismissed them. Others, named by an informer, first confessed and then denied it, and declared that they had forsaken that error three or four years, some even twenty years, ago. . . . And this was the account which they gave of the nature of the religion they once professed, whether it deserve the name of crime or error: That they were accustomed to meet on a stated day, before sunrise, and to repeat among themselves a hymn to

*Probably in the year 112.

Christ as to a god, and to bind themselves as with an oath not to commit any wickedness, not to be guilty of theft, robbery, or adultery, never to break a promise or withhold a pledge; after which it was their custom to separate, and meet again at a promiscuous, harmless meal [doubtless the love-feast connected with the Lord's Supper]. From this last they desisted after I published my edict, according to your orders, and forbade any secret societies of that sort. To come at the truth, I thought it necessary to put to the torture two women, said to be deaconesses. But I could gather nothing except a depraved and excessive superstition. Deferring further investigation, I resolved to consult you, for the number of culprits is so great as to demand serious consideration. Informers lodge complaints against a multitude of every age and of both sexes. More still may be impeached. The contagion of this superstition has spread through cities and villages, and even reached farm-houses. Yet I think it may be checked. The success of my endeavors forbids despondency; for the temples, once almost desolate, begin to be frequented; victims for sacrifice, that scarcely found a purchaser, now are sold every-where. Whence I infer that many might be reclaimed, were the hope of pardon, on their repentance, absolutely confirmed."

Let us carefully read the emperor's reply, for we have no other trace of his policy at that time towards the Christians:

"You have adopted the right course, my dear Pliny, in your investigation of the charges made against the Christians brought before you; for, truly, no one general rule can be laid down for all such cases. These people must not be sought after. If they are brought before you, and the offense is proved, let them be punished; but with this restriction, that if any one denies that he is a Christian, and shall prove that he is not by invoking the gods, he is to be pardoned, notwithstanding any former suspicion against him. But anonymous libels should never be heeded; for the precedent would be dangerous, and altogether inconsistent with the maxims of our government."

To be a Christian was a punishable offense, yet the wise policy was to connive at it, and not hunt down the offender! Punish him if he be led to trial, unless he deny Christ! Se-

crecy, death, or open apostasy were the choices offered to the Christian. There are traditions of martyrs at Edessa while Trajan was fighting the Parthians. The story that he banished eleven thousand Christian soldiers to Armenia is not trustworthy.

In the year 115 Trajan was at Antioch, when an earthquake destroyed hundreds of people. He crept through a window and escaped from a shattered house. This event, like the fire in Nero's time, may have been charged upon the Christians. Did Ignatius go before the emperor to plead their innocence? We know not why, how, nor when he came before Trajan, but this date is most probable. He had labored forty years at Antioch, and he is said to have suspected that the storm raised by Domitian had spared him as one not worthy of the martyr's crown. We should know more of his life, labors, and opinions, if seven of the letters attributed to him had not been interpolated, and eight more forged. We could know more of his trial and final sufferings if "The Martyrdom of Ignatius" were proved to be a more genuine document than most early "acts" of martyrs. According to it, during the examination he gave his name as Theophorus. "And who is Theophorus?" inquired Trajan. "He who carries Christ in his heart." "Do you not think that *we* have the gods in our minds when we use them as allies against our enemies?" "The heathen demons are not gods. There is but one God, who made all things, and one Jesus Christ, whose kingdom may I obtain!" "Do you speak of him who was crucified under Pontius Pilate?" "I speak of him who bore my sin on the cross." "Do you then bear the crucified within yourself?" "I do, for it is written, 'I will dwell in them.'"

Trajan must have regarded this man, not as a secret member of a dangerous guild, but as an openly bold preacher of "another king, Jesus," whose lordship might be spiritual, and yet far more supreme than his own in thousands of hearts, and utterly destructive of the national gods whom the bishop called demons. Jealousy and zeal for his religion may have moved him to give this sentence: "Since Ignatius has declared that he bears within himself the crucified, we order that he be taken by soldiers to Rome, and there be the food of wild beasts, and a spectacle to the people." If sent to terrify his brethren along the route, he proved their comforter. He said his chains

were his spiritual jewels. At Smyrna he may have said to Polycarp, "Be firm as an anvil when it is beaten. . . . I would rather die for Christ than rule the world."

Vespasian had adorned Rome with the vast Coliseum, on whose tiers of seats eighty thousand people could sit and gaze upon lion-fights and the still more barbarous combats of gladiators. There Ignatius was devoured by lions, and not a protest from the crowd of inhuman spectators is on record.

A milder policy was adopted by Hadrian (118-136), a Roman of Grecian culture and spirit, an inquirer into philosophies and religions, restless, versatile, and capricious, causing the Senate to question whether he was a god or a tyrant. Wishing to inspect every corner of the empire, he traveled widely through the provinces from his wall in Britain to the Euphrates. He must have known by eyesight that the Christians were harmless in their societies, diligent artisans, prosperous farmers, thrifty shopkeepers, with good sense in worldly affairs, and the only people who cared much for the poor, the helpless, and the suffering. If he was urged, in 125, when at Athens, to punish them as wretches whose impiety provoked the gods to withhold rain and fruitful seasons, he denied the request with little fear of an insurrection. He willingly read or heard the apologies of pastor Quadratus and philosophic Aristides. No parchment conveys to us those defenses of Christianity. Their effect upon Hadrian was favorable to the Christians. He felt the justice of their pleas. A proconsul of Asia wrote to him that "it seemed unjust to put to death men who were not convicted of any crime, merely to gratify a clamorous mob." He replied, "If any accusers prove that the Christians really break the laws, do you determine the nature of the crime. But if the charge be a mere calumny, estimate the enormity of the slander, and punish the accuser as he deserves."

The Jews of Palestine revolted under a false Messiah, Barcohaba, and slew many Christians. They were conquered and expelled. On the ruins of Jerusalem a new city was built, and named *Ælia Capitolina*. Its old name was quite lost for an age. Hadrian there reared temples to Venus and Jupiter. The Christians were allowed to dwell in Palestine; the Jews were forbidden to return. Thus Christianity was completely separated from Judaism.

"The long reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161) is one of those happy periods that have no history. An almost unbroken peace reigned at home and abroad. Taxes were lightened, calamities relieved, informers discouraged; confiscations were rare, plots and executions were almost unknown." Yet Christians suffered no little from mobs and unjust magistrates. Justin Martyr felt impelled to offer to this emperor his first Apology, "in behalf of those of all nations who are unjustly hated and wantonly abused, myself being one of them."

It now seems probable that Polycarp was the victim of a mob, about the year 155,* when some of his flock at Smyrna were impaled on spears, and thrown to the wild beasts of the circus. He resolved to stay at his post "firm as an anvil." The crowd shouted, "Take away the atheists! Give us Polycarp!" His friends urged him into the country. A young man, under stress of torture, betrayed his hiding-place. He was tracked to a farm-house, where he presented himself to his pursuers. He treated them with hospitality, and set out with them on the road to the city. On the way an officer kindly asked him, "What harm will it do thee to say 'Lord Cæsar,' and join in the sacrifice to the gods?" Thrice he repelled such an artifice to save his life. Angry at their failure they threw him out of the chariot, wounding him. He limped on to the place of trial. The insane yells of the mob were his welcome. He was again urged to renounce Christ and swear by the genius of Cæsar. The face of the old man looked severe as his eyes swept over the multitude intent upon his destruction, and then turned heavenward as he said, "Renounce Christ! Eighty and six years have I served him, and he has done me no wrong. How then shall I curse my king and my Savior?" Still they entreated and threatened, yet every answer baffled them. The judge was perplexed. But Jews and pagans rent the air by shouting, "This is the teacher of Asia! This is the father of the Christians! This is the overturner of our gods!" The fagots were ready, and, bound to the stake, the patriarch uttered his last prayer: "Omnipotent Lord God, Father of Jesus Christ, I bless thee that thou hast counted me

*So the latest critical researches. Even Renan and Hilgenfeld admit this date, in place of 166-7, which has long been adopted. The date of 155 gives about twelve years more to his contemporary life with the Apostle John.

worthy, in this hour, to take a place among thy martyrs, and to drink of the cup of thy Christ for the resurrection unto eternal life." Through fire he passed to glory. His death gave peace to the flock.

Marcus Aurelius (161-180), the adopted son of Antoninus, has been praised as a still nobler man and emperor, and his "Meditations" as "the noblest and purest book of pagan antiquity." A philosopher was on the throne. He improved the schools of Athens, and her university became the most celebrated in the world. In his stoicism he looked with contempt on the faith and zeal of the Christians. He introduced a system of espionage and tortures in order to force them to recant. It seems that he was urged to persecute them in order to appease the heathen gods, who were thought to be angry at the moderation of the emperors, and therefore shook the East with earthquakes; sent ravaging fires into the cities of the West; caused the Tiber to flood Rome and carry away houses, destroy granaries, and sweep the cattle from the Campania; provoked wars throughout the empire, and brought from Asia a pestilence which threatened to lay waste the world. He at first declined, and issued an edict similar to that of his predecessor, requiring that the commission of some criminal act, and not merely a belief, must be proved against any one before he could be punished, and denouncing capital punishment against the accuser of a Christian as such. Notwithstanding this edict, persecution prevailed extensively during the greater part of his reign, connived at and encouraged by this most philosophic of the Roman emperors. Lardner assigns three reasons for this: 1. The Christians refused to join in the common worship of the heathen deities, and reflected freely upon the philosophers. 2. They outdid the Stoics in patience under suffering. 3. The emperor was a bigot in religion and philosophy. He said, "Whosoever shall bring in novel religions, or do any thing to disturb the minds of men with fear of the divine power, let him be punished."

At length he grew furious. The old religion must be revived and the new faith crushed. For the one he gathered priests from all quarters, as if he were the bishop of paganism, and he provided so many sacrifices that a sarcastic wit hinted that there would soon be a dearth of oxen. Against the other

he let magistrates and people rage. Informers were well paid by judges, who confiscated to their own use the property of the victims. The persecution was largely the work of the mob, whose example was imitated one hundred years later, when Dionysius of Alexandria wrote thus: "We saw the crowd burst suddenly into our dwelling by a common impulse. Every one entered some house known to him, and began to spoil and destroy. All objects of value were seized; worthless wooden furniture was burned in the street. The scene was that of a town taken by assault." The Christians seem to have made no armed resistance. During this reign there were two persecutions, and a bolder literary attack upon Christianity. It was the noon of the first Age of Apologies.

The opponents of Christianity were not satisfied with the use of fire and sword. It was not enough to attack the bodies of men whom physical conflict could not repress; their belief must be assailed with the pen. Why fight consequences, and leave the causes unchecked? Why mow down believers, and yet leave firmly rooted the principles which would shoot up into a thicker harvest? The scythe of persecution did not go deep enough. The plowshare of skepticism and heresy must, if possible, cut up the very roots of Christian doctrine; this was the pen, driven hard by Celsus and Lucian. The first of these wits was the Thomas Paine of Greek rationalism, the other was the Voltaire of Greek literature. They anticipated most of the criticisms and sarcasms put forth by modern infidelity. They were easily answered by abler pens and holy lives. Almost any church-roll would show that the Christians were not all "mechanics, cobblers, weavers, slaves, women, and children." If these were true believers, so much the better for their religion.

The blots of Lucian's pen fell upon Christian character, but its keen point exposed many of the absurdities of pagan religion. We seem to be at a modern auction when we read his "Sale of the philosophers," managed by Jupiter and Mercury. "Gentlemen, we now offer you philosophical systems of all kinds, a rare lot. If any of you are short of cash, give your notes and pay next year. Here is this fellow with long hair, the Ionian. We offer you Professor Pythagoras. How much? Who wants to know the harmonies of the universe?

Come, professor, tell them what you know." He is sold cheap. "Whom will you have next? That slouchy fellow from Pontus? A grand character, gentlemen; very remarkable, most extraordinary. How much for Diogenes, old cloak and all? What? only three cents? Well, take him. We're glad to get him off our hands, he is so noisy, bawls so, insults everybody, and his language is not the finest." The auctioneer draws from the philosophers their principles, and makes them appear ridiculous. Thus he was, unintentionally, an ally of the Christian apologists. He blew up the walls through which the soldiers would enter the citadel of paganism. In a satire he says of the Christians: "These people think they are to have everlasting life; so they despise death. Their first lawgiver taught them to live as brothers, renounce the gods of the Greeks, worship that crucified sophist, and live by his laws. They consider all their property common, and trust each other without any valid security. An impostor may practice on their credulity." Pure doctrine and Christian conduct were antidotes to ridicule.

Pretentious heresies were more serious. They came with solemn weight to sober minds. The fanaticism of the Montanists attracted those who loved excitement, or hoped to exercise apostolic gifts in their trances. Their best traits reappear in Irvingism; their worst in modern clairvoyance. Certain speculative minds ran into Gnosticism, which ought not to be regarded as a corruption of Christianity, but as an adoption of some Christian elements into a system of different origin.*

Oppression, skepticism, and heresy called forth the pleas and defenses of the apologists. Their writings form the most vigorous early literature after the apostles. Many of the authors were converted rhetoricians and philosophers. They mark the time when the bolder thinkers in the Church tried pleading in its defense, and then made a brave onset upon paganism. We see this gradual advance from the gentle appeal to the heroic attack, from the defensive stand to the aggressive march, in the several writers from Quadratus to Tertullian.† Between them came Athenagoras and Justin, "the philosopher."

At Athens we find Athenagoras laying down the books of Plato, and taking up the Holy Scriptures in order to refute

* Note I.

† Note III.

them. He reads, is convinced of their tremendous truth, and avows himself a Christian. He takes his pen, and sends to Aurelius the most elegant and one of the ablest of all the apologies. He says: "Three things are alleged against us—atheism, the eating of children at our feasts, and all the excesses of lust. If these charges are true spare no class; proceed at once against our crimes. Destroy us root and branch, with our wives and little ones, if any Christian is found to live like a brute. But if these are only idle rumors and slanders, it remains for you to inquire concerning our lives and opinions, our loyalty and obedience to you, and to grant us equal rights with our persecutors. . . . Among us you will find uneducated persons, artisans, and old women, who may not be able to prove our doctrine by words, but they will prove it by their deeds. They do not make speeches, but they exhibit good works; when robbed they do not go to law; they give to the needy, and love their neighbors as themselves."

Dionysius of Corinth (170) saw the Churches of Greece afflicted by persecutions, poverty, Roman armies, the migrations of people to other lands, banishments, and imported heresies. The Churches there, so well nurtured by Paul, had quite lost their place in history, and Dionysius must represent their bishops. He was a watchful overseer. He wrote letters to the Churches—some of them in Crete and Nicomedia—to keep Christians in unity and caution them against Gnostic errors. They must beware of men who were "apostles of the devil," sowing tares, and "tampering with the Scriptures of the Lord." He defended "the rule of truth," and seems to have applied secular learning to the refutation of heresy.

Passing to Rome, we find no evidence of an early papacy. The list of twelve names, given as those of bishops for more than a century (67-177), bears marks of manipulation. Since the exposure of the Forged Decretals,* we are deprived of the history and primacy invented for them. The brightest, yet sad, records of the Church at Rome during this period are in the Catacombs.† One epitaph in the time of Aurelius reads thus: "Alexander is not dead, but lives beyond the stars, and his body rests in this tomb. . . . Oh, sad times, in which

* Note II to Chap. IX.

† Note IV.

sacred rites and prayers, even in caverns, afford not protection to us! . . . He has scarcely lived who has lived in Christian times." The first Christian historically eminent at Rome; after the apostles, was not a bishop, but a layman—Justin, the philosopher, apologist, and martyr.

Justin was a native of Neapolis, near the old Sychar, in Samaria. His father, probably a Roman, left him some property. His Greek culture prepared him for Christianity. He was the man of his age, familiar with its troubles, its restlessness, its griefs, its feeling of emptiness since the gods had been dethroned; and yet he was free from its corruptions and vain ambitions. He had not gone down in the whirl of social vices. Thirsting for truth, he sought the fountain in various schools of philosophy. But the Stoic knew nothing of value. The Peripatetic cared mainly for a large fee. The Pythagorean was a pompous charlatan, who talked only of angles, music, and the stars. Justin knew little about the stars, and probably cared less. His want was God and the waters of life. A Platonist charmed him by telling him to think and think, and do nothing else, until his mind should soar to the Deity. Be saved by thinking!

Near some sea-shore he dwelt, and thought, and waited for the vision of divinest truth. One day he paced along the shore, musing and listening to the waves, and soon found himself staring at a fine-looking old man, who asked him, "Do you know me, that you gaze upon me so earnestly?" Justin explained; he was on the search for truth. He was told something to think about; and this obscure father led him to the Divine Word, and gave him to the Church at the age of thirty. He was struck with the majesty of the Holy Scriptures, the heroism of the martyrs, and the nobleness of Christian lives. He devoted his energies to teaching and defending "the only true, safe, and useful philosophy." He did not preach. This Christian Socrates wandered through cities, talking with men, intent upon winning learned pagans to Christ. At Rome he took his place near certain baths, and in his philosopher's robes, which he never doffed, he acted the part of a Christian converser. He wrote busily to convince Jews, heathen, and heretics. He labored to make the earnest thought of all ages and all races point to the Incarnate Word and center in Christ,

the source of every good idea, the light of history, the life of the world. "The eternal Logos, coming forth from God, was the seed-light to the ages that preceded the full revelation of the Gospel." He represents the less hurtful tendencies to speculative thought, but his varied writings contain more good theology than most historians ascribe to them.

In his first Apology, addressed to Antoninus, he refutes the charge of atheism, and says: "Some gownsmen teach it. You heap honors and prizes upon those who poetically insult the gods; but you punish us. We confess that we are atheists with reference to demons and imaginary deities, but not with respect to the most true and holy God. . . . We do not ask that you punish our accusers; their ignorance and wickedness is punishment enough. . . . Punish those who are Christians only in name. You may kill, but you can not hurt us."

Those who wish to look in upon the worship of the early Christians will be interested in this passage: "On the day called Sunday (the day of the sun) all who live in cities, or in the country, gather in one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits, then the president verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray [singing is elsewhere mentioned]; then bread and wine and water are brought, and the president offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability, and the people say, Amen. There is a distribution to each [in the Lord's Supper], and a partaking of that over which thanks have been given, and a portion is sent by the deacons to those who are absent. The wealthy among us help the needy; each gives what he thinks fit; and what is collected is laid aside by the president, who relieves the orphans and the widows, and those who are sick or in want from any cause, those who are in bonds and strangers sojourning among us; in a word, he takes care of all who are in need. We meet on Sunday because it is the first day, when God created the world, and Jesus Christ rose from the dead."

Justin was moved to address his second Apology to Marcus Aurelius by a peculiar case of injustice. A woman had repented of her wild sins, tried in vain to reform her husband,

and obtained a divorce. He then accused her of being a Christian. The emperor protected her until some criminal act should be proved. The vicious man then accused her Christian teachers and defenders, three of whom were put to death. "I, too, expect to be plotted against," writes Justin, "and fixed to a stake by some of these philosophers, who charge us with crimes in order to curry favor with the deluded mob. I confess that I do strive to be a Christian." He was thrown into prison. Soon the two philosophies, pagan and Christian, were brought face to face, when Rusticus, the stoic and minister of Aurelius, jocosely asked Justin, "Do you imagine that after your head is cut off you will go straight to heaven?" "Imagine? I know it," was the reply. "Our great desire is to suffer for Christ, at whose bar the whole world must appear." He was sentenced to death along with several friends, probably in 167, the time of the first persecution under Marcus Aurelius; the second is associated with Irenæus.

At Lyons, in Gaul, we meet Irenæus (140-200), who had listened to Polycarp, left his native East, and sought a home in the far West. He became an elder, then a presbyter, or bishop, in the Church which had been planted there at an early day. He talked in Celtic with the Gauls, an inquisitive people, stopping travelers to gather the news, great boasters and rough fighters, whose fathers had yielded to Rome when they could not help it, and then set to work to make their chief town a rival of the imperial city. Italians had come there to build mansions, temples, theaters, and tombs. Greeks from Asia Minor settled there to drive a busy trade, and the best of them, probably, organized the Church,* which became a new center of missionary labors. Thence the Gospel seems to have been carried to the tribes of the Alps and the Rhine, Northern Gaul, and Britain.

In those searching times the East sent into the West not only heralds of truth, but teachers of error, cunningly baiting their hooks with sound words and catching the simple-minded Gauls. Irenæus exposed them. They may have turned in-

* Among the martyrs at Lyons Irenæus names "Attala, of Pergamos, who was always a pillar of our Church, and in great repute among us; Alexander, of Phrygia, a physician, full of apostolic gifts, and well known to the Gauls for his charity and zeal."

formers, and caused some Christians to be thrown into prison. The prisoners sent him to Rome to plead for them, and to assure the bishop, Eleutherius, that they were not ensnared in Montanism.

The fury of the populace at Lyons, in 177, showed itself in yells, insults, blows, missiles, and arrests of the Christians. Servants were tortured to betray their masters. It was useless for one to say, "I am a Roman citizen," for Aurelius ordered, "Put them to death whether they are Roman citizens or not; but dismiss all who renounce their faith." One of them wrote, "We were declared guilty of crimes which we dare not even name, for we can scarcely believe that they were ever committed among men. These charges inflamed the heathen against us." As the slaughter went on Vettius, a secret disciple, could no longer endure to be silent; his bold plea before the governor was answered by his martyrdom. Blandina, the slave girl, was tortured from morning till night, scourged, gashed, seared, hung on a cross in the theater, kept in jail for another day, then put into a hot wire cage, and thrown to the wild beasts. Her young brother was nerved by her courage. In the circus, before a noisy crowd, she seemed heedless of a growling lion, and calm when tossed high by a mad bull. Until the sword took her life, she unconsciously flung to her enemies a challenge, which "was enough to teach heathen society that the humblest believer is a power not to be ignored."*

The bishop, Pothinus, ninety years old, died of wounds in a prison. Irenæus returned to be chosen his successor, before the persecution had quite ceased at Vienne and the neighboring towns. His activity won him the title of "the light of the western Gauls." His genial piety, his wise zeal, his efforts for the general unity of the Church, his official dignity, his fearless-

*This persecution in 177 forbids us to credit the legend that Aurelius ceased from violence towards the Church in 174 on account of the prayer of the Thundering Legion. The story, doubtless interpolated in the first Apology of Justin, may have in it a basis of fact. It is that when he was in Hungary, surrounded by barbarians, and his army were dying of thirst, a band of Christians may have prayed for rain, and the shower fallen so plentifully that the soldiers drank water from their shields. The pagans attributed the relief and the wonderful victory to the emperor and the heathen gods. An ecclesiastical legend may have exaggerated a providential mercy into a miracle.

ness, and his skill in battling heresy, have secured to him the honor of having been "the greatest bishop of the second century, and the representative of the catholicity of the age." He was one of the first to exalt the office of bishop above that of presbyter. His maxim, "*ubi ecclesia, ibi spiritus*," would be more true if reversed so as to read, "Where the Spirit is, there is the Church." In his large work "Against Heresies" he exposed the whole system of Gnosticism, and refuted nearly all the theological errors of his time. Detesting heresies, he pitied those who held them, saying, "We love them better than they love themselves. We never cease to hold out to them a friendly hand." He probably died a natural death.

The Emperor Commodus (180-192) had no taste for his father's philosophic "Meditations." To stand in the Coliseum as a gladiator, slay a thousand lions and hundreds of prize-fighters, was the delight of this debauchee, who left no trace of a single virtue. He cared for no sort of religion. The Church often fared best under the worst emperors. One pro-consul, who was driving things hard in Asia, found the Christians so willing to suffer for their faith, that, after seizing a few of them, he said to the rest, "Wretches, if you are eager to die, you have rocks and ropes at hand." Irenæus says there were many Christians at the Court in full liberty. The mistress, Marcia, seems to have gained the recall of many exiles from the mines of Sicily. The consequence of this repose was that the new religion traveled into distant countries, which had scarcely yet submitted to the Roman arms. It was also embraced by persons of rank, as is shown in the case of Apollonius, the only distinguished martyr in this reign. He was a Roman senator, who, upon being accused of professing Christianity by his own servant, made a learned and eloquent apology for the Christian religion before the Senate. He was ordered to be executed, and a similar fate was awarded to his accuser under the law of Antoninus Pius.

A fine statue of a bishop, sitting in his chair, was unearthed near Rome, in 1551, and in 1842 a rich manuscript was found in the old Greek convent at Mount Athos. If the stone could speak it might tell us a wonderful history of battles with the great heretics and the small Roman bishops, who appear demolished in the pages of the long-lost book. The voice of

Hippolytus might assure us that he was a native of Italy, a student of Irenæus, a traveler in the East in pursuit of knowledge, an elder at Rome, a pastor at Portus near the Tiber's mouth, and the writer of the long-desired "Refutation of All Heresies," heathen, Jewish, and Christian, from Thales down to Marcion. Two facts appear certain: that he did not regard the Roman bishops as popes, nor did any body else; and that there had been a dearth of great men in the Church at Rome. Infallibility was not their prelatie grace. Her pastors were as likely to become Montanists as was Tertullian. One of them would give his name to the Callistians whom we shall find charged with being Patripassians. Not one of these bishops was the equal of Hippolytus, "the first celebrated preacher of the West," and so intent upon good discipline and true doctrine that he severely censured the lax morals and heretical tendencies of bishops Zephyrinus and Callistus. If he was under their ban, they were under his scourging pen. If he died in banishment by the malaria of Sardinia, or near Rome was torn in pieces by wild horses, about the year 235, he must have lived to an old age. Dr. Schaff says, "The Roman Church placed him in the number of her saints and martyrs, little suspecting that he would come forward in the nineteenth century as an accuser against her."

Hippolytus was the friend of Origen, and like him was too much given to the allegorical method of interpreting Holy Scripture. These two men, deeply engaged in similar studies and contests with error, must have felt that each breathed a different air. At Rome there was strife; at Alexandria, speculation. In one the bishop usurped too high an authority; in the other the scholar bowed too low to philosophy. In the West there was coming more schism than heresy; in the East, more heresy than pure missionary zeal. Certain Greeks were going beyond Scripture in doctrine; the Italians, rising higher than the apostles in ecclesiastical power.

NOTES.

I. *Gnosticism*, a philosophy of religion and of the universe, claimed to supplement or supersede Christianity by a higher knowledge (*gnosis*). In it were blended four systems: Dualistic Parseeism, mangled Platonism,

Judaism misunderstood, and Christianity grossly perverted. The prevalence of any one of these elements gave character to some form of the philosophy. The three leading questions pertained to the relation of God to the world, the origin of evil, and the person of Christ. Upon these bases various theories were proposed, and common to nearly all of them were the following principles: (1) Dualism, God and inorganic matter being eternal, unconnected, and antagonistic. (2) Matter is the seat of all sin and evil. (3) Between God and primal matter (*hyle*) there is a series of æons, or emanations; the first proceeding from God, who dwells far remote from all material objects. From the first æon others proceed, until the demiurge, world-creator, appears. He uses matter and creates the world. He is the Jehovah of the Old Testament. Most of the Gnostics regarded him as holding man in bondage to sin and matter by means of the Jewish system, which he invented. (4) To deliver man from sin, or from the demiurge, the æon Christ (*Logos*) came into the world. (5) Christ either assumed an apparent body (Docetism), or entered into the man Jesus at baptism, acted sinlessly through Jesus, and left this human body just before the crucifixion (Ebionism). The Jews, incited by Jehovah, slew Jesus, but they could not touch the Christ. (6) Christ and another æon, the Spirit (*pneuma*), rescue all spiritual souls from matter and sin, unite them to God, and save them by means of knowledge, self-denial, mortification of the body, self-atonement, or a purgatorial transmigration of souls. (7) As man has three natures, the material, psychical, and spiritual, so all men are divided into the same three classes; but only the spiritual can enter heaven; the psychical, by good works, may attain an intermediate state.

The leading Gnostic schools: (a) Alexandrian or Jewish, represented by Basilides (130), Valentine who went to Rome, and Carpocrates who drifted into heathen licentiousness; (b) The Syrian or anti-Jewish, represented by Saturninus, of Antioch (125), Tatian, author of a Gospel harmony (170), Bardesanes, of Edessa, a poet (170), and Marcion, who recognized the authority of Paul as opposed to Judaism. The Gnostics formed no sects, and their speculations died of exhaustion.

II. *Manichæism*, a Persian form of Gnosticism, took its name from Mani, who seems to have been one of the Magi, half-converted to Christianity. He was excommunicated by the Church, and finally flayed alive by a Persian king (277). His view was that Christ came to deliver the light from the darkness, good from evil, the human soul from sinful matter, man from Satan. The apostles misunderstood and falsified his doctrine. Mani was the promised Paraclete (not the Holy Ghost) appointed to restore the truth and the Church; hence, he was the head of the new Church. He devised an organization. Under him were his twelve apostles, seventy-two bishops, presbyters, deacons, and other officers. The elect were to practice rigid self-denial, abstinence, celibacy, and a secret worship. But they became corrupt and immoral.

All these heretical teachers deceived their followers by employing Scripture terms so artfully as to appear sound. They talked of Christ, redemption, atonement, faith, holiness, and heaven, and insinuated their errors.

Bardesanes wrote hymns, which crept into some of the Syrian Churches, and his son adapted popular melodies to them. Gnosticism in all its forms was exposed and refuted by Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement, and Augustine.

III. *Apologists, or writers of Christian defenses and evidences.* Those of the second century were Quadratus (125), Aristides (125), Justin Martyr (148), Melito (166), Athenagoras (167), Miltiades, Apollinaris, Theophilus of Antioch, and Tatian. Then follow Clement, Tertullian, Arnobius, Minucius Felix, Origen, Lactantius, and Augustine.

IV. *The Catacombs*, underneath part of Rome and vicinity, were long thought to be the old sand-pits or quarries, from which building materials were taken. But it is now held that they were the work of the Christians alone, and were first used for the burial of their dead, and then for refuge in times of persecution. The remains of dwellings and places of worship are found. The epitaphs are said to number seventy thousand; most of them illustrate a simple and pure Christianity, and testify against the later perversion of it. The catacombs at Naples have larger halls and finer galleries. Christian catacombs have been found in various cities, one at Syracuse and another at Alexandria.

CHAPTER III.

FROM CARTHAGE TO CÆSAREA.

200-284.

"CARTHAGE must be destroyed," said the Romans, and the greatest city of Africa fell to the dust. "Carthage must be won to Christ," thought some unknown missionary, and she rose again to a nobler power and fame. Her ancient commerce was a type of her vigorous Christianity. It enlisted men of all ranks. It extended to the towns and hamlets of that region, giving light and life to the old Punic slaves. One might almost think that Hannibal had reappeared in Tertullian, and at a holier altar sworn to break imperial tyranny, and carry the war into the very camps of paganism, if not resist the usurping bishops of Rome. He brings Carthage into Christian history, and stands as the first great orator of the Church, the boldest of the apologists, and the first of the Latin Fathers.

Tertullian, born about 160, was the son of a Roman captain serving at Carthage. He seems to have studied law and become a pleader. The stirring days of the forum were over; the bar sank into a police court. There was no liberty nor patriotism to evoke his eloquence. There were no Latin poets, essayists, and historians worth rivaling. He knew Greek, but in it his thoughts could not run rough, hot, fearless, and terrible. Lava never pours through golden pipes. His craving soul wanted stimulus. A reckless heathen, he acknowledged no moral restraint, nor any laws but those of rhetoric. He plunged into the worst excesses, for while sinning he sinned with all his might. He learned too well those social vices against which he would one day lift the trumpet and rout his old companions out of the dens of infamy, the circus, and the theater. Conscience whispered at times, and then came the Word of God. We know little of his spiritual history. At the age of thirty or forty he breaks upon our sight as a bold

Elijah. He carried very much of his ardor, impatience, intensity of love and hatred, harshness, and sarcasm into his religious life. He presents, in his nature, the strong contrasts quite common to great men. Too impulsive to grasp the whole truth, or reason calmly in broad lines, he stands forth as the special pleader of the cause in hand, so carrying us by storm that we almost overlook his flourishes of rhetoric. When wrong he is to be pitied, when right he is tremendous. He was a rare genius, original and fresh, without his like in the ancient Church, the Luther of his time, with the ruder traits, but without the childlikeness, fatherly nature, homely love, and winning piety of the German hero. The one hurled scorn and defiance against cruel emperors, trod their edicts under foot, and wrote down heretics. The other shot thunder-bolts into the Vatican, threw papal bulls into the fire, and wrote down the monks.

Tertullian gave to the Church the service of a fiery eloquence. His writings glow with a heat that will never cool. He throws himself into his pages. The man is there, his pen still quivering with feeling. He was a bishop, with a wife at a time when clerical celibacy was growing in fashion; but he grew rather strenuous for the innovation, and violent against second marriages. His numerous writings won such favor that his successor, Cyprian, often called for them, saying, "Give me the master." They throw a strong light upon the state of the Church in his day. We read them, making due allowance for some extravagance of description.

"Rulers of the Roman Empire,"* he thus begins his apology, "you surely can not forbid the Truth to reach you by the secret pathway of a noiseless book. She knows that she is but a sojourner on the earth, and as a stranger finds enemies; and more, her origin, her dwelling-place, her hope, her rewards, her honors, are above. One thing, meanwhile, she anxiously desires of earthly rulers—not to be condemned unknown. What harm can it do to give her a hearing? . . . The outcry is that the state is filled with Christians: that they are in the fields, in the citadels, in the islands. The lament is,

* Septimius Severus was emperor, 193-211. Tertullian was writing about 202, when Severus forbade any one to adopt Judaism or Christianity.

as for some calamity, that both sexes, every age and condition, even high rank, are passing over to the Christian faith."

The outcry is a confession and an argument for our cause; for "We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you—cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum. We leave to you your temples alone. We can count your armies: our numbers in a single province will be greater. We have it in our power, without arms and without rebellion, to fight against you with the weapon of a simple divorce. We can leave you to wage your wars alone. If such a multitude should withdraw into some remote corner of the world you would doubtless tremble at your own solitude, and ask, 'Of whom are we the governors?'

"It is a human right that every man should worship according to his own convictions; one man's religion neither harms nor helps another man. A forced religion is no religion at all. . . . Men say that the Christians are the cause of every public disaster. If the Tiber rises as high as the city walls, if the Nile does not rise over the fields, if the heavens give no rain, if there be an earthquake, if a famine or pestilence, straightway they cry, Away with the Christians to the lion. . . . But go zealously on, ye good governors, you will stand higher with the people if you kill us, torture us, condemn us, grind us to dust; your injustice is the proof that we are innocent. God permits us to suffer. Your cruelty avails you nothing; it is rather a temptation to us. The oftener you mow us down the more in number we grow; the blood of Christians is seed. What you call our obstinacy is an instructor. For who that sees it does not inquire for what we suffer? Who that inquires does not embrace our doctrines? Who that embraces them is not ready to give his blood for the fullness of God's grace?"

Temptations have borne down men whom threats could not scare. Such a man as Tertullian could face death like a hero,*

* The martyrs at Carthage, in his time, left as bright a record as those at Lyons. There was a sublime fortitude manifested by several young catechumens (202-205), especially Perpetua, cherishing her infant, pitying her Christian mother, and resisting the entreaties of her aged pagan father, who took away her child; and Felicitas, who became a mother in a dungeon. After being mangled by wild beasts in the circus, they clasped each other, gave the Chris-

and yet be led into fanaticism. In Phrygia, the home of a sensuous, mystical religion, Cybele was worshiped as the goddess of nature, the "great mother." On hills were her temples, in towns her oracles. Her priests were given to magic, trances, ecstasies, and perhaps clairvoyance. In their wild worship they beat cymbals, howled, and gashed themselves with knives. True Christianity may have seemed too tame for the people of such a country. The Church there was troubled with enthusiasts of every grade. From them, it seems, came Montanus (170), who thought that there was little life in the Church. His pride, or zeal, carried him away. He began to be in trances, raptures, ecstasies, in which he uttered what were taken to be prophecies. He claimed inspiration. Among those whom he drew to him were two women of rank, Priscilla and Maximilla, whose "spiritual gifts" were his powerful aids. Here were the three pillars of the sect. After them were to be "no more inspired prophets." Tertullian mentions a woman who, in her trances, was consulted for revelations as to the unseen world, and for medical prescriptions. Montanus asserted that he was nothing but a medium, having no will or word of his own. In the name of the Paraclete he said: "Behold, the man is as a lyre, and I sweep over him as the plectrum. The man sleeps; I wake."

The utterances of these fanatics related to supposed reforms in the Church, to more rigid discipline, to fasting and ascetic practices, to the speedy coming of the Lord, and to the awful judgments about to fall from heaven; of course, also to their own ability to lead back the Church to primitive purity. They assumed to be "the spiritual," and all who did not follow them were carnal, and fearfully dead. Their sect spread rapidly through Asia Minor, and into North Africa. It was the more welcome and dangerous for these reasons: 1. It professed to agree with the truly catholic Church in all her doctrines; and yet it regarded Christianity as incomplete, and in need of further revelations. 2. It pretended to carry with it a revival of the apostolic gifts,* agencies, discipline, and life—a restoration

tian kiss, parted, but not forever, and received the merciful blow that ended their horrible tortures. Their husbands seem to have been heartless pagans, and may have been praised by the Emperor Severus.

* On the continuance of miracles, see Note I.

of the apostolic Church 3. It reacted against Gnosticism, and passed to the opposite extreme. When some men devote themselves to strong thinking, others grow zealous for much working. Even sound theology is rated below the practical spirit. It flattered those who imagined they were seeking a spotless Church, in which *they* might develop their gifts. It drew those who craved excitement.

Tertullian must have looked upon the fairest side of Montanism. But he embraced it in its full rigor before its founder had been ejected from the Church.* Never abandoning his general orthodoxy, and still defending Christianity, he forsook its communion.† Whether he was ever restored is doubtful. He grew ascetic and censorious. He regarded flight from persecution as worse than a denial of Christ under torture. To court persecution was esteemed a virtue. Those who lapsed were unpardonable. The Church could not remit sins committed after baptism, and hence he opposed infant baptism. After him a sect was named the "Tertullianists." Other Montanists regarded Pepuzi, in Phrygia, as their New Jerusalem, the seat of their millennial kingdom. We can hardly think that Tertullian adopted all their absurdities. He did not assert himself as a prophet. He appears to have died in his eightieth year.

If any pagan lawyers and rhetoricians of Carthage made the name of Tertullian a jest, we may imagine Cyprian laughing among them, so long as he loved his vices as a part of himself. The aged presbyter, Cecilius, led him to the truth in the year 246, and, when dying, committed his wife and children to the new convert. Cyprian, about forty-six years of age,‡ sold his

* Compare Zinzendorf and Edward Irving, whose course was not more strange. Bunsen supposes that animal magnetism was at the bottom of Montanism. It has been compared with some forms of modern "spiritism."

† Jerome ascribes his defection to the harsh and insulting conduct of the Roman bishops. This is quite as probable as that he was nettled by the failure to be elected bishop of either Rome or Carthage, and seceded in disgust. He certainly protested against the lax doctrine and discipline of the Roman bishops, whom Hippolytus censured.

‡ He had seen no imperial persecutions by Caracalla (211-17), Elagabalus (218-22), and Alexander Severus (222-35). But this rest of twenty-five years was broken by the savage Maximin (235-38). Again the Church had rest under Gordian (238-44) and Philip the Arabian (244-49), until Decius (249-51) raged violently against it. These emperors will be noticed more fully in connection with Origen, who had closer contact with most of them.

villa and gardens (afterwards restored to him by friends), gave the price to the relief of the poor, was ordained a presbyter, and within three years was elected Bishop of Carthage in the very face of his own protests. In that office he spent the remaining ten years of his life. While he developed the tendencies to prelacy, he was the model of a pastor. The Church of Africa suffered greatly in the general persecution by Decius (249-51). For a time Cyprian prudently retreated from the storm; but by his pen he was in active service to his flock. For this he was charged with cowardice by men who thought flight a sin and a fall unpardonable. But on his return, when a fearful pestilence raged in the city, no man was more courageous. The heathen left their sick to die and the dead unburied, saying, "The Christians are the cause of the plague." The bishop assembled his flock; they collected funds, provided all sorts of relief, and proved their faith by their splendid charity.

Three questions greatly disturbed the Churches of North Africa and Rome:

1. Should the *lapsed*,* of any class, be restored to the Church, upon their repentance? It is curious to find this question giving life to two schisms, one holding the reverse of the other in regard to the *lapsed*. They agreed in opposing what they considered to be high assumptions of prelacy. At Carthage Cyprian first opposed the restoration of the *lapsed*; but he so modified his views as to admit them if they proved to be truly penitent. He was vigorously opposed by Novatus and Felicissimus, who had already refused to acknowledge him as their bishop, and had set up an independent Church and bishop of their own. To them flocked the *lapsed* in great numbers, and no sort of penance was required of them. They were the liberalists in discipline. But at Rome the bishop, Cornelius, was stoutly opposed for his leniency towards the *lapsed*. Novatian, a learned, earnest, gloomy man, had protested against his election; and now he was joined by Novatus, who had left

*Those who secured safety either by actually sacrificing, or by offering incense to the heathen gods, or by certificates (*libellos*) purchased with money (which was done by bribing the magistrates to certify that they had offered sacrifice, though they had not done so), were distinguished by the opprobrious names of "Sacrificers" (*Sacrificatores*), "Incensers" (*Thurificatores*), and "Certificated" (*Libellatici*). Those who were thus chargeable with defection were called *lapsed* or fallen Christians.

his former principles at Carthage, and adopted the reverse at Rome. They led off a party, and Novatian was unwillingly made their bishop. They were extremely severe towards the lapsed, and unchurched all Churches which admitted them or any other such gross offenders. Many "confessors," so called because they had been on the very brink of martyrdom, joined in this schism. These Novatians, rightly protesting against certain errors, claimed to be the Cathari, or Puritans of the time. They took up the older African notion that those who committed gross sins after baptism should be forever excluded from the Church. This was enough to cause infant baptism to be neglected. They rebaptized all who united with them. They were the forerunners of the Donatists. Cyprian took the side of Cornelius in this hot controversy, which continued long after they were both martyrs for the truth of Christ.

2. Should baptism by heretics and schismatics be held valid? Cyprian thought not; Stephen, the new Bishop of Rome, contended for its validity. Thus Cyprian had against him the schismatics at home, the Novatians, and the Catholics at Rome. The validity of baptism did not depend on the mode, for immersion, pouring, and sprinkling were recognized; nor upon age, for the most orthodox baptized infants. The question put to Cyprian in regard to infant baptism was simply this, Whether it should be administered before the child was eight days old? He thought there need be no such delay, and the Council of Carthage (255) fully agreed with him.*

3. Was the Bishop of Rome the sovereign over all other bishops? Was he what was afterwards called a pope? Stephen assumed high power. He ordered a synod in Spain to restore to their Churches two bishops whom it had deposed. Cyprian regarded this as high-handed arrogance. No one was rightly "the bishop of bishops." This bears strongly against the later papacy. But Cyprian claimed to be more than a simple presbyter. He was a prelate, and he regarded all prelatie bishops as equally the successors of the apostles. He thought that the Roman bishop was the center of unity in the Church, but all others had equal power with him. He was not a sovereign. The highest power of the Church resided in the

* Chap. IV, Note III.

councils of her bishops. Down to the time when the Vandals almost ruined the Church of North Africa, she resisted the growing pretensions of Rome.

The severe edicts of Valerian (254-260) did not spare Cyprian. He was banished for a time, and finally confined to the narrow limits of his house and garden. There he was seized, in the year 258, and led before an officer. The sentence upon him was, "That Thrascius Cyprian, having long been a ring-leader in impiety against the gods of Rome, and having resisted the efforts of emperors to reclaim him, shall be beheaded for his offenses, and as a warning to his followers." Some of his flock said, aloud, "Let us go and die with him." He knelt in prayer at the block, bound his eyes with his own hands, the sword fell, and there rolled into the dust the head of a prince in the Church, a father to those in poverty, widowhood, and orphanage, one of the most practical writers and the greatest bishop of the third century. Four years before his burial a gentler hand had taken home Origen, the greatest scholar of the third century.

A full account of Origen would involve the history of four great subjects: 1. The culture of Alexandria. 2. The development of a new eclectic philosophy, Neo-Platonism, founded largely upon the teachings of Plato and Philo Judæus. It appears in three schools—the pagan, whose teachers were Ammonius Saccas, Plotinus, and Porphyry; the Gnostic, in which were Basilides and his followers; the Christian, elevated by Pantæus, Clement, and Origen. 3. The mutual influences of this philosophy and Christianity upon each other, with the resultant errors and heresies. 4. The doctrine of the Logos in these schools, and in the current and later theology.*

Alexandria had become the center of a vast commerce and a high culture. In no other harbor could so many ships lie anchored, and this was a type of her social and intellectual haven, for there were represented nearly all nations, languages, literatures, philosophies, and religions. Students consulted the largest library in the world. Greek, Jew, Parsee, Brahmin, and Christian heard their beliefs discussed in the academy of scholars. Learned lecturers sought to fuse the best principles of all creeds, and form a new philosophy. The elements of an

* Note II.

eclectic religion were afloat in the air. The Christian Church was not thrust into a corner to be the contempt of eight hundred thousand people. Her mental culture won respect.

The pagan wing of this new philosophy had its active school and eminent teachers. All religions were regarded by them as having something divine, while no one was supposed to possess a full and sufficient revelation. Hence, ideas were borrowed from one to fill up the deficiencies of the other. Plato was preferred to all other philosophers. They looked upon his opinions concerning God, the human soul, and things invisible, as conformable to the spirit and genius of Christianity. Ammonius Saccas (sack-bearer in youth), who had been a member of the Church, and may have made pretensions to Christianity all his life, was one of the principal patrons, if not the founder, of this system. This scheme was taken up by Plotinus, a wonderful student, a traveler in search of the primeval religion, and a theorist who imitated Plato's method without Plato's mind. In his view Christ was one of the great sages who left behind him one of the great moral systems. He aimed to find or to found a universal religion,* but in it Christianity was accommodated to paganism. Thus an example was given of the honesty of those eclectics who borrowed from Christ almost every thing but the essentials of the Gospel. They used Christian words, but clung to pagan doctrines. They may not have suspected the miserable result. Reverent Saccas may not have dreamed of a scoffing Porphyry as the child of his philosophy.

Probably Athenagoras, the elegant apologist, had raised the catechetical school to a high rank. It was first intended for the instruction of children and converts in the simple truths of the Bible. It grew into an academy of science and theology. Pantænus renounced his stoic philosophy and made this the most eminent school in the whole Church. He left it, for a time, to bear the Gospel into Arabia or India. Its next president, in 189, was Clement, a convert from heathenism, who had traveled widely in search of truth, and now sought to construct a universal philosophy, with Christianity as its foundation. Pantænus had taught him that the nobler systems of pagan thought need not be treated as idols and broken in

*Compare Theodore Parker and Chunder Sen.

shivers, but the truths in them should be brought into the service of Christ. In his view philosophy was a schoolmaster leading serious pagans unconsciously to the Redeemer. Plato prepared the world for Paul as the apostle to the Gentiles; yet Jesus Christ must be supreme. "I am well assured," he wrote, "that the momentous thing is to live by the Word (*Logos*) and enter into his Spirit." He too often interpreted the Bible allegorically.* With all his errors he positively set aside no essential doctrine of Christianity. He represented the Christian side, and Plotinus the pagan side of the same philosophy. But he saw no virtue in the common life of the heathen. In his "Exhortation to the Greeks" are some of the most withering exposures of the pagan vices, luxury, licentiousness, and imposture. He sets forth Christ, the Son of God, as the only redeemer from sin and woe. The "Instructor" was written to teach converts the true faith, morals, and manners of a Christian. The "Stromata," or Tapestries, are like the varied articles of a literary magazine written to promote culture, truth, and piety. His aim was to live and labor for the highest good of his age.

In this atmosphere Origen was born, in 185, of Christian parents. Leonides thanked God for such a brilliant son, stored his memory with holy Scripture, tried to answer his deep questions, chided his prying curiosity, and often went to his sleeping boy and kissed his breast as a temple of the Holy Ghost. Origen was placed in the school of Clement, with bright prospects until the days of trial came.

Startling events occurred. The good governor Philip, his wife, and daughter forsook the pagan temples and trusted in the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. The emperor Septimius Severus (193-211) heard of these conversions, and wrote to Philip, "Is this the return you make for my kindness? I gave you almost the highest post which I could bestow. I honored you rather as a king than a prefect, and while you retained the faith of your forefathers you were worthy of this dignity. Abandon at once this superstition or be deprived of your office." Philip

* "With expositors of this school, every passage in Scripture contained three meanings—one, literal or historical; another, conveying a moral lesson; and a third, mystical or spiritual; answering respectively to the body, soul, and spirit in man."

bestowed his property upon the poor rather than have it confiscated, and then replied that he expected to live and die in the Christian faith. A more confirmed heathen was sent to take his office, with orders to destroy Philip. Hired ruffians slew him in his own house.

Meanwhile Severus, no longer grateful to the Christian physician who had cured his dangerous malady, published an edict more intolerant than any that had preceded it. He may have been alarmed by the excesses of the Montanists, or sought revenge upon Jews and Christians for refusing to serve in his armies. He forbade every subject of the empire to embrace Judaism or Christianity on pain of death and confiscation of property. A seven years' war upon the Church was begun in various quarters. It was most severe at Alexandria, which he visited, and at Carthage. Leonides was thrown into prison. Origen wrote to him, "My father, flinch not because of us." This appeal from a wife and seven children went to his soul. The lad of seventeen, who sent it, would have gone to die with his father had not his mother forbidden, wept, entreated, and finally hid his clothes. Leonides was beheaded, his property confiscated, and his family thrown into poverty. The heroic struggles of young Origen were in resisting a worse wolf than hunger, for his benefactors tried to lure him into heresy. But he saw Gnosticism concealed under pious phrase, and hated it. He manfully left a rich protectress, and earned his bread by teaching grammar. He spent some leisure hours in the school of Saccas. He heard lectures from the returned Pantænus. He bade farewell to Clement, who retired from the persecution into Cappadocia, and there ended his days.

At the age of eighteen Origen began to teach the pupils whom Clement had left. He was soon chosen to be the principal of the first Christian school in the world. He had no lack of students. He sold his grammars and books of philosophy, and applied himself to the study of theology. He sought it in the Bible. He endured hatred. The governors went on in their work of torture and death. Some of his pupils were arrested. He visited them in prison, or consoled them at the block, at the risk of life. When wrathful pagans hurled stones at him he did not flinch. Scarcely a house was a safe refuge for him, until many pagans began to respect his

courage and his learning. He did not seek martyrdom. One day he was seized and dragged to the temple of Serapis. Palms were put in his hands and he was ordered to lay them on the altar of the god. Waving them, he shouted, "Here are the triumphal boughs, not of the idol, but of Christ."

He won the name of Adamantius, the hero of iron and brass, whose labors were stupendous. He was too severe upon himself, too literal in crucifying the body. He made life intense, ate sparingly, took no anxious thought of the morrow, had but one coat, went barefoot, caught short sleep on a rough board, taught by day, and gave most of the night to prayer and study, especially the deep search into Holy Scripture. He says, "When I had given myself entirely to the Word of God, and when the reputation of my learning had gone abroad, a great many heretics, men versed in Greek science, came to listen to me. I thought it my duty to master the dogmas of heresy, as well as all truth that philosophers have laid claim to tell." His learning became prodigious. He was an author and teacher, rather than a preacher. He could dictate to seven amanuenses at once. Jerome said, "He wrote more than another man could read." The influence of Pantænus, if not of Saccas and Plotinus, is seen in his writings. Once, when in Rome, he entered a hall, and the lecturer, Plotinus himself, rose from his chair, saying, "I can not proceed before one who knows more than I can tell him."

Origen must have been pained to see his pupil, the clever Porphyry, feed on the husks of paganism. This philosopher edited Plotinus, imitated Celsus, lost himself in the mists of gloom, and thought of suicide as the shortest way to a happier life, and in Sicily he breathed out his hatred to Christianity in a book. He was the boldest, unfairest enemy the Church had yet seen in the form of a man. His chief aim was to make the Bible incredible. He subjected it to a sort of pedantic criticism, which has been revived in modern times. Thus, in the reaction of paganism against Christianity, the rationalists were followed by the infidels and scoffers. Later still, one wing of this school struck more wicked, though weaker, blows upon the Church, when Philostratus brought forward Apollonius, of Tyana, as a rival of Christ, and Hierocles assailed the moral character of Jesus. The latter pleased himself better when he

dropped his futile pen, and wielded the sword against the Church in the time of Diocletian. To all this the book of Origen, which exposed the errors and slanders of Celsus, was a quite sufficient answer. He placed Christianity upon its historical foundations.

Origen was still a layman. He was sent to explain the Christian doctrines to the governor of Arabia. Still later, when his life was in danger, and Heraclas took charge of the school, he visited Palestine. Bishops and pastors were delighted with the most learned teacher they had ever seen. At Cæsarea they requested him to expound the Holy Scriptures in a public assembly. Thus he was laying the foundations of a theological school in that city. But these lectures proved the beginning of his troubles. Demetrius, the bishop of Alexandria, heard of them and protested, saying, "Never before has a layman delivered discourses in the presence of bishops. It is irregular." The bishops who had welcomed Origen cited cases to sustain him. Lay-preaching had been allowed in Asia Minor. He was not intruding upon their rights nor into their dioceses. The jealous Demetrius finally sent some deacons to bring Origen back to his own city, and he went. For some years he devoted himself to Biblical studies.

The Emperor Elagabalus (218-222), a Syrian debauchee, and priest of the sun-worship,* hoped to see all religions merged into his system, with all its social abominations. Tolerating all beliefs, he practiced none. His cousin, Julia Mamaea, "a very devout woman," if not a Christian, wished to save her son, the heir to the throne, from the blasting sins of the imperial court. When she was at Antioch she invited Origen to come and teach them the Gospel more perfectly. He was escorted thither by her own military guard. Thus Alexander Severus (222-235) was brought somewhat under the influence of Origen. He was an excellent prince. The laws against Christians were not repealed, but rather ignored. In a few places the mob raged against them. He had Christians in his household. It seems that for the first time bishops were allowed at court. It is said that he inscribed the Golden Rule upon the walls of his palace and on public buildings. At Rome a small piece of ground, used as a commons, was

*So his name indicates, El-Gabal, or Heliogabalus.

desired by the Christians as the site for a church, and by a company of victualers for an inn. Alexander granted it to the former, saying that any religious use of it was better than the conversion of it to a tavern. Here seems to be one of the first historical references to a church as a publicly consecrated building. For about two centuries private houses, halls, or synagogues were the places of worship. Out of this may have grown the story that the emperor thought of enrolling Christ among the gods, and rearing a temple to him. He was an eclectic, a sage-worshiper, one to be admired by the Neoplatonists, for he placed in his pagan chapel the busts of Christ, Abraham, Orpheus, Apollonius of Tyana, and Serapis, along with those of the Roman gods and emperors. In a campaign against the Germans he was slain in his tent by the agents of an old Thracian soldier, the giant Maximin, who took the throne.

Origen had been invited to rout certain heretics out of Greece. Demetrius gave him letters of commendation as a layman famous for refuting errorists. On his way he stopped at Cæsarea. The bishops of that city and of Jerusalem, mindful of the check put upon his lay-preaching among them, ordained him a presbyter. This irregular act* highly offended Demetrius, who scarcely waited for Origen to return from Greece. A sharp controversy began. One result was that the great teacher was arraigned before councils, charged with a youthful indiscretion and contempt of his bishop. These were, doubtless, more strongly urged than certain errors then found in his writings, if they have not since been interpolated. He held the pre-existence of human souls, and the final redemption of all men and devils, except Satan. He was not always clear upon the doctrine of Christ's equality with the Father, though he often affirmed it distinctly. He speculated too wildly upon the creation and the fall of man. But the envy and hatred of his bishop seem to have turned the scale, and he was removed from the school which was sending out men to become eminent in the Church. He was deposed from the ministry, and excommunicated from the Christian fold, "to which he had gained so many adherents, to teach the world how much it costs a

*It is doubtful whether there was then any law against ordaining a man in a diocese to which he had not taken his membership. The "Apostolic Canons" are not regarded as genuine.

man to serve steadfastly the cause of liberty." He was even forbidden to reside in Alexandria. Perhaps the sentence was removed by a gentler bishop. Already he had taken refuge at Cæsarea. There he labored chiefly for twenty years. To its theological school he secured fame and patronage. Young men were attracted to him by his pure and noble life, and then led into the ministry of the Gospel.

The terrible Maximin (235-238) melted down even golden gods for his own uses, listened to the slanders brought against the Church, put to death the favorites of Alexander, and banished those whom he had promoted. In the midst of so much cruelty and bloodshed, no wonder that the savage included Christians in his persecution. It was directed chiefly against the ministers of the Church, as the pillars and propagators of Christianity. Origen concealed himself in Cappadocia for about two years. Even there he found manuscripts for his great polyglot Bible. They were given him by the noble Juliana, whose father had been a translator of the Septuagint.

He returned to Cæsarea when Philip the Arabian took the throne (244-249). Jerome calls him the first Christian emperor; but his personal vices were a bar to that honor. He and his wife, Severa, received letters from Origen, who says elsewhere that God had given the Christians freedom in religion, and he anticipates the conversion of the empire. This hope, rarely indulged, was soon changed to fear, when Decius (249-251) attempted a wholesale destruction of the Church. In vain had Septimius Severus threatened death to all who adopted Christianity. A new policy was now inaugurated. Christians were to be hunted out. Accusers ran no risk by acting as spies, informers, and slanderers. Popular clamor took the place of a trial. It was enough for a disciple to show himself; any one might strike him down. Christianity itself was a crime, because of its triumphs over paganism. Decius, it is said, was so enraged to see the religion of the empire trodden under foot and undermined by a proscribed sect, that he issued edicts to the governors of provinces, commanding them to proceed against the Christians with the utmost severity, to spare no kind of torments, and put to death all who refused to sacrifice to the gods. Nothing can be imagined more dismal than the storm which followed in all parts of the empire; the heart sickens at the

recital of the diversified tortures to which the Christians were exposed. Some few apostatized. The persecution was especially directed against the clergy and teachers of the faith. Origen was tortured in a dungeon at Tyre, and never recovered from the racking. Fabian was a martyr at Rome. Cyprian was in exile from Carthage. The bishops of Jerusalem and Antioch died in prison. The Bishop of Smyrna was the only one who apostatized. This is usually regarded as the first persecution which was really general. "There was general confusion and consternation," says an old writer; "the laws of nature and humanity were trodden under foot; friend betrayed his friend, brother his brother, and children their parents, every man being afraid of his nearest relations. By this means the woods and mountains became full, the cities and towns empty." Many remained in the deserts, and became hermits and monks.

The Church was not annihilated. Cyprian thought she needed this fiery trial to purify her from errors in doctrine and laxity in discipline. Valerian (252-260) saw that the Decian policy was defeating itself; for there were too many kindly and self-interested pagans to allow their harmless neighbors to be murdered on such a scale. He decreed that pastors and teachers should be removed, and their flocks prevented from holding meetings of every kind. But his edicts of banishment, confiscation, and death brought no real victories to paganism. Pastors were often too much beloved, even by the heathen, to be slain in cold blood. Many who were driven away were followed by their flocks, and they found Christ and his Church in the wilderness. Some carried the Gospel where it had never yet gone. Among the eminent martyrs were Cyprian, already named, Sixtus of Rome, and his deacon, St. Lawrence, whom legend associates with the gridiron on which he was roasted to death. The story is that, when he was asked by the gold-hunting magistrates for the treasures of the Church, he pointed to the sick and the poor as her jewels.

In the year 254 there might have been seen, at Tyre, a little man of about seventy, worn, weary, bent under a load of censures, broken by study and tortures, thinking of the storm and of Christ who would still it, and saying, "A stranger in a world that hates us, we commit ourselves to him who overcame it, and told us to be of good cheer." There he died, and on

the tomb that long stood over his grave was his name, Origen. And men came to think that he was the wonder of his age in scholarship, and the most genial of the early fathers.*

When Origen was entering upon his vast labors in Biblical science, he formed a most timely friendship. A rich Alexandrian came to him, told him how he had been lured into Gnosticism, and how his conscience would give him no rest. The wanderer was restored to the fold. In gratitude he offered his home to the scholar and his fortune to the cause. He supplied him with seven secretaries, besides a goodly number of copyists. We may forget how rapidly books could be made in those days. Origen says of this generous helper: "The pious Ambrose, who has devoted himself to God, thinking that I loved work, has convinced me by his zeal and love for the Sacred Scriptures. . . . We never cease comparing texts; we discuss them at meals; at once we return to our studies, and diligently correct manuscripts." Here was something like a Christian monastery, a foreshadowing of Port Royal. The death of Ambrose left him in poverty, and still he toiled on. Origen was "the creator of a scientific exegesis" and a Biblical criticism. Despite his allegorical method, and his search for hidden meanings, he tried to bring out the true sense, and was the first who had the idea of a real commentary on the Bible. He formed the Hexapla, a polyglot in six columns, containing the original text in Hebrew and Greek characters, with four Greek versions of the Septuagint. To this work, now almost all lost, he devoted twenty-eight years. The canon of the New Testament was so well settled that he names nearly all the books which we acknowledge as inspired.† The several ancient versions prove that the early Church gave the Bible to the people in their own languages.

* Among his pupils were such eminent bishops as Heraclas and Dionysius of Alexandria, Methodius of Tyre, and Firmilian of Neo-Cæsarea; also Gregory, the wonder-worker in Pontus; Pamphilus, the famous scholar of Cæsarea; and Julius Africanus, one of the earliest chronographers. Beryllus, Bishop of Bostra, who denied that there were three persons in the Godhead, was convinced of his error by Origen. The great teacher has been called the Schleiermacher of the Greek Church, guiding heretics and rationalists to the Christian faith. Both these men have had followers who carried their erroneous opinions to an extreme.

† The earliest complete lists, preserved, of the Books of the New Testament were given by Athanasius and Jerome (325-420), but all the books had been acknowledged as canonical before the year 180.

At length Christianity was declared to be a *religio licita* by the Emperor Gallienus (260–268), when he saw that his father had prospered so long as he favored its adherents. For the first time it was blessed with an edict of toleration. It was a lawful religion. The Church was a lawful society. A long rest from persecution was begun. The only emperor who ventured to break this peace of forty years was Aurelian (270–275), but he was assassinated before his edict produced much effect. In 275 the Emperor Tacitus revoked it. For many years foreign wars diverted the attention of rulers from the Church.

While the empire sat still, washing the blood off her weary hands, the Church was threatened with an invasion of heresies. The most serious of them had reference to Christ and the Trinity.* Their projectors are usually called Monarchians. It is sufficient to arrange them in two classes, and name the chief advocates from the leading principle in the theories by which they sought to maintain the divine unity (*monarchia*):

I. The Dynamists, who held that the Logos in Jesus was a force, or power, as reason is in us. This power was not a person; not the personal and eternal Son of God. Their text was, "Christ the power of God." But he was only a divinely endowed man. They were little more than humanitarians. The Alogi (170) denied the personality of the Logos. Theodotus (195), a learned tanner, lapsed under persecution, and when charged with having denied the Lord said, "I denied not God, but man." Artemon (202) gave his name to many of these heretics. Paul of Samosata stands in the transition from this class to the next. He was Bishop of Antioch (260), and also held a civil office. This rich, pompous man, who put his doctrines into song, and wished the people to applaud loudly his sermons, maintained that the spirit of the Father had descended upon Jesus, dwelt within him (but without any personal union), and empowered him to work miracles and instruct

* The word *triad* was used as early as the year 180, by Theophilus of Antioch, and *trinitas* by Tertullian, to describe the three persons of the Trinity. It was no new doctrine. By that time, probably, the catechumen entered into Church membership, confessing his faith in "God the Father Almighty, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost." Out of such a form, doubtless, grew the so-called Apostles' Creed. Doctrines are usually believed for a long time before they are formulated by the Church. See Note II.

mankind; and that in this sense he is called the Son of God.* Ancient writers have accused this heretical bishop of framing his doctrine to please Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, who then had possession of Antioch, and favored Judaism. The council which deposed him (269) began by addressing to him a letter affirming the essential divinity of Christ; his eternal pre-existence; his creation of the world; his relation to God as a son, not as a creature; and his miraculous incarnation.

2. The Modalists, who asserted that God was one person, yet he had manifested himself in a trinity of successive modes. In one mode, or phase, or stage of evolution he was the Father; in another, the Son; in a third, the Holy Spirit. Praxeas (200) was charged with saying that with Jesus *pater natus*, *pater passus*—the Father was born, the Father suffered; hence the name of the sect, Patripassians. Hippolytus asserts that with this doctrine Noetus of Smyrna insnared Callistus, Bishop of Rome (220); hence the Callistians. Before this bishop was deposed he won to his views the most famous of the Modalists, Sabellius, who became a presbyter in Egypt. There he clothed his doctrine in new terms. It seemed profound. The Patripassians held that the Father personally assumed the human nature of Jesus. Sabellius (260) asserted that as light and heat emanate from the sun, so two powers or energies proceed from the Divine Essence, and these are the Logos and the Holy Ghost. They are virtually God manifesting himself by evolving or extending his essence. Sabellius was excommunicated by a council at Alexandria. His doctrine was meant to explain, not to deny, the true divinity of our Lord.†

One man was eminent in his efforts to heal divisions and refute heresies. A learned rhetorician, craving for something better than pagan philosophy, had a book given him by a poor woman. He found it to be the Epistles of St. Paul. He studied it, attended the school of Origen, whom he succeeded as a teacher, became Bishop of Alexandria (248–264), and is known as Dionysius the Great. In mind, wide research, and simplicity of life, he was like Origen. In experience, episcopal ability, moderation, perils, banishments, generosity, and charity, he was like Cyprian. The influence of his self-denial and ami-

* Compare the doctrine of the modern Socinians.

† Compare the Christology of Swedenborg and Schleiermacher.

ability was widely felt. He was scarcely less earnest for the true nature of Christ (after an error was renounced) than for the spirituality of his kingdom. Since the time of Papias, who claimed to have been a disciple of the Apostle John, there had been a growing hope that the Lord would soon return to the earth, deliver his persecuted Church, and establish a Millennial reign of glory. The Montanists had zealously proclaimed it. Sounder men, such as Justin Martyr and Irenæus, had used language which seemed to favor the doctrine. But the Millenarians had become gross and sensual in their ideas and hopes. Origen had been the most vigorous opponent of them. In Egypt a strong body of them had their learned bishop, Nepos, a writer of hymns. Dionysius replied to his book, went to Arsinoe, debated three days with his successor, Coracion, won him from his earthly notions, taught the people that Christ's kingdom was spiritual, and came away with the hearty thanks of the leaders of the converted Millenarian party. In his letter to Stephen of Rome he says: "Know that all the Churches in the East, and those beyond, which have been separated, are now returned to unity. Their presidents think one and the same thing, and greatly rejoice in the surprising return of peace and love."

NOTES.

I. *The continuance of miracles.* Three views have been held: (1) That the power of working miracles still exists in the true Church; this is the opinion of Romanists. (2) That this power ceased at the death of the apostles. (3) That it gradually died away after the time of the apostles. This last opinion was generally held by Protestants until 1748, when Dr. Conyers Middleton published his "Free Inquiry," and it still has supporters. The second view seems now to be more prevalent among Protestants.

II. *The key to many errors in the ancient Church is the signification given to the term Logos.* It had these meanings, simply stated: (1) "World-soul," or universal reason; a pantheistic idea. (2) A God-given power, impersonal, and especially bestowed upon Jesus Christ; so held by the Dynamists. (3) An emanation from God, or Æon, personal, but not eternal; so many of the Gnostics taught. (4) The Son of God, begotten of him before all ages, but not eternal; Arianism. (5) A manifestation, development, or evolution of God, the Son being virtually identical with the Father; so the Patripassians and Sabellians held. (6) The Son of God, personal, eternal, consubstantial with the Father; the catholic doctrine.

CHAPTER IV.

PAGANISM DETHRONED.

284-325.

THE empire was a house divided against itself, and exposed to the pillage of the Germanic tribes. The senate was losing its power. The army created emperors with a shout, and a traitor's sword removed them. In 284 the freedman, Diocletian, was elected by the soldiers. He had most of the pagan virtues. He had no culture or philosophy to fill him with zeal for the heathen gods. If he had not been pressed by vicious associates he might never have left his name upon a persecution which was intended to strike the Church out of existence. He gradually framed a new polity.* He and the savage Galerius, to whom he gave his daughter Valeria, ruled the East. Their new capital was Nicomedia. The barbarous Maximian ruled the West, along with Constantius Chlorus, one of the most humane of his generals, and the only one of the four rulers who had in his veins the blood of the Roman nobility. Their headquarters were at Milan.

Galerius is the man who comes to the front in our history. His mother had reared her shepherd-boy in the rank heathenism of an Illyrian village. At the court of Diocletian she was vexed to find Christians, his wife and daughter being counted among them. The church on the hill at Nicomedia was her abhorrence. She was provoked because her own altar did not draw a crowd. She was sorry that Hierocles, the new Celsus, could not report a general decline of Christianity. The philosophers and priests were not hopeful of their cause. Their rallying cries did not fill the temples. Paganism was dying.

There was a reason. The Church, during the long rest from violence, was growing morally stronger than the empire.

* Diocletian and Maximian were the *Augusti*; Galerius and Constantius, the *Cæsars*.

We have no census of her members; but it would not tell her entire strength, for she had entered thousands of non-professors on her list of friends. Gibbon thought that the Christians in the empire, shortly before 311, did not amount to "more than a twentieth part" of the population; other writers put them at a twelfth, tenth, or even a fifth. In the East they may have formed "the majority of the middle classes of Greek society." Their next strongest hold was in North Africa and Southern Europe. In Rome there were about forty Churches, with perhaps fifty or sixty thousand adherents, reckoned as a twentieth of the inhabitants. There were other cities more Christian. If one-twelfth of the people attended the Churches, there was hardly another twelfth willing to slay them. The day for mobs to assault them voluntarily was nearly past. Magistrates must be ordered to arrest them; for their religion was legalized. Their congregations, or communities, might assume to act as little republics if they were assailed.* Diocletian may have feared these self-governed corporations more than Trajan feared the guilds. For the members no longer met in secret. They walked abroad in no disguise. They were respectable and respected. They were found in all ranks of life. They worshiped in the broad light of day. They had built numberless houses of worship, many of them as splendid as the heathen temples, and crowded every Sabbath.

But in the success of the Church was its source of spiritual danger. A worldly spirit was tempting it. Presbyters had grown into prelates, and these high bishops were not all free from the love of wealth and power. Idle ceremonies and false ideas had been thrown about the sacraments,† such as the sign of the cross and exorcism in baptism; the notion that it secured the remission of sins; and that certain sins committed after baptism were unpardonable, and hence a delay of the rite; a desire to receive baptism in some heroic mode; various forms in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and infants permitted to receive it, for it was considered to be essential to sal-

* "There was not a town, hardly a village, in the empire—nay, what was, indeed, far more serious, there was not a legion—in which these organizations did not exist." (Draper.) This could hardly be the fact in the remoter provinces, or we should have more certain evidences of a strong Church among the Romans in Britain, and of the Britons while under their sway.

† Note III.

vation. There was too much fondness for the relics of martyrs, and too high praise of celibacy, fasting, and monastic life. Yet we may easily find examples of true devotion, piety, and beneficence. The Church took care of her poor. To their support many a rich convert gave large wealth. Some pastors imitated Origen in circulating copies of the Bible, as did Pamphilus, of Cæsarea, whose large library was famous. The pen was the press of the time. Valens, a gray-haired deacon of Jerusalem, is said to have been a living concordance of Scripture. Was it too much to hope that Diocletian might be converted? He loved the fine arts; he collected books. His librarian, Lucian, was thus advised by the good Theonas, of Alexandria, "Let no day pass without reading a portion of Holy Writ. Nothing else so nourishes the heart and enriches the mind. Be careful not to show a contempt for the pagan literature, in which the emperor takes delight. Praise whatever you find good in it. Only let drop a word, occasionally, in praise of the Holy Scriptures. He may mention Christ, or give you opportunity to speak of him; then show that he is the Son of God."

This success of the Church was an offense to the pagan party. Something must be done. It wanted a leader, and found him in Galerius. He began about 292, by ordering his generals to force Christians into the army, and compelling them to adore the image of the emperor, and acknowledge the sacrifice to the gods; the one act was blasphemy, the other idolatry. A young Numidian sublimely refused, and was slain. At Tangiers, when the legion was honoring Cæsar in pagan fashion, the centurion, Marcellus, rose from the camp-table, flung down the belt, vine-branch, and sword; saying, "From this moment I cease to serve as a soldier; I despise the worship of your gods." He was executed.* These were signs of the storm, but the Churches were not yet assailed.

The breath of Galerius ate like rust upon the finer qualities of the emperor. Hierocles and the priests grew bolder. They managed Apollo, whose voice was heard from the depths of a cave, saying, "that his oracles had failed of late because of the

* The story of the Theban Legion, slaughtered at St. Maurice, in Switzerland, dates about 296-300. The legend may be the outgrowth of a fact which showed that the Cæsar could not employ the army in the work of persecution.

just on earth." They could interpret the riddle, for they had contrived it. Apollo spoke in irony; he meant by the just the Christians who made a religion of righteousness. Thus these men worked upon the imperial mind. They were glad to hear Diocletian say, "No new religion is to censure the old. It is a crime to overthrow what our ancestors have settled, and which is the law of the state." By degrees he yielded. In the year 303, at a council in the palace, at Nicomedia, a plot was formed. Early on a February morning, the day of a heathen festival, the fine church on the hill was assaulted by officers, who broke down the doors, pillaged it, and sought in vain for an image of Christ. They burnt copies of the Bible, and with ax and grappling-hook leveled the building to the ground.

The next morning the people found posted on the public square an edict requiring similar acts every-where. A man, whom the Greek Church canonizes as John, tore it down, and fastened up the sarcastic words, "Victories of the emperors over the Goths and Sarmatians!"* He avowed his glorious crime, and died like a hero in the fire, a martyr to something better than his rashness. The palace was twice fired, and in vain did Galerius accuse the Christians, for this new Nero was suspected of kindling the flames in order to rouse still higher the wrath of Diocletian. Thus the work of blood and flame was begun. It was to go on for eight years. Edict after edict went into all the provinces. The Christians at the court were forced to recant, be banished, or die; but poor Lactantius escaped to tell the story in his "Death of Persecutors," and to write his "Institutes of Religion."

Eusebius, of Cæsarea, saw Palestine a land of mourning, and honored many a noble martyr in his History. Generals, who ought to have been driving back the Goths, were slaughtering the best men in their own legions. Magistrates were growing rich upon confiscated property, while their hirelings were torturing and killing their most honest and industrious neighbors. The mobs, acting under orders, were pulling down churches with yells of delight. Troops of Christian men were driven to the mines, where labor was made as painful as in the galleys of Huguenot times. Racks and wheels were in demand. In Africa it seemed as if the lions and leopards were

* Enemies whom the emperors ought to have been resisting.

surfeited with the blood of saints. Women sometimes took their own lives rather than be outraged by brutal officers. Bishops and presbyters were crowded into prisons along with thieves and murderers; or, if the dungeons were too full, the vilest criminals were set free, and the clergy burnt in order to make room for delicate women and sensitive maidens, who were reserved for infamies untold. Thus went on the work, in woeful monotony, from the Rhine to the Euphrates.

But the masterpiece of heathen policy was the order to seek and burn all copies of the Word of God. Hitherto the enemy had been lopping off the branches of the tree whose leaves were for the healing of the nations; now the blow was aimed at the root. It had once been the policy of Antiochus Epiphanes, when he madly sought to destroy the Jewish Scriptures. It was both wise and wicked. It had but one defect, it could not be carried into complete execution. The sacred treasure was in too many hands, and too many of its guardians were brave and prudent, to make extermination possible. An African bishop said, "Here is my body, take it, burn it; but I will not deliver up the Word of God." A deacon said, "Never, sir, never! Had I children I would sooner deliver them to you than the Divine Word." He and his wife were burnt together. Some gave up heretical books, and the easy magistrates were satisfied. Many kindly governors were content to receive any writings which would appease the law.* The writings of Hierocles and his friend Porphyry have perished by simple neglect, while the Book against which they wrote and raged is read in millions of homes. "There is a Providence." The Christians, who delivered up copies of the Bible were afterwards branded as apostates, and called *Traditors*. Questions about them gave rise to the Donatists, who claimed to be the true lineage of the faithful.†

* At Cirta, in Numidia, the Christians saw their church pulled down, and they met for worship in a private house, rejoicing that the Bible was left them. The readers had taken it away. On demand they surrendered the sacred vessels, a curious inventory, showing their wealth, and, perhaps, their fashion; "two chalices of gold and six of silver, six silver flagons, one little caldron, seven golden lamps, two large candlesticks, seven small candlesticks of copper, eleven copper lamps, with chains," besides numerous garments for the poor. Five copies of their Bible were sought out and burnt.

† Note I.

This should be called the Galerian Persecution. In its second year Diocletian, sick, perhaps deranged in mind, abdicated the throne, retired to his villa at Salona, boasted of his fine garden, and left Galerius the master of the East. This madman seemed both to rule and ruin. The state suffered with the Church. So impoverished were the people that it was said that none remained to be taxed but the beggars. The trials of the Christians were almost lost in the general woes of mankind. The tyrant boasted that the very name of the Christians was abolished, and yet he was compelled to admit his total failure, and entreat them to pray for him. They were ready to do it, when they saw him dying of a loathsome disease, and heard the wail of his remorse. He would issue an edict declaring Christianity a lawful religion. To it must be subscribed one name, whose sound might startle him—Constantine! Did he not remember that, while he was using every available power to crush the Church, he had let slip the prisoner who might secure her deliverance?

Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus and Helena, the daughter of an innkeeper, was born at Naissa, in Dacia, about 272. When his father became ruler over Gaul, Spain, and Britain, he must marry the daughter of Maximian, be divorced from Helena, and leave his son as a hostage at Nicomedia. Constantine was there educated. He distinguished himself as a soldier until withdrawn from the field by the tyrant who dared not trust him with liberty. Galerius had seen how Constantius, the co-emperor, had almost ignored the cruel edicts, and they were almost a nullity in Britain, Gaul, and Spain.* He had treated the son of that Cæsar as a prisoner rather than as a hostage, and had exposed his mother to violence on account of her favor to Christianity, if not her faith in Christ. He could not forget how Constantine had escaped by night, taken the best roads, used the relays of horses, hamstrung those he left at the stations, and speeding across Europe had joined his father on the English Channel, fought the Picts in Britain, buried Constantius at York, and there been proclaimed emperor of the West by the army. From that

* “Constantius permitted churches to be pulled down lest he should appear to dissent from the edicts, but he preserved unhurt the true temple of God, which is the human body.” (Lactantius.)

time, in 306, Constantine had been gaining power, and working his way southward, as the conqueror of rivals who claimed to be emperors. About his headquarters at Treves, he was gathering a force of ninety-eight thousand soldiers, and preparing to march and deliver Rome from the usurper, Maxentius, a young wretch who was scourging the Church, while a Christian Lucretia plunged the dagger into her own heart to escape his brutality. It was time for tyrants to think of other work than that of destroying the most loyal men in the empire simply because they had learned their obedience in the school of Christ, for Constantine was coming. He was the man whose name went upon the edict of liberty in 311, along with those of Galerius and Licinius.

A few more years, with their victories and local persecutions, and a Christian emperor would sit upon that throne, which for nearly three centuries had held the Church under the ban. There were no less than six self-styled Cæsars in the field. Maximin asserted himself as the ruler of Asia, and the champion of paganism. A scheme was devised to revive reform, and dignify the old heathen worship. Priests of decent character were appointed as the bishops of heathenism. The gods were adorned with new attributes borrowed from Christianity. The aim was to construct a pagan Church. A fraud, entitled the "Acts of Pilate," and filled with blasphemies against Christ, was taught in the schools and widely circulated in Asia Minor. The vilest women were employed to assert that Christians were partakers in their sins. But the Lord called forth the virtues of his people. The rains ceased. Famine came, then pestilence. Again, the Christians seemed to forget their woes. They risked their lives in ministering to the sick, the starving, the forsaken, the dying, and in burying the neglected dead. Thus with heroism and charity they took their kind revenge upon their persecutors. The pagan Church was a failure. Even Maximin would yet relent under the terrors of the Almighty, and assert that nearly all Syrians had become Christians, against whom it was useless to employ craft, slander, sword, and fire.

Constantine led his army into Italy. He afterwards said (if we credit Eusebius) that he had a dream, and in a vision he saw the Christian cross, and on it the words, "By this con-

quer." He may have had a dream on the eve of a great battle, which he thought might decide the conflict between Christianity and paganism, and afterwards magnified it into a miracle. About that time he devised or adopted the Labarum as the military standard. It was adorned with a cross, a crown, and a monogram of the name of Christ. He won the great battle at the Milvian Bridge (312), near Rome, saw Maxentius go down in the Tiber, and entered the capital in triumph. Forthwith was issued an edict of toleration to all religions; property taken from the Christians must be restored.

The jealous Licinius, who attempted to rally the pagans, and began a persecution, was utterly defeated at Adrianople; and Constantine, in the year 324, was sole ruler of the empire. Thenceforth he aimed to establish Christianity as the triumphant faith in the Roman world. The revolution is without a parallel. Its suddenness proves that the Church had won a moral position from which she could not be driven. She had not put forward any military leader, nor raised an army, nor thought of victories by war. Constantine had voluntarily taken her cause in hand, when he might have used the cross as a mere staff in clambering up to power. He may have foreseen the impossibility of repressing Christianity and the certain decay of paganism, and resolved to take the winning side. If his father or mother was a Christian, filial regard may have prompted him to avow the true faith.

We take Constantine as we find him—not a perfect, but the providential, man for the crisis. His motives and character are still before the bar of history. It is easy to point out serious defects, if not crimes. He held the office of Pontifex Maximus—high-priest of paganism—all his life, and yet assumed to be a father to the Church. He took part in heathen ceremonies. He put to death some of his relatives, his repudiated wife, Fausta, and his son, Crispus, among them, on charges of treason. He was not a member of the Church until he came to die. Nevertheless, his coins and statues represented him holding the cross or in prayer. He studied the Holy Scriptures. He was a constant attendant upon the Church services. He composed and delivered religious addresses. Eusebius reports one of his sermons. He chose bishops as his associates. On his journeys he carried a movable chapel. In

nothing else did he manifest so much interest as in the peace and progress of the Christian Church. In these he saw the prosperity and grandeur of the empire. The Christians were not in the majority. If they were only about one-twentieth of the whole population, he had a singular fondness for the minority. His own tolerant example must have been followed by large numbers of pagans. "The first Christian emperor, the first defender of the faith," was a man "not to be imitated or admired, but much to be remembered and deeply to be studied." Many evils came with his patronage of the Church and her own sudden elevation. Bishops assumed too high powers, and members grew too secular in their spirit. Pagan rites may have intruded into Christian ordinances. But the blame of all this does not rest upon him alone. The good results of his brilliant reign are not to be ignored. The Greek Church honors him as "the equal of the apostles." The western world, more wisely, has named him "the Great," and still cherishes a "just and grateful remembrance of his services to the cause of Christianity and civilization."

The edicts of Constantine from 312 to 325 show an ecclesiastical spirit. They refer largely to the building and repair of churches, and liberal gifts to them; the restoration of property to Christians, who must be equally just to the pagans; mutual toleration of religions; the settlement of religious disputes; the calling of local councils;* the exemption of the clergy from civil offices and taxes; the burning of Jews who should assail Christians; the emancipation of slaves; the general observance of Sunday (*solis dies*); restoration of property to the heirs of martyrs; careful provision for the poor; the release of Christians from the mines; the forbidding of images—even his own statue must not be set up in the temples; severe penalties upon heathen diviners and priests who should perform sacrifices in private houses, and practice magic; and the earnest advice that all his subjects adopt Christianity. He first sought to reform all abuses, rather than repress paganism or heresies. The priests must keep good order in their heathen worship. He "respected the temples in general; but he shut up and unroofed some which were almost deserted, turned others into

* Note I.

churches, and destroyed those which had been the scenes of immoral rites or of pretended miracles."

The change of the capital marks a triumph. Rome was the great city of paganism, the residence of stubborn senators, the home of a proud aristocracy, the center of old ideas and politics. Diocletian had forsaken it. Constantine had no love for it, especially after the executions of his wife and son, when the public abhorrence was shot upon his palace gate in a placard which compared him to Nero. To massacre the insulting people was a less revenge than to degrade their city by taking away the throne. The Christian reverence for Rome, as seen in Charlemagne, had not yet been acquired. Nor did Constantine wish to reside at Nicomedia, the recent seat of intolerance. He may have been moved both by wrath and by wisdom. The Roman senate and nobility were unconverted. Their advice was not wanted by one who would centralize the government in himself. With a new emperor, a new policy, a new code, a new religion, there must be a new metropolis, a new and Christian Rome. At the old Byzantium, one of the grandest sites for commerce and power, rose Constantinople, destined to be the capital of the eastern part of the empire for more than eleven hundred years, and a notable center of history to our own times. Her chief dates indicate epochs and great changes in civilization. Her rise brought the East and the West into rivalry, and contributed to the final division of the empire and the schism of the Greek and Latin Churches. But the first stage of the rivalry shows a strife, not merely of cities, but of religious systems. "In the Old Rome paganism died out very slowly; the New Rome was a Christian city from the beginning." Within the new walls were no temples nor altars to the gods. In every quarter churches were built and crosses raised. The palace was decorated with Christian art. The gladiatorial shows were forbidden for many years. The very statues of the gods looked as if they had been conquered and placed on the streets as trophies of victory over their religion.

Thus Christianity had a throne, a city, a capital; the freedom of an empire, the patronage of an emperor. Beneath all that was external there was a moral strength in the Church. How had she gained it? By the three ministries with which she began. But the spiritual operation of these ministries was

already affected by certain developments of doctrine, polity, and secularity: that of Christ, by the controversies which had begun concerning his person, so that his nature, rather than his gracious working, became the absorbing theme; that of the Spirit, by attributing a saving virtue to sacraments and rites, as if his renewing work depended on them; that of men, by theories which unduly elevated their office, changing the preacher into a ritualistic priest, and the pastor into an ambitious prelate.

We shall not assert that, in themselves, the long persecutions were a benefit and the imperial favors were an injury to the Church. Under the one she lacked privilege, under the other grace to improve it. We shall find that "Christianity did not avert the ruin of the empire, because, when pure, it had but little influence outside its esoteric believers, while society was rotten to the core, and was rapidly approaching a natural dissolution. When it was dominant it failed, because it was itself corrupted, and the ruin had begun. . . . When it became the religion of the court and of the fashionable classes, it was used to support the very evils against which it originally protested, and which it was designed to remove."

NOTES.

I. *The Donatists.* In 311 Cecilian was elected Bishop of Carthage. Charges were made that he had been unkind to persecuted Christians, and that Felix, who assisted in ordaining him was a traditor. Seventy bishops, or pastors, formed an opposing party, and elected Majorinus as their bishop. Both parties appealed to Constantine. He summoned a council at Rome, and another at Arles, in 314, and they decided in favor of Cecilian. Donatus, an African bishop (there were two of that name), and his party adhered to Majorinus; hence the Donatist schism. They were not heretics, and, like the Novatians, they claimed to be the true, pure, heroic Church. They excommunicated all others. They rebaptized all proselytes, and reordained all preachers coming from the Catholic side. With all their boasting, some of their leaders are accused of having been traditors. In 330 they had nearly four hundred bishops, and were the strong party in North Africa. Many of their principles were right, and among them were many excellent men. But they were disgraced by the *Circumcelliones*, the nominal converts from the Punic peasants, who begged around the cells or hovels of the poor people, and grew more and more immoral, until they became the burglars and brigands of the country.

II. *The Meletians* were led into schism by Meletius, a bishop in Egypt, deposed on a charge of having lapsed under persecution. He ordained bishops, or pastors, of whom there were thirty in the sect in 325. They aided Arius in his heresy. In 361 another Meletius, at Antioch, proved too orthodox for the Arians, and gave his name to a local schism.

III. *Rites and Usages.* Irenæus speaks of baptism as "a power of regeneration unto God," and says, "Christ came to save all who are through him regenerated unto God,—infants and little ones, etc." Tertullian opposed infant baptism. Origen wrote, "The Church had from the apostles the tradition [injunction] to give baptism to young children." "According to the usage of the Church it (baptism) is likewise given to little children." So Basil, Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Pelagius, several councils, and other witnesses.

The sign of the cross, used about 150 as a seal to baptism, came to be one of the earliest superstitions. To it was ascribed a magical, talismanic power. It was made when performing common acts, such as putting on a coat or lighting a lamp. It became a public rite connected with all religious services. Infant communion in 240. The clergy assumed a distinctive dress in 300; the Council of Elvira, in 305, forbade images in churches, enjoined Sabbatic fasts, made rules for keeping vigils and festivals.—Altars in churches.—Friday a religious day.—Christian emblems, as the fish, dove, anchor, cup, wheat-sheaf.—Tendencies to a secret discipline (*disciplina arcana*), by which the higher doctrines and the sacraments were regarded as mysteries to be kept from unbelievers, and made known only to the initiated; this arose from persecution, the fear of betrayal, and sacred reverence.—Family worship from apostolic times.—Responses given by the people in the Church services.—The public Reader of the Scriptures was an officer in the Church.—Deaconesses ordained until the fifth century.—Deacons became an order of clergy.—Preachers often applauded in Church by shouts and clapping of hands.—Many sermons of the Fathers were written, not by themselves, but by stenographers.

PERIOD II.

FROM THE COUNCIL OF NICE TO THAT OF CHALCEDON.

A. D. 325—451.

THE EMPIRE BECOMES NOMINALLY CHRISTIAN, AND DESTROYS PAGANISM—THE CHURCH FORMULATES HER CREED IN COUNCILS, AND DEFENDS IT AGAINST HERESIES—THEOLOGIAN FREELY DEVELOP THEOLOGY IN CONTROVERSIES—THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE CHURCH SETTLED, AND HER THOUGHT TURNED TO ANTHROPOLOGY—PRELACY ADVANCED TO THE PATRIARCHAL SYSTEM.

CHAPTER V.

THE NICENE AGE.

325—380.

I. THE RISE OF ARIANISM.

ALEXANDER, the gentle Bishop of Alexandria, kept an eye upon the various theories of men who claimed to be the advanced thinkers of the day. There were plenty of them around him. He preached to his presbyters on the Trinity, strongly insisting that the Son was the equal of the Father in eminence and in essence. He asserted, or implied, the eternal generation of the Son. A simple sermon threw the world into agitation, for Arius heard him.

Arius, probably a Libyan, had become a deacon, joined Meletius in his schism, and been excommunicated. Bishop Peter had forgiven him, ordained him a presbyter, and in 313 assigned him one of the nine churches in Alexandria. He is described as tall, austere, learned, eloquent, fascinating, but proud, artful, restless, and fond of disputes. He accused Alexander of tending to Sabellianism in asserting that the

Father and the Son were of the same essence and eternity.* But he did not arraign the bishop for heresy. He began his own error by perverting the words "Son" and "begotten" to a literal sense. He would not admit the phrase, "the eternal generation of the Son." He argued that "if the Father begat the Son, the Son had a beginning of existence;" hence there was a time when "the Son was not." That time was before all worlds, and the Son was the Creator of them all, but yet he was a creation of God. He was made from "what once was not," or from nothing, and yet is to be worshiped as the first-born son of God. In this doctrine was involved an error, held for a time by Lucian, of Antioch, that Jesus had not a human spirit,† the Logos taking its place. In this view he had not a complete human nature.

Arius was zealous. The officers of his Church, the merchants, and the elegant ladies spread his doctrines. A strong party gathered about him. Conferences were held with him in vain. Alexander warned the clergy against the heresy. At length, in 321, a council of one hundred bishops deposed him, and excommunicated him and nine of his supporters. He went to Palestine. His artful letters brought him the sympathy of many eminent bishops. Eusebius of Cæsarea advised him to be moderate. Those who had followed Lucian in his errors but not in his recantation, encouraged him to push his cause. At Nicomedia he found a foremost helper in his "fellow-Lucianist," Eusebius, a bishop who had the talents which win influence at courts. He had learning and knew how to make it appear large. He was eloquent, ambitious, and his "conscience never stood in the way of preferment. He was one whom no man cared to offend; and they who did were sure, sooner or later, to rue his anger. He never forgot, and he never forgave." He became the leader of the party.

* We should remember that the definite ideas now attached by Trinitarians to the words *essence* and *person*, *ousia*, *substantia* and *hypostasis*, were not then clearly apprehended. They were part of the results of a long controversy. A council had rejected the term *homoousios*, as indicating Sabellianism.

† This was afterwards the specific heresy of Apollinaris (whom see). Arius did not assert it distinctly, being engaged mainly with the Son's relation to the Father, and not to man. The Greeks held that in the nature of man were three elements, a body (*soma*), a soul (*psyche*), and a spirit (*pneuma*). The Latins attribute only a body and a soul to man.

The success of Arius was startling. He seemed to be carrying nearly the whole of Egypt and Asia Minor. The infant heresy sprang at once into a giant. He sent out his book of songs for travelers, soldiers, sailors, and millers. The theaters began to ridicule theology. In markets, bakeries, and shoe-shops were disputes upon the most profound themes. One tried to show how Christ was the same in substance (*homoousios*) with the Father: another said he was simply like the Father (*homoiousios*). A satirist might say that the words differed only in an iota. But "the difference between *homoousion* and *homoiousion* convulsed the world, for the simple reason that, in that difference lay the whole question of the real truth or falsehood of our Lord's actual divinity." Arianism struck at the very heart of that faith which the Church had maintained from her infancy. It would take away the source of her life. "It could not but divide families, cities, nations, continents," and enter into political history.

Constantine had just united the empire. He was grieved to see the Church divided. He assumed that his mission was to bring unity into the world. In his first effort to calm the storm he wrote a letter to Alexander and Arius. He ignored the real point at issue. It was, he thought, a mere question of words and nice distinctions. "Restore to me my quiet days and calm nights. Give me joy instead of tears. How can I have a peaceful mind so long as the people of God, whose fellow-servant I am, are thus divided by an unreasonable and pernicious spirit of contention?" But this plea was in vain.

II. THE COUNCIL OF NICE.

Constantine then summoned the famous Council of Nice, not far east of the new capital. Never before had a council aimed to be œcumenical, imperial, a representative of the whole empire. He planned every thing in grand style. The public postal arrangements, the carriages and relays of horses, were at the service of the bishops, and they might draw on the imperial treasury for all expenses. Some preferred to walk all the way. In June, 325, the town was crowded with strangers, and among them were the members of the council, probably, three hundred and eighteen. Very few of them were from the West. Some of them wished the emperor to settle their private dis-

putes. He burnt their papers, and advised them to be good brothers.

There were three parties represented: 1. The Arian, in which were Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nice. Arius himself did not come forward prominently. 2. The orthodox, in which were Eustathius of Antioch and Hosius of Cordova, in Spain, the right-hand man of the emperor; Alexander of Alexandria, and his young deacon, Athanasius, theological genius of the council, who had no vote in it, but a mighty voice afterwards in defense of its creed. 3. The middle party, which claimed the emperor, and Eusebius of Cæsarea, "the father of Church history."* They met in a hall of the palace. The emperor entered in his robe of purple, attended by a few unarmed Christians. The assembly rose; he blushed, walked modestly up the aisle, and stood before the little throne until the bishops gave him the sign to be seated. He seemed as the heavenly messenger of God to such men as those genuine Copts, the monk-bishops, Potammon, and Paphnutius, who had come up from the deserts of the Nile, one-eyed and hamstrung, their every look and limp reminding their brethren of the late persecutions. There were others who "came like a regiment out of some frightful siege or battle, decimated, and mutilated by the tortures or the hardships they had undergone." One man came from a people whom Galerius could not persecute; he was Theophilus, Bishop of the Goths.

Eighteen Arians presented their creed. It was caught and torn into shreds. The cause of Arius was given up on the spot. Eusebius of Cæsarea presented one of many creeds then in use by the Churches. He says that he had learned it when a catechumen, avowed it at baptism, and taught it as a presbyter and a bishop. But as it was silent on the point in question, it was not sufficient. It, or a similar form, was grafted with the desired term (*homoousios*) and other words deemed important. The new form was:

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible: And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, the only begotten, that is, of the essence of the Father, God of God, and Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not

* Chapter VI, Note IV.

made, being of one substance (*homoousion*) with the Father; by whom all things were made in heaven and on earth; who for us men, and for our salvation, came down and was incarnate and was made man; he suffered, and the third day he rose again, ascended into heaven; from thence he cometh to judge the quick and the dead: And in the Holy Ghost."

After much discussion,* this creed was adopted "with loud acclamation," and with this disciplinary addition: "And those who say there was a time when He was not, and . . . He was made out of nothing, or out of another substance; or, the Son of God is created, or changeable, or alterable; they are condemned (anathematized) by the holy catholic and apostolic Church."

The books of Arius were burnt. He was banished; so were two Egyptian bishops, with Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nice. The last two soon subscribed to the creed, with explanations, and were recalled. The other members of "the great and holy synod" Constantine gave a farewell feast.† He was happy in the result. To him the creed may have affirmed an advance in doctrine; but it contained nothing really new to its framers.‡ Councils have usually been cautious about affirming new theology. No doubt the majority thought the creed was a decisive victory for their time. But the deci-

* The letter of Eusebius (in Socrates' Hist., I. 8) shows the difficulty in reaching "the philosophical view" of the word *homoousios*. When explained by the emperor and others to mean "not a part of the Father," "not a part of his substance," the Cæsarean bishop assented to it, and also "unhesitatingly acquiesced in the anathema." Yet his name was given to the later and large body of Eusebians, or Semi-Arians, who took probably from him the phrase, "The Son is in every respect like the Father," and thus interpreted their term *homoiousios*. What is now usually called the Nicene Creed is really the revised form of it put forth in 381 by the council at Constantinople.

† The council passed twenty canons of discipline, sought to heal schisms, and purify the Church. Easter had become the great day of the year; but many of the Greek Churches kept it on the Jewish Passover (the 14th of Nisan), which fell on the seven days of the week in succession; the Latins, on the first Sunday after the Passover day, so that it always came on Sunday. The council enjoined the Latin custom. When it was proposed to require the married clergy to live in celibacy, the one-eyed monk, Paphnutius, in an outburst of eloquent rebuke, declared the motion to be contrary to Scripture, and defeated it. Prelacy was sanctioned. See Note II.

‡ "The Nicene divines interpreted, in a new language, the belief of their first fathers in the faith. . . . They did not vote a new honor to Jesus Christ which he had not before possessed." (Liddon, Bampton Lectures.)

sive battles of history have not always closed the war. After Marathon came Xerxes to rave and be defeated. After Nice were the bitterest conflicts. The confession must be defended against a host. Its champion was Athanasius, about whose name the Nicene age revolves.

III. ATHANASIUS.

The story is that, on a martyr's day in 313, little Athanasius was playing bishop on the sea-shore at Alexandria, and baptizing a troop of boys. Alexander saw him, kindly talked with him, and won his heart. He caught a glimpse of his genius, obtained leave of his Christian parents, took him into his own house, and educated him. The student cared less than Clement for philosophy, and more for the plain historical sense of Scripture than Origen. If he thought of becoming a hermit with the aged Anthony, the Arian controversy drew him from the deserts. He went as a deacon to Nice; he returned to be surprised, the next year, when he was nominated as the successor of Alexander. It was useless to plead that he was too young (about thirty), and in vain did he hide himself. The clergy and people shouted: "Give us Athanasius, the Christian, the ascetic, the true bishop! We will have none other." In those days a layman might be elected at once to this office, and the people had a voice in the election.

We know less of Athanasius as a bishop than as "the father of orthodoxy" and an exile from his Church. Through forty-six years (326-373) he was so persistent in his cause, and so pursued by his foes, that it came to be a proverb, "Athanasius against the world, and the world against Athanasius." Arian councils made it the order of the day to depose him. Emperors made it their business to banish or befriend him. Five times was he in exile. Now he is far away at Treves, in Gaul, writing and preaching, and giving hints to men who wish to be monks; again he is up the Nile among the hermits, whose firm belief in his theology is their best virtue. Once a lady conceals him in her house at midnight from an Arian mob, and for days supplies him with books; at another time he hides for four months in his father's tomb.

He was a little man, rather a dwarf, crooked, lean, hardy,

with a fair face, keen eye, and a marvelous power over all who met him. His ready wit, boldness, mysterious way of appearing just when he was not expected, his foresight of coming events, and his strategy in baffling his enemies, led some of them to call him a magician and a wizard. With honest shrewdness he met the wiles of his adversaries. In his indignation he often applied hard names to his foes. He was not free from the faults of his age. Debaters did not then use tender words. He had two maxims: one was, that the state must not determine the faith of the Church, or prescribe the terms of communion; the other, that orthodoxy must persuade men to believe, and not force them. Hence he would not obey the dictation of a monarch, nor persecute men for their opinions. Arians and emperors first brought persecutions and war into the Church. Constantine, when disobeyed by him, called him "that proud, turbulent, obstinate, untamable bishop;" and Julian complimented him as "the odious Athanasius." No doubt he and his doctrines were odious to an emperor who did his utmost to restore paganism. He was not a bigot for mere words and formulas,* while uncompromising in the essentials of the Christian faith. The best historians of our time do not charge him with a harsh dogmatism, narrowness, and a passionate love of controversy. Gibbon, whose cold and critical pen was not lavish in praise of Churchmen, wrote with unusual admiration: "The immortal name of Athanasius will never be separated from the catholic doctrine of the Trinity, to whose defense he consecrated every moment and every faculty of his being. . . . He displayed a superiority of character and abilities which would have qualified him far better than the degenerate sons of Constantine for the government of a great monarchy." In the year of his death one of his brother bishops said, in his eulogy: "When I praise Athanasius, virtue itself is my

* "If ever there was a man who was not the slave of language, who had his eye upon ideas, truths, facts, and who made language submissively do their work, that man was the great St. Athanasius. He advocated the *homoousion* at Nicæa because he was convinced that it was the sufficient and necessary symbol and safeguard of the treasure of truth committed to the Church; but years afterwards he declined to press it upon such of the Semi-Arians as he knew to be at least sincerely loyal to the truth which it protected." (Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, 1866.)

theme. . . . He was the true pillar of the Church. His life and conduct were the rule of bishops, and his doctrine the rule of the orthodox faith."

IV. POLICY OF THE ARIANS.

The Arians were zealous. They resolved to control the Church. Their policy was to gain the emperors and use the secular power; to remove the orthodox bishops, and place their own men in the cities; to manage the councils, and to arraign the orthodox leaders on whatever charges they could find or invent. They made the end justify the means. Eusebius of Nicomedia was again at court. It was easy for him to work upon the mind of Constantia, who could not forget that her brother, the emperor, had conquered and put to death her husband, Licinius. She became a zealous agent of the Arians. They pleaded for Arius, who now professed to adopt the essentials of the Nicene Creed. Constantine recalled him in 331, and ordered Athanasius to restore him to the communion of the Church. The emperor assumed to be "bishop of bishops."

Then came the clash. Athanasius dared to disobey, rode post-haste to the capital, visited Constantine, gave his reasons, and was sustained. Thus the Arians failed in their first scheme. Then they began a series of charges against Athanasius, the worst of which was that he had murdered a Meletian bishop named Arsenius. They carried about a dried hand in a box, showed it to the emperor, and raised a great uproar. Athanasius took measures to discover whether Arsenius was really dead, and then kept silent. He let the Arians work up their case with all the skill possible. In 335 he went to the Council of Tyre. At the outset the majority of sixty bishops treated him as a criminal. In proof of the main charge the Arians brought forward the dried hand. They declared that it was that of Arsenius. A murmur of horror passed through the council.

Athanasius rose. All were silent. When he asked, "Did any of you know Arsenius?" many said they had known him well. He then brought in a man muffled in a cloak, uncovered his face, and said, "Look closely, now, and see if this is the man I murdered." The bishops were astonished; those who were ignorant of the Arian plot really believed the man was

dead; those who had hired him to conceal himself in a monastery thought he was far away. Athanasius had found him, and now drew forth the hands, saying, in cool sarcasm, "God has given this man two hands; here they are; let my enemies show how he ever had a third." Thus the defendant put his accusers on trial and convicted them. In their anger they rushed upon him so violently that he feared for his life. Other charges were as groundless. He left the council, claiming that decisions by one party alone were invalid. Yet he was deposed! He sailed to Constantinople. Meeting the emperor, who tried to ride by in silence, he grasped the bridle-rein and demanded, "Either summon a lawful council, or give me an opportunity to meet my accusers in your presence." The deposing bishops were to hear the answer.

Meanwhile, they rode down to Jerusalem to perform a nobler service. Helena, the aged mother of Constantine, had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, been baptized in Jordan, imagined that she had found the cross of our Lord, built churches on sacred sites, and returned to die in the arms of her son. Thus she had given an impetus to that series of pilgrimages out of which grew legends, superstitions, fraud in relics, and the crusades. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher was dedicated by the Council of Tyre, and the Holy Land was thought to be Arianized.

These bishops were startled by the emperor's summons for them to meet in Constantinople. Many of them, in alarm, rode home post-haste. The two named Eusebius, and other daring leaders, obeyed. They devised a new charge, that Athanasius had talked of hindering the shipment of wheat to Constantinople. This touched the emperor's interests. He probably did not believe the slander; but he cut short the defense, and, to get rid of the case, he banished Athanasius to Treves, in Gaul, where his son Constantine, the governor, kindly supplied the wants of the exile; and the bishop of the old city proved a warm friend. Christianity was there, but its record has not reached us.

The next sensation was the proposed welcome of Arius into the pale of the Church. It was to be done at Constantinople, whose bishop, Alexander, must admit him, or be deposed. The aged bishop prayed that the Lord would defeat

the scheme. On a Winter day in 337, Arius, at the age of eighty years, was paraded on horseback through the streets of the capital, by a crowd that talked in high glee of their triumph on the morrow. He was seized by pains like those of cholera, and suddenly died. Some ascribed it to poison; some to a divine judgment; others to the excessive joy of Arius in his victory. The catholics gave thanks in the churches. It is said that many Arians were converted to the Nicene faith.

"Give us back Athanasius," was the loud cry from his people at Alexandria, and from the monks of Egypt. It was repeated by the orthodox bishops and hermits of Syria. It echoed from Rome and the West. But Constantine did not heed it, except by banishing a few noisy Arians. He wanted peace, and did not understand theology. He was dying at the age of sixty-five years (337). He was baptized by the courtier Eusebius. Gibbon well says: "He still considered the Council of Nice as the bulwark of the Christian faith, and the peculiar glory of his reign." Despite the protests of Eusebius, he ordered the recall of Athanasius. His will enjoined it on his three sons, to whom he divided his empire.*

Constantius, who became sole emperor in 352, was a temperate, vain, weak prince, entirely under the control of worthless favorites, crafty women, and craftier bishops. He was zealous in suppressing paganism. Temples were pillaged, and the spoils given to the Arian Churches, or to his flatterers and greedy courtiers. In vain did Hilary and Hosius plead that the heathen should not be violently treated, but persuaded to renounce their idolatries. Paganism was roused; its reaction would come with Julian. But the zeal of Constantius was kindled against the Nicenists, when the Eusebians (Semi-Arians) took him in hand. This court party, made up of ladies, eunuchs, office-seekers, and scheming prelates, resolved themselves into a roving commission to secure edicts, pack synods, weary the post-horses, frame creeds and canons, depose bishops, and rule the whole Church. These managers turned the controversy into a political campaign. It was a novel mode of

* Constantius ruled the East for fifteen years, and then the whole empire, dying, in 361, a fanatical Arian. In the West were the two brothers, Constantine II, who was slain in 340 by Constans, and he was slain in 350 by one of his generals. They were supporters of Athanasius.

Church government—a half-converted court taking the oversight of all Christendom! The chief busybody was Constantius, who had his father's weakness for theologic fame, and displayed it by spending his time in making and unmaking forms of faith.* Aiming at unity, this faction produced a diversity which was finally ruinous to Arianism. Many creeds made more sects. With grim humor Athanasius said that the Eusebians put exact dates to their creeds, so that men might know when their faith began and when it ended.

It would require a volume to set forth the methods and successes of the Arian managers.† The emperor banished orthodox bishops, and lent his soldiers to install Arian successors. Paul was fairly elected at Constantinople, but his opponents caused an uproar. It spread from the Church to the streets, from the clergy to the crowd, from the disciples to the soldiers. War was made, blood was shed, fires were kindled, and the mob repulsed the cavalry which Constantius had ordered to prevent a riot. He was then at Antioch. Hearing of this violence so new in the Church, but often to be repeated, he rode through the snows to the capital. The senate knelt for mercy. The usual supply of corn was reduced. Paul was expelled, but Macedonius was not confirmed as bishop until a later time, when the soldiers cut their way into the church through a dense crowd, rode over hundreds of dead bodies, and secured his installation.‡ At Antioch the good Eustathius

* A better employment would have been a more vigorous war against the Persians, in the hope of relieving the Christians who appealed to him for defense. See Note IV.

† The distinction between the Arian and semi-Arian parties is of little value, historically, before 358, when we find theological lines sharply drawn. (1.) The extreme Arians were Anomœans holding that the Son was unlike (*anomoios*) the Father. They were breaking into many little sects. (2.) The semi-Arians held that the Son was like (*homoiousios*) the Father in all respects in which the Scriptures affirm a likeness. Those who honestly searched the Scriptures were tending more and more to the Nicene doctrine, but still evading the term *homoousios*, co-essential. Basil, of Ancyra, whom Athanasius thought to be essentially sound, held a synod in his city (358); it struck into a path towards orthodoxy, and won Constantius back to semi-Arianism. He proposed a general Council at Nice; the result was a double Council in 359; the eastern part at Seleucia, the western at Rimini (Ariminum), in Italy. They mark stages on the road back to orthodoxy.

‡ When Macedonius was found to be a semi-Arian, he was banished (348), at the request of Constans, who had written to his Eastern brother: "Athana-

was falsely charged with a gross crime and removed. At Rome there was a violent change, and so almost every-where. The floors of many churches were stained with blood. The orthodox cried out that the days of Nero and Decius had returned. Milman says, "Every-where the Athanasian bishops were driven into banishment. The desert was constantly resounding with the hymns of the pious and venerable exiles as they passed along, loaded with chains, to the remote and savage place of their destination, many of them bearing the scars of wounds inflicted upon them by their barbarous persecutors to enforce their compliance with the Arian doctrines." At one time nearly all the more eminent orthodox bishops were in exile. Jerome said, the world wondered and groaned to find itself Arian. One remarkable man was at his post, Didymus, the last great teacher in the Christian school of Alexandria, over which Athanasius had appointed him. In it he taught nearly sixty years, and died in 395, at a great age. Entirely blind from childhood, yet he was eminent for his knowledge of literature, mathematics, philosophy, and theology. By hearing the Holy Scriptures read in the Church, he had committed almost every verse to memory. Jerome was one of his pupils for a time. He recorded his thoughts by using engraved blocks of wood, and came near discovering the art of printing. He held some errors of Origen, but was a thorough Nicenist. He sent forth a book against the Macedonian heresy.

Meanwhile Athanasius had been received at Alexandria with lively demonstrations of joy. Magnates and merchants, laborers and servants, trains of devout women and troops of children met him at the gate with rounds of applause. They waved branches of trees, spread carpets in the way, and illuminated their houses. The clergy thought it the happiest day of their lives. But he was not long undisturbed. One night, when he and his people were keeping the Lenten vigils, a tu-

sius and Paul are here with me; reinstate them over their Churches, or I will come with an army and do it." They were restored. Paul was again banished, and one result was a tumult, in which three hundred persons were slain. He seems to have been more steadfast than his friend Hosius, of Cordova, who was forced to subscribe an Arian creed, but repented of it before death. Macedonius was restored to his chair, and cruelly treated the orthodox. His name was given to the Macedonians, who erred concerning the Holy Ghost; some holding that he was not co-essential (*homoousios*) with the Father; others denying his personality.

mult was heard. Five hundred soldiers were at the door. He began the Psalm, "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good." And the people responded, "For his mercy endureth forever." With strong voice he continued, "To him that smote Egypt in their first-born.—To him that smote great kings.—To him who hath redeemed us from our enemies,"—and the responses grew still louder, "For his mercy endureth forever." The doors were burst open; the imperial officers entered; arrows flew through the church; swords flashed in the lamplight, and a slaughter began. He escaped, none knew how nor whither. The soldiers installed George (Gregory), of Cappadocia, who had been a victualer to the army, a bankrupt and vagabond, but whom Athanasius had treated kindly as a professed convert. Bribes had won his promotion. He soon made attacks upon the Nicene Churches with soldiers, and a mob of Arians, Jews, and pagans. Houses, convents, and tombs were broken open in the search for the lawful bishop, who was safe with the hermits in the desert. The pagans offered their sacrifices. Women were outraged, and presbyters were slain. The shout arose, "Long live Constantius and the Arians who have abjured Christ." He repressed or banished some ninety bishops in his province. But George was intent upon riches. He sought a monopoly of the trade in papyrus, salt, and those painted coffins which the Egyptians admired. He would fleece the flock and flay the dead. The heathen grew enraged, a frantic mob attacked his palace. His large library was no refuge; he was dragged out and torn to pieces by the pagans. Yet the Arian legends honor him as St. George, slain by the wizard Athanasius. The Crusaders painted him on their banners as St. George, on horseback, slaying the dragon.

When Julian, the cousin of Constantius, came to the throne (361–363), the Semi-Arians lost political power. The loss carried with it their large hopes of him. Their court machinery was gone. They had trained him ever since his father and others of his kindred had been slain by imperial jealousy. They were too eager to press theology upon him and push him into clerical orders. He saw their intrigues and aims, and secretly despised them. He adroitly took lessons of Libanius, who aspired to be the philosopher of paganism. In heart he renounced Christianity at the age of twenty. But

for ten years he wore a mask ; he secretly worshiped at pagan altars, and publicly read the Scriptures in Church, or observed the Christian rites. The close student went to Gaul and surprised Europe by his brilliant generalship. The soldiers declared him their Augustus, and he was in rebellion on the eve of his cousin's death.

V. JULIAN'S NEW PAGANISM.

The new emperor surprised the Church by his open apostasy from it. Thenceforth his main effort was to revive paganism by giving it a creed more monotheistic, a philosophy more Gnostic, rites more splendid, and organization more like the Christian Church, from which he borrowed his system of charity to the heathen poor and unfortunate. To this service he gave his wonderful talents, his prolific pen, and the imperial power during the eighteen months of his reign. He tried to enlist the Jews on his side by an attempt to rebuild their temple in Jerusalem. But flames burst from the old vaults and destroyed the workmen, or drove them away in despair. The result was a new evidence of the truth of the prophetic Scriptures to which the bishop, Cyril, had pointed him. However rigid his morals and brilliant his genius, he was not clean enough for an age of growing decency. No unshorn, ragged hermit was more unshaven and unwashed than Julian, when he lived chiefly on vegetables, slept on the floor, and wore the dress of a sloven.

His first policy was to tolerate all Christian sects and parties so that they might destroy each other. Athanasius and other bishops were recalled from exile. He employed his wit and sarcasm against them, and affected a pity for the "poor, deluded Galileans, who forsook the most glorious privilege of men, the worship of the immortal gods, and trusted in dead men." To the blind Bishop Maris he tauntingly said, "Your Galilean God can not restore your eyesight." Maris replied, "I thank my God for my blindness, which spares me the painful sight of such an impious apostate as thou." The bishop was punished.

When Julian saw that his pagan Church caused no rush of people, and his writings no enthusiasm, he began to be more severe in his measures. He forbade Christians to teach

the arts, sciences, and classics. The schools were placed under heathen teachers. The pagans at Alexandria represented to him that Athanasius was the great enemy of their religion, and that he had baptized some Greek ladies of high rank. Soon came the edict, "I order Athanasius to leave the city at once. That such an intriguer should preside over the people is dangerous; he deserves not the name of a man." Troops were sent to drive him away, and if they should slay him, it would be as well. He escaped their fury. The great church was sacked and burnt. For the first and only time in her Christian history, pagan sacrifices were publicly offered in Constantinople. Julian offered them in the cathedral to the Public Genius, whose image he had there raised. His philosopher, Libanius, was trying to establish heathenism at Antioch. We shall see how the Christian women brought him to grief. Perhaps not five hundred intelligent men anywhere believed Julian's philosophy. He aimed at two very difficult things: to entice Christians into idolatry, and to rekindle the zeal of the pagans. A few graceless souls in the Church were beguiled. But he failed with the ardent faith of true Christians, and with the dead faith of the pagans. His failure made him angry. His wrath tended to persecution. There were a few martyrs in his short reign. Had he lived five years longer there must have been bitter war upon the whole Church. He was already in his Persian campaign, and in his march he took every care to restore the heathen gods. He died of a wound in battle, and possibly his dying words were, "O Galilean, thou hast conquered!" If he did any good to the Church it was in drawing hypocrites out of it, weakening the Arians by the loss of secular power, and lessening ecclesiastical strifes by uniting the parties against a common enemy. He did not create an epoch; he caused an episode, and provoked a tremendous reaction against paganism.

VI. ORTHODOXY GAINING GROUND.

The emperor Jovian (363-4) reigned but eight months, but he did good service for the Nicene faith; for he was tolerant to all parties, just, wise, intellectually orthodox. The army, which elected him where Julian fell, at once declared itself Christian. The cross was again the standard. The philosophers and sooth-

sayers retired into obscurity. Athanasius and other exiled bishops were recalled. Affairs went on almost as if Julian had never lived.

The Nicene faith enjoyed imperial favor in the West, where Valentinian I ruled eleven years (364-75). It had been firmly maintained by Hilary, bishop of Poitiers in Gaul (350-68), called the Athanasius of the West, and the Rhone of Latin eloquence. In mature age he had become a Christian, along with his wife and daughter. For opposing Arianism he had endured banishment in Phrygia, where the Arians held high sway. But he was neither vexed nor converted by their treatment. He wrote orthodox hymns, and perhaps some chapters of his book on the Trinity. He boldly and persistently knocked at the doors of councils, until the Arians of every degree were glad when Constantius sent him home. There he was received in triumph. He was busy for years in reclaiming or ejecting the clergy who had subscribed the creed of Rimini. In 360 he secured the calling of the council at Paris, in which Arianism was unanimously condemned. The Gallic Synods adhered to the Nicene doctrine. Eager to purify Italy he impeached Auxentius, bishop of Milan, as at least a Semi-Arian, but the bishop gave answers so nearly orthodox that Valentinian dismissed the case and ordered Hilary home. Milan was soon to have a bishop, Ambrose, in whom there was no suspicion of heresy nor hypocrisy.

Rome had not been exempt from the Arian contagion in its violent form. Her bishop, Julius, had been a firm and active supporter of Athanasius in his second exile (340-7). Liberius had been banished by Constantius; his chair filled by an Arian; his hand had subscribed a Semi-Arian creed under pressure; he had been restored to his episcopate (358), and now he was orthodox again. He was soon to welcome into the catholic ranks a troop of the men who had caused his fall, and then die (366). His party elected Ursicinus bishop, the other chose Damasus; and then a battle for rights. Churches were like fortresses, an armed mob fought in the streets, and about one hundred and thirty lives were lost in one day. After long months of struggle Damasus won the chair and held it for seventeen years.* Vio

* The noble Prætextatus, at this time the prefect of the city, said: "Make me bishop of Rome and I will immediately become a Christian." Ammianus

lent as was his temper, he used well his success; defended vigorously the Nicene faith; argued with learning and wrote with literary taste; improved the service of song in the Church; patronized Jerome's Latin version of the Bible, and merited the thanks of numberless pilgrims and travelers, down to our time, for his labor of love in the catacombs. He cleared and widened the passages, and made visible the once hidden tombs of martyrs. He employed an artist to engrave on marble the beautiful inscriptions in letters known as the "Damascine Character."

Semi-Arianism lost ground under Valens (364-78), the brother and co-emperor of Valentinian. He was an extreme Arian—perhaps by means of his wife.* He was "rude without vigor and feeble without mildness." Both these emperors were severe upon magic and idolatry, and each bore hard upon the creed of the other. For the first time heathenism was officially designated *paganism*, the religion of the *pagus*, or peasants' village, where the ignorant still clung to it. In the cities it was dying, not yet dead.

Valens persecuted the Semi-Arians, and on this fact their destiny turned. They had found themselves in the ill company of worse heretics, and were trying to cut loose from it. They had managed most of the eighty councils held during forty years, and still their faith lacked scientific statement. Never were there so many creed-makers and such unsatisfactory creeds made. Yet this party did some good service. It cleared off some greater heresies. Revolting from the Arian extremists, it swung back towards catholicity. It had some truth-loving bishops, as Cyril of Jerusalem, and Basil of Ancyra. Hilary said, "The ears and hearts of the priests and people are better than their heads." Those who sincerely loved the Son of God and were earnest in their pastoral teachings, had left debate to theologians, and had studied to use language which their simple,

Marcellinus, doubtless a pagan, but respectful to Christianity, writes of the bishops at Rome as "enriched by the gifts of matrons, riding in carriages, dressing splendidly, and feasting luxuriously." (Hist. xxvii, iii, 14.) The worldliness was not confined to Roman prelates.

* Maimbourg noticed that the Arians owed no little to the influence of Constantia over her brother Constantine, of Eusebia over her husband Constantius, and of Dominica over Valens; but he thought that God used the Empress Flacilla to prevent the heresy from entering the court of Theodosius, and Cloilda influenced Clovis to put it down in Gaul.

uneducated hearers would receive for their salvation. They would follow their leaders, and the best of their leaders were on the track to the creed of Nice. Dr. Newman says that this part of the history shows "the remarkable manner in which Divine Providence made use of error itself as a preparation for truth; that is, employing the lighter forms of it in sweeping away those of a more offensive nature."

In 366 the fiery Valens was about to take every eastern shelter away from the Semi-Arians. They sought the protection of Valentinian, then absent in Gaul. Their deputies went to Rome, met the bishop Liberius, recited the Nicene creed as the faith of their party, and thus gained recognition as orthodox. So about sixty* bishops passed over to the Nicenists; thirty-four did not then go with them. But the ancient Semi-Arians soon disappeared from history, unless we find them among the Goths and kindred Teutons.

Orthodoxy was not a safeguard from the zeal of Valens. If we may credit Socrates, eighty of the clergy who visited him at Nicomedia with a petition for relief were placed on board a ship and burnt at sea. The policy of banishing bishops was renewed in the East. Valens sent an officer to drive out Athanasius. It was then that the "founder of theology" hid in his father's tomb. The people demanded his return. Henceforth no Arian could move the emperor to disturb him. He finished those writings which were long the armory of the Nicenists. The Athanasian creed was doubtless written by some of his followers in Gaul or Africa. A monk said: "When you find any sentence of Athanasius, and have no paper, write it on your clothes." A contemporary said in his eulogy: "He departed this life (373) with far greater honor and glory than he had received when he returned from his banishments; so much was his death lamented by all good men, and the immortal glory of his name remained imprinted in their hearts."

Thus spoke Gregory Nazianzen, one of the three Cappadocian doctors, who helped to win the victory of the Nicene theology. The other two were Basil and his brother Gregory, of Nyssa. The last and youngest was a monk, then a married bishop in little Nyssa, a quiet man of thought rather than of action, who put the wealth of his metaphysical mind into writ-

* Socrates iv, 12, gives sixty-five names.

ings against the heresies of his time, and into commentaries, histories, homilies, and books of theology. With Origen, he believed in the final restoration of all men through Christ.

Basil the Great (329-379) was the son of wealthy parents, whose ancestors had been martyrs and confessors, three of whose sons became bishops, and their daughter, Macrina, a highly cultured nun. He gave his wealth to the poor, and always lived in the plainest style. His early life ran close with that of the Gregory, whose father was a married bishop at the market town of Nazianzen, and his mother, the devout Nonna, one of the noblest Christian women of ancient times. These two young men, of the same age, studied in several of the best schools. At Athens one of them said of Prince Julian, their fellow-student: "What evil is the Roman Empire here educating for itself?" He could not draw them to the lectures of the sophists, who were tempting other students with their pagan philosophy. "We knew only two streets of the city," said Gregory, "the first and more excellent led to the churches and the ministers of the altar; the other, which we did not so highly esteem, led to the schools and the teachers of the sciences. The streets to the theaters, games, and places of unholy amusements, we left to others. Our sole aim was to be called and to be Christians." Basil's plea for the study of the classics (along with Scripture as a safeguard) was often circulated in the Middle Ages by promoters of learning. In these friends we begin to find a Christian love of art and of nature. They were charmed with the works as well as the Word of God. When they were monks together in the romantic wilds of Pontus, they grew enthusiastic as they left their little hut, rambled down the mountain stream, gazed on the waterfall, struck out into the ravines, scared the herds of deer which rarely saw a hunter, admired "the lovely singing of the birds and the richness of the blooming plants," and returned to pray, study the Holy Scriptures, and make extracts from the works of Origen.*

* Humboldt thought that Basil's descriptions of landscape and forest life were more like those of modern times than any that have come down to us from Greek or Roman antiquity. Basil and Gregory, Chrysostom and Ambrose, were true poets, who loved nature none the less on account of their fervent Christianity. Not all the monks of that age gave their whole time to the contemplation of themselves.

Basil may have uttered the feelings of many a cultured monk of that day when he wrote: "I have well forsaken the city as the source of a thousand evils, but I have not been able to forsake myself. I am like a man who, not accustomed to the waters, becomes seasick, and gets out of the rocking ship into a small skiff, but still keeps the dizziness and nausea." But he goes on to say that the best means for taming the wild passions and securing piety are retirement from worldly pursuits, solitude, celibacy, prayer, ascetic severity of outward life, contemplation, the company of "godly men, and the constant study of the Holy Scriptures. Such were the common ideas of that age when ministers of the Church came from the monasteries of the desert. The cell or the cloister became to many men their theological school. About the same time each of these young men was made a presbyter against his own will. This was not always a safe method, but here, in each case, the voice of the people was the voice of God. Basil, an eloquent preacher, eminent theologian, and vigorous writer, became famous for administrative ability. "A shepherd of souls and a Church ruler," Gregory won the title of "The Theologian," and the finest orator of the Greek Church, except Chrysostom.

When Basil became bishop of his native city, Neo-Cæsarea, in 370, he had under his care fifty pastors and parishes, all quite staunch in the Nicene faith. It was not a promising field for the Arians, unless they could oust the popular bishop. They pressed Valens hard to reduce Cappadocia to their doctrines. He threatened Basil with confiscation, banishment, and even death. "Nothing more?" replied the bishop. "Not one of these things touch me. His property can not be forfeited who has none left but some worn clothes and a few books. Banishment I know not; for, as the guest of God, all places are alike to me. For martyrdom I am unfit, but death is a benefactor if it send me speedily to heaven." Sorrow entered the palace at Antioch; a little prince was at the point of death. Valens sent in haste for Basil, to whose prayers were ascribed the recovery of the child, and of an officer who had treated the bishop with rudeness. No more threats were made. His influence extended over a wider realm than that of Valens, for no other man of his time did more to promote unity in the catholic faith throughout all Christendom. He died in 379,

under a weight of labors, cares, and trials, but full of joy and hope. Pagans joined with Christians in lamenting his death.

Basil is a representative man. He is the type of moderation, charity, the better monasticism, and administrative power. For fifty years there had been sharp controversy between pastors and bishops and all who loved strife, or went into it defensively for the sake of truth and conscience. He sought to avoid extreme terms and measures, maintain the essentials of sound doctrine; conciliate parties who strove about words to no profit, and thus save both the truth and the people. The real and final victory of the Nicene theology was due far more to such men as Basil than to the Emperor Theodosius and his severe measures. "The high catholic party" rebuked him for being too liberal or unwilling to fight for phrases, but his writings prove that he was not lax in the doctrines which then called for defense.

Basil represents a system of charity. From the time when the first believers had their common fund for the relief of the poor, the Church had been the nurse of the unfortunate, whom the heathen neglected. She had laid the foundation for all the alms houses, hospitals, and asylums which have since risen for the needy, the sick, the wounded, the blind, and the insane. Julian had imitated the system.* Near his own city Basil founded that magnificent hospital, the Basiliad, which was reckoned "one of the miracles of the world," and became the model for similar establishments in other quarters. He visited and preached to the multitudes gathered in it, and treated as his brethren the lepers for whom special provisions were made.

The name of Basil is eminent in the history of monasticism. He and Gregory were about the first to bring theological studies into the cloister. He provided the monasteries and nunneries with clergy, and gave system to their rules of life. His reforms related to purity of manners, celibacy, and labor for support, in which each hale monk must do "a good day's work;" hours for meditations, hymns, and prayers; the reading of the Scriptures, study, and instruction. He saw his rules adopted by some eighty thousand monks, who were building convents in all lands between Edessa in the East and Tours in Gaul, where St. Martin taught his monks to be missionaries.

* Note III.

Basil represents the episcopal power of his age. He was an ecclesiastical prefect, or the archbishop of a province, according to the system which Constantine had introduced, and the Council of Nice had confirmed. He was an exemplary pastor of pastors, visiting his diocese, preaching almost daily, and placing good shepherds over the flocks. It was then considered no abuse of his power for him to attempt the pressing of a deacon into a bishop's chair, and to force a presbyter into a bishop's charge. There are two examples, none the less striking on account of their partial failure.

In the far East, at Edessa, lived a wonderful hermit, named Ephraem, the son of a heathen priest. In his travels for wisdom he was in Egypt, and at the Council of Nice. Still later he visited Basil, who ordained him a deacon. The hermit went back to his cavern, where he mastered his high temper, and wrote homilies, commentaries, tracts against all sorts of heresies, and fine hymns for the people to sing in place of the Gnostic songs of Bardesanes. He went out among the idolaters, and told them of the living God. He preached to the monks and people with great effect. He taught scores of students. Two men came from Basil with a commission to ordain him a bishop. He behaved as strangely as David once did in Gath, and the messengers went and reported that poor Ephraem was out of his mind. "No," said Basil, "you are the simpletons; he is full of divine wisdom." A famine brought a pestilence into Edessa. Thousands looked death in the face. The hermit called together the people, and in a powerful sermon told the rich that they would lose their souls if they did not relieve the poor. He was intrusted with supplies. He took a house, fitted up three hundred beds, and attended to the sufferers until the calamity was ended. Then he returned to his cell, lived a few days, and died soon after his friend Basil. He was the most eminent poet, orator, and theologian of the ancient Syrian Church, and was called its pillar, and "the harp of the Holy Ghost." He was the Origen of the far East. He expounded the Scriptures to multitudes of young men, and thus arose the famous school of Edessa, the rival of that of Antioch.

Basil wanted a bishop at Sasima, a wretched little town at three cross-roads, where carters brawled, stage-drivers changed

horses, pagan travelers cursed the landlord, and revenue officers thought themselves and the custom-house the pride of the place. He urged Gregory to go there as a country bishop.* "Your elevation must have caused you to forget what is due to our long friendship," was the reply; for Gregory felt almost insulted. At last he submitted, and was ordained. But he did not go to Sasima. He was simply assistant bishop at Nazianzen till his father's death; and then he went again sadly into solitude, where the old love for the archbishop returned. After a few years he writes mournfully over the death of Basil, and says: "My body is sickly, age creeps on, cares entangle, duties overwhelm me, friends are unfaithful, the Church lacks capable pastors, good declines, evil stalks naked. The ship is going in the darkness, light nowhere, Christ asleep. What is to be done? Death seems the only release—if I were but ready for it!"

Gregory's pastoral work was now to begin, and, to his surprise, at the very capital. Basil had wished him to take charge of the little orthodox band at Constantinople, and revive their Church. It seemed like trying to raise the dead. There the Arians had been in full sway for nearly forty years. Novatians and Apollinarians were growing in strength. The Nicenists scarcely dared to lift up their heads in 380, when Gregory unexpectedly came to them. They were disappointed in the sad-looking man, so bent and feeble, so wretchedly dressed, such a very hermit in his manners, the last preacher for that fashionable city. He began to tell the good news from God in the house of a kinsman. One hearer brought two more the next time. Indeed, he was unlike the sleek Arian clergy. They said he was a polytheist: people went to be assured. The house was transformed to a chapel—the *Anastasia*, the Resurrection. Heretics and pagans insulted him, stoned him, broke into the chapel by night and profaned it, and charged him with the tumult. His defense before a magistrate turned all these outrages to the victory of his cause. Some went to listen to his eloquence; others to hear what an Athanasian really believed, or to learn the lessons of personal and practical religion; and all were satisfied. The report of him went abroad. Even Jerome, fifty

* *Chor-episcopus*, one who seems to have been the equal of both a presbyter and a bishop.

years old, came from Syria, and grew wiser in the interpretation of Scripture. The Anastasia was not a misnomer. The chapel was too small for the crowds that pressed to its doors. It gave way to a splendid cathedral in later years. We leave Gregory until Theodosius comes to rout the Arians and offer him the grandest of their churches.

NOTES.

I. *Causes of the decline of Arianism* (besides its inherent nature and the divine providence). 1. It did not assume a schismatic form, and unify its elements. A sect might have consolidated its forces. 2. It depended largely on the secular powers, misused them, created weariness and disgust, and finally lost their aid. 3. It lacked eminent leaders, of wisdom, administrative talent, and doctrinal harmony. 4. Strifes arose in its ranks, and the parties grew more violent toward each other than toward the Nicenists. They secured no great council. 5. They made too many creeds—from twelve to eighteen—and the world knew not what they believed. Some of them lost respect even with the pagans. 6. The sincere Semi-Arians went over mainly to the orthodox side. 7. Meanwhile the Nicenists (not altogether free from blame in their measures) adhered to one creed, unified their forces, employed the more spiritual means, retained more popular respect, and won sympathy by their endurance. The Emperors Jovian, Valentinian, Gratian, and Theodosius supported them. Their cause was advanced by an array of theologians such as Athanasius, the three Cappadocians, Damasus, Hilary, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, Innocent, Leo, and Augustine. 8. New controversies arose in theology, and the remaining Arians of the East seem to have cast in their lot with new heretics.

II. *The episcopal system.* It was a gradual growth. In the gradation of clerical offices, recognized by the Nicene Council, were deacons, presbyters, bishops, rural bishops (*chorepiscopi*), archbishops, and metropolitans. Certain of the latter were afterwards known as patriarchs. The five patriarchates were Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople. The Bishop of Rome was not yet a supreme pope. The great council of 381, at Constantinople, decreed that the patriarch of that city should be next to the Bishop of Rome. This offended the Bishop of Alexandria, who claimed to be the equal of both. Between the three there were long controversies. "Aerius denied the superiority of bishops over presbyters, the lawfulness of oblations made for the dead, and the religious obligation of fasts and feasts." The Scriptural equality of presbyter and bishop was admitted by Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Theodoret.

III. *Christian charity commended by Julian.* He wrote to the pagan chief-priest of Galatia: "Establish hospitals in every town for the care of the sick and of strangers, and extending humanity to the poor. I will furnish the

means. For it is our shame that no Jew ever begs, and the impious Galileans not only keep their own poor, but even many of ours, whom we leave to suffer." To another of his priests he wrote: "The impious Galileans, seeing that our priests neglect the poor, have applied themselves to that work. They have led many of our faithful ones into infidelity, by commencing with charity, hospitality, and the service of tables; for they have many names for these works, which they practice abundantly." Thus Julian, in pure defense, had to borrow from the hated Christians the ornaments for his reformed paganism, or it would appear so bald and heartless that it would lose its votaries. This was not the only form of Christian benevolence. Some devoted large possessions to the gratuitous distribution of the Scriptures; some, in support of missionaries; others, to the redemption of captives, even selling themselves into slavery in order to secure the liberty of those whom they loved, or the Church greatly needed. One class made a merit of giving all their property to such objects, and becoming poor hermits. It was thought that poverty and piety were inseparable, in a pastor especially. But a large mass of Christians had common sense and wealth along with their spiritual graces.

IV. *Persecution in Persia.* King Sapor (310-381) seemed determined to crush the Christians. They appealed to Constantius; but this only brought severer woes. In 344 they were offered the choice between fire-worship and death. "During fifty years the cross lay prostrate in blood and ashes, till it was once more erected by the Nestorians." When Sapor learned that his son had been barbarously executed by Constantius he took his revenge on the innocent Christians of Armenia, and went so far in his annihilating zeal as to order all their books to be burnt. The Persians claim to have the names of sixteen thousand martyrs of this period. If genuine, the persecution must have exceeded those of any Roman emperors.

CHAPTER VI.

TWO GREAT REACTIONS.

380-400.

HISTORY keeps before us the law of advance and reaction. The Arian, the Athanasian, and the pagan felt its strong force in the events of the time. It often turned upon the edict of an emperor, whose right to dictate in religious affairs was rarely questioned by a favored party. Toleration was not understood by the wisest rulers, nor intellectual liberty by the best people. Not a general freedom of belief, but the dominance of a special creed, was too often sought by parties in the Church. We find that the Nicenists were quite as joyful over the edicts of Theodosius as the Arians had been over the decrees of Constantius. They did not question his right to issue them in their own favor. But, with all his rigor and high temper, he was a nobler man, and a more just ruler. His edicts were not less severe, but were more legally executed. He gave more work to the magistrates, but less indulgence to the mob. He was as fully resolved to see approved bishops over the great Churches, but less disposed to install them by soldiers. There was less intrigue at court, less bloodshed in cathedrals, less bitter exile of bishops, and more deference to lawful councils. He used the means of the age. Pagans and Arians had employed force; if right for them, it was fair for him. Two declining systems fell—Arianism and paganism.

Theodosius, a young general and a duke, had retired to his estates in his native Spain, after his father had been murdered by Valens on some military pretense. Valens had Arianized the Goths, deceived them, and been slain by them in a battle in Thrace. The farmer left his plow at the call of Gratian, and defeated the Goths. He then took the throne* of the Arian

* Gratian in the West, 375-383; Theodosius in the East, 379-392, and sole emperor, 392-395. His sons ruled over a divided empire—Arcadius being in

emperor. His father's creed and fate, his contempt of pagan art, his disgust of heresies, and his desire to see a united empire, led him to adopt the policy of his colleague, and make it more vigorous when he became sole emperor. Four labors of this Hercules went on together: 1. The union and defense of the empire. He induced the Goths* to settle in peace on both sides of the Hellespont. He merely staved off their invasions. 2. The supremacy of the Nicene faith. 3. The suppression of heresy and schism. 4. The destruction of paganism.

In 380, when sick in his camp at Thessalonica, he sent for the bishop, and was baptized. His gratitude for health was marred by his severity. He published an edict authorizing the adherents of the Nicene creed to assume the title of Catholic Christians; he branded all dissenters as heretics, whose conventicles must not be called churches. He virtually laid down the terms of communion, and soon applied this law at Constantinople, when he ordered the Arian bishop, Demophilus, to subscribe the Nicene creed or resign his charge. The bishop refused. Another edict turned him and all the Arians out of the churches of the city, though not out of their homes. They pitched their tents for worship outside the walls. Other dissenters held their meetings in the suburbs. The emperor thought it was simple justice to restore the churches to the orthodox, from whom they had been taken forty years before. He intrusted the great Church of the Apostles to Gregory, and marched with him to take charge of it. The bishop was sad; the day was gloomy; the Arians said the clouds were an ill omen. Soldiers were on guard. The procession entered the doors, singing psalms, when a burst of sunlight filled the cathedral, as if it were the sign of a peaceful revolution. There was no riot, as in the former change of creeds. One sword was drawn, and it was against Gregory, who knew it not until a young man came to his room and confessed it. The bishop said to him: "Thy daring deed has made thee mine. Henceforth live as my son, and God's child." Orthodoxy was in power at the eastern capital.

Theodosius must have his great synod. It met in 381,

the East, 395-408; Honorius in the West, 395-423, with Ravenna as the seat of government.

* See Chapter VIII, I.

at Constantinople, and is called the second general Council. Only one hundred and fifty bishops, all Oriental, were present. They slightly modified the Nicene creed, gave more prominence to Holy Scripture, affirmed their belief in the personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit, and dropped the anathema. They removed certain unworthy bishops and condemned various heresies.* Gregory presided a part of the time, but his right was questioned, for he had not been formally released from little Sasima. He took offense, grew disgusted with partisan strifes, and offered to retire, saying, "I will be a second Jonah, and give myself for the salvation of the ship, though I did not raise the storm." He rashly threw up all his offices, bade farewell to his "sweet Anastasia," and passed the eight remaining years of his life at Nazianzen, and in the deserts, where he lived as a monk, wrote poetry as a penance, and left us to regret that he was too sensitive, and too devoted to bad health. Still we love him for seeking to convert heretics to "the Blessed Trinity," rather than hurl useless anathemas at them. If that age did not have a dozen bishops with worse tempers and worldlier motives, history has done them injustice. Their variances prompted the emperor to enact severer measures in order to support a cause which they were likely to disgrace.

Theodosius published edicts which forbade the Arian sects and the Manicheans to hold any meetings in the cities, or even in the country. Any building or ground thus used was to be confiscated to the state. Men who allowed themselves to be ordained priests or bishops by any heretics were to be banished. Death was threatened to those whose heresies were the most gross, and even to those who kept Easter on the Jewish day. If a Christian became a pagan, he could not legally dispose of his property by a will; as a pagan he had no civil rights. The man who would be sure of his liberty, home, wealth, and life, must profess the creed of the emperor. It was long ago said that his design was rather to terrify and convert than actually to punish the dissenters, and

*Especially the Arian, Apollinarian, and Macedonian. Converts from them and the Novatians were to be "anointed with the holy chrism on the forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, and ears, that they might receive the Holy Ghost." Penitent Montanists and Sabellians were to be treated as repentant heathen, and exorcised at baptism.

that the penalties were rarely enforced. The heretics had not the spirit of martyrs, and their numbers rapidly diminished. Such wide-sweeping decrees could hardly be executed.

Thus the theory and law of persecution for heresy came into the Christian state, and thence into the Church catholic. It was brought in by emperors. It spots the character of Theodosius. While his severities chill us, we may find a tenderness to warm our admiration. He confirmed the decree of Valentinian for the release of criminals on Easter-day, saying, "Would to God that I could raise the dead!" He was the first to allow mothers a right to be guardians over their children. Children sold into slavery by poor fathers should be free.

No heretics seem to have suffered death by Theodosius in the East. But we are pointed to one scaffold in the West. In Spain the nobly born and eloquent bishop, Priscillian, was twice condemned for Manichean doctrines. He appealed to Maximus, who headed a revolt, murdered Gratian, and claimed to be an emperor in Gaul, and a Christian. Priscillian and six adherents went to Treves, in 385, to answer the charges of an unworthy bishop, who accused them of heresy and gross immorality. They were examined by torture and sentenced to death. One bishop in the small council disapproved of the penalty. St. Martin, of Tours, hurried up to Treves, and obtained from Maximus a promise that their lives should be spared. But they were beheaded. So Maximus, the usurper, was "the first Christian prince who shed the blood of his Christian subjects on account of their religious opinions." The Christian Church generally viewed the act with horror. St. Martin and Ambrose, of Milan, broke all fellowship with the bishops who had sanctioned the deed, and yet they had little indulgence for heathens and heretics. Chrysostom recommended love to both those classes, and declared against their execution; but he approved those measures of Theodosius which forbade the meetings of heretics and schismatics, and confiscated their churches. Jerome seems to have justified the penalty of death upon a heretic,* and with him some of the

* He cited Deut. xiii, 6-10. All such men thought that heresy was a crime against God and man; and that the powers of the state and the Church were divinely authorized to inflict death upon soul-destroying error, as well as upon murder.

best fathers agreed. Such punishment was rare for several centuries. Pleas for toleration came from the persecuted. The Donatists had been the first to appeal to Constantine, but when they were under the ban, their bishop, Gaudentius nobly said, "God appointed prophets and fishermen, not princes and soldiers, to spread the faith."

It was now the turn of the pagans to suffer. They, as well as the Arians, had provoked a reaction. Julian had pushed heathenism to the front in his zeal to revive, reorganize, and adorn the system with borrowed graces. He had roused against it all the forces which the later emperors could command. It must be driven back to the shades. The reaction was one of the mightiest in history. It was the resurge of faith and patriotism against a rebellion. Once it had been paganism against Christianity; now it was Christianity against paganism. The movement began anew when Valens and Valentinian forbade heathen sacrifices and magic; ordered soothsayers to be burnt and sophists banished; broke up the nests of treason which were sheltered by philosophy; and commissioned men to ferret out and destroy all books that promoted heathen worship. Times had changed since the book-burning days of Diocletian. If senators were unjustly treated by suspicious magistrates, and philosophers threw libraries into the fire, they had reason to remember the furious attack upon Christian literature. In each case the injustice was greater than the actual loss to any valuable science. Gratian lent new vigor to the movement when he abolished the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, confiscated temple property, cut off the pay of priests and vestals, and left the pagans to bear the expenses of their own worship—if they dared to meet at their altars.

The movement culminated in the edicts of Theodosius. Nowhere must pagan worship of any sort be allowed. Some temples had been closed, others turned into Christian churches, but in many heathenism was in cautious activity. These must no longer be the abodes of the gods; their images and furniture must be destroyed, their wealth confiscated, their priests deprived of salary, their doors shut forever against idolaters. The temples might stand as monuments of art, and memorials of the victories of Christ. But the work became a war upon paganism, and in the war the monks enlisted, as if Providence

had reared them for this purpose. They began in the smaller towns, where the rustic pagans ascribed their prosperity to the gods, and placed their farms, gardens, flocks, and homes under their protection. They had a god in every field, in every grove, by every road and every fountain. The monks came in fury, as if to grind all these rude idols to powder. They grew bolder. They marched into the cities. They battered down a stately temple at Edessa, and another at Palmyra. One at Gaza was closed; another in Petra, whose magnificent ruins are still a wonder, was defended by the worshipers. At Apamea, fifty miles south of Antioch, Bishop Marcellus led the assailants, when the great temple of Jupiter was undermined. Though lame, he took the field with troops of monks, soldiers, and gladiators, swept the country, and laid waste every thing that represented heathenism. This crusader was seized by the pagans and burnt alive. The synod of that province honored "the holy Marcellus as a martyr in the cause of God."

We pass to Alexandria, where the attempt to reconcile pagan philosophy with Christian doctrine had failed. The one had grown morose and sullen, the other had nurtured heresies. The parties should never have married, and they had engaged in a long quarrel. The center of paganism there was the Serapion, a vast temple. The worshipers said that the safety of the universe depended on the preservation of the colossal image of Serapis. They were enraged at Bishop Theophilus for exposing their licentious rites and putting them to ridicule. They organized the mob. The streets were desecrated with human gore. Many Christians were slain. The pagans shut themselves up in the Serapion and fortified it. Theodosius sent word that the people should be spared, and persuaded to a better faith, but the temples of that city should be destroyed. The pagans fled, the priests sailed for Italy. The grand temple was rifled by the party of Theophilus, who wondered at the power of a loadstone and ascribed it to magic. The fine library was removed. But they stood in silent awe before the image of Serapis, until the bishop ordered an assault. A soldier mounted a ladder, battle-ax in hand, bruised a knee, struck off a cheek, hurled the head on the stone floor, and the only sign of life shown by the image was a large colony of rats which had lived by idolatry. The sublime gave way to the ridiculous, and the

heathen joined in the merriment. The work went on through all Egypt. Fifteen miles from Alexandria was Canopus, so named from the god of moisture, and full of profligate heathen. Theophilus marched upon it, leveled its temple, and turned the town into a city of monks.

In Gaul was St. Martin, the son of a heathen captain in Pannonia, a catechumen at twelve, a soldier till twenty, a student with Hilary of Poitiers, almost a martyr by the Arians at Milan, a monk on some little island, a founder of monasteries, an ardent missionary in wild places, and now bishop of Tours, living in a cell near his church. Cities and synods were his dislike. He loved to preach to rude heathens and lead them to Christ. He impersonated the hatred of the monks against paganism. He marched as their general, made wide campaigns, and was the spiritual Cæsar of vast conquests. At one place he so preached to a savage crowd that the heathen rushed to their temple and destroyed it. He took care to plant churches and monasteries wherever he rooted out idolatry. Pagan customs were too often baptized with a Christian name and retained in the Church. He once mistook a harmless funeral train for an idolatrous procession, and imprudently routed it. His own funeral was not so likely to be disturbed, for two thousand brethren followed him to the grave, and regarded him as the victorious champion over heathenism in Gaul. Often had he said, "I shrink from no labor," and now he had gone to his rest.

Among the few eminent pleaders* for paganism was the senator Symmachus at Rome, a man worthy of the days of Cicero. He heard the order for the removal of the statue of victory from the senate-house, and the withholding of salaries from the priests and vestals. He sent up his apology. He argued that all religions were good; that all worshipers adore the same God; and that every citizen should conform to the mode of worship which is bound up with the history and glory of his country. "I am too old to change my religion; let me retain my gods." Ambrose, of Milan, replied to him: "Did the national gods

* Julian's philosopher, Libanius, argued that the temples were essential to national prosperity. He urged that the Christians had condemned religious persecution, and he protested against it quite in the style of the early Christian apologists. At Alexandria Olympus put forth his plea for paganism. Theon was educating his daughter, Hypatia, to be its last eloquent defender.

really protect Rome? Did they drive off Hannibal? Did they ward off the Gauls? Was it the arm of the gods, or the timely cry of geese, that saved the capitol?" There were Christian senators who demanded the removal of the statue, and it went. Men said: "Victory forsook her adorer, and, by deserting to Ambrose, showed that she loved her enemies better than her friends." The temples were deserted. Many of the old Roman families, like the Gracchi, exchanged Jupiter for Christ. The senate renounced paganism, and still later the Pantheon became a church. And yet the old enemy was not entirely destroyed. Idolatry lingered at Rome, and philosophy lived longest at Athens. Pagans were still in the service of Theodosius. Symmachus died a consul. They still had free thought, free tongues, and a free pen. Not their better philosophy, but their idolatry, was under the ban. Paganism no longer ruled the empire, nor seriously threatened the Church in an external form. For other causes of its overthrow we must look to the Goths and the missionaries.

But elements of paganism had entered into the thought and manners of the Christian world.* We can not ignore the fact that much of the apparent success of the Church had been gained by her accommodation to heathen sentiments, customs, and superstitions. She had compromised with the society which she had sought to convert. Many rites of the pagan temple were brought into the Christian chapel. The process went on until she was described by Jerome as "greater in riches, less in virtues," and he confesses the dangerous charms of pagan literature which then had a life that has since perished. Here was the peril of the time; the great churchmen saw and resisted it. Yet too many yielded. Probably an extreme case is that of Synesius, a descendant of the Spartan kings, a disciple of the pagan Hypatia, a famous man of letters and a philosopher. When the Church of Ptolemais entreated him to become its pastor, he replied that his life was not pure enough, that he

* "The virtues of the primitive Church had been under the safeguards of persecution and poverty. She grew weaker in the day of triumph. Enthusiasm was less pure, existence less self-denying, and among the ever-increasing number of proselytes were many vicious men. They became (nominal) Christians out of ambition, for interest, to please the court, to appear faithful to the emperors. . . . When all the wealth and all the favor had passed over to Christianity, there was no longer the same simplicity in the public worship." (Villemain).

had a wife and children whom he would not abandon, that he did not believe the human soul is born with the body, and that he questioned the Christian doctrine of the resurrection. He said: "I am a Platonist, not a Christian." But the people allowed him his wife, his opinions, his pagan philosophy, and made him their bishop. Until his death, about 430, he was zealous and courageous in his office. He wrote hymns and tracts, but his chief service was rendered to Platonism. He helped transfer it from the Greek to the Latin realm of thought. The great Leo, bishop of Rome (440), laments the deep corruption of Christian society, and warns his flock against relapses into heathenism, for the old enemy was ensnaring believers. But before his time a powerful Western Church was willing to risk her welfare by choosing for her bishop a man of the world; happily the risk was not perilous in the election of Ambrose, one of the noblest Romans.

Ambrose did more than any other man to advance the measures of Gratian and Theodosius, and still to check the abuses of imperial power. He was the son of a governor at Treves. As a well-educated, eloquent, able, and honest lawyer, he gained distinction at Milan, the usual residence of the Western emperor. When elected president of Upper Italy he was ordered to "act not the judge, but the bishop." The strifes between religious parties were threatening the peace of the city. The bishop, Auxentius, had sought to make it the stronghold of Arianism in the West. He was treated with gentleness. When he died the people met in the church to elect a successor. Day after day they failed; their voices grew louder and angrier, and there was danger of a riot. Ambrose went into the pulpit to allay the storm. A child seemed to think he was preaching, and cried out, "Ambrose is bishop." All parties took it for the voice of God, and shouted, "Let Ambrose be bishop." The more he blushed in surprise the louder the outbursts of joy. He protested, begged, argued that he was only a catechumen, tried to hide and run away, but the only terms that he could make were that he should be baptized and ordained by orthodox hands. Eight days afterwards, in 374, he was consecrated Bishop of Milan. Basil was profuse in his congratulations. Arianism was now hopeless in the West.

Ambrose sold his estates, gave an allowance to his sister, the nun Marcella, and the rest went to the poor. He lived in the plainest style, studied the Scriptures and the Fathers, preached almost daily, wrote various books, and lived as the pastor of his flock. As a bishop he was the Basil of the West. Both of them, along with Chrysostom, paid special attention to the hymns, chants, music, and prayers of the Church.* From their age, if not from them, have come the oldest genuine liturgies which have been preserved, but these soon received large additions.

Ambrose refused a church to the Arians, the most clamorous of whom were Gothic soldiers and the courtiers of Justina, the widow of Valentinian. She had concealed her heresy while her husband lived. As an empress she caused a tumult of people, and had to ask him to appease it. Again they rose for war. He and many of his flock took refuge in the cathedral, fortified it, and there held religious services day and night. He introduced the Eastern mode of responsive singing. He had with him two great souls, Monica and her son Augustine, just saved from his shameful vices. At last the empress yielded; the bishop had more power in Milan than any one else. His maxim was, "The emperor is *in* the Church, not *over* it."

Theodosius came to Milan, and entered the cathedral to give thanks for his victory over Maximus, and for the unity of the empire. He stood, as emperors were accustomed to do in the East, within the railings which separated the clergy from the people. Ambrose let him know that he had no right there, for "purple might make an emperor, but it could not make a priest." In an admirable temper Theodosius withdrew, thanked the bishop, and thought it a good rule to establish in the Eastern Churches. Not so praiseworthy was Ambrose when certain Christians had burnt a Jewish synagogue, and Theodosius ordered it to be rebuilt by the bishop who had commanded the deed. He lost his manliness for once, and caused the order to be revoked.

The circus and horse-race gave vast trouble to the pastors in the cities. At Thessalonica a favorite charioteer was thrown into prison for an infamous crime. The people demanded his

*See notes to this chapter on Hymnology and Liturgy.

release. The military governor refused. The mob rose, slew him and his guards, and reigned supreme. Theodosius was angry enough to conceal his wrath. He sent his orders. The people were invited to games in the circus, where the soldiers were let loose upon them, and for three hours the innocent were slain with the guilty. Seven thousand people were butchered. Ambrose was so distressed that he could not bear to see his emperor's face. He retired into the country, and wrote to him, reproving him, and advising him not to appear at the sacred altar. But, on Sunday, he met Theodosius at the door of the church, took hold of his robe, and publicly said, "How darest thou to lift to God the hands which drip with blood? How take in them the holy body of the Lord? Get thee away; if like David thou hast sinned, like David repent. Submit to discipline." The emperor submitted. For eight months he did penance. At Christmas he wept in his palace, saying, "The house of God is open to beggars and slaves; to me it is closed, and so is the gate of heaven." Indulgence was granted him, and he publicly made his confession. But he was not restored to the Church until he enacted this law: That no sentence of death should ever be executed until thirty days after it was pronounced.

"I have found the first man who dares to tell me the truth," said Theodosius, when happier days came, "and I know only one man who is worthy to be a bishop; you will find him at Milan." In 395 he died in the arms of Ambrose. Two years later all Milan was in sadness; the good bishop was dying at the age of fifty-seven. Men forgot his faults, loved him for his ceaseless love to them, and honored him for his severity towards all wickedness. "Pray for him," said Stilicho, the military defender of Europe; "Italy and Christendom can not afford to lose him." Even Jews and pagans lamented his death.

We may take Ambrose to represent the power of the clergy on the side of humanity and civilization. Skeptics and Christian censors will not let us forget that many bishops admitted the world into their own hearts, and brought enormous evils into the Church. We do not ignore their sad influence. They made the Church worse than the apostles left it, but they did not make general society worse than the apostles had found it.

Strife, intolerance, opposition to human progress, had been in the world long before any Christian clergy existed. Did a Christian emperor, with a bishop at his ear, banish Cicero or kill Seneca? Did a clerical council take the life of Socrates? Was Pliny more humane than Ambrose? If the spirit of persecution came from any source outside of the human heart it came from paganism. The clergy, as a body, brought into society a gentler spirit, purer manners, happier customs, better laws, a higher regard for human life, and a compassion for human sorrows. When pagan lawyers and judges cared little for justice or mercy towards those who sought their rights and privileges, a bishop ventured to intercede and arbitrate between parties. Such men as Ambrose and Augustine saved many a poor sheep from the rough shears of the Roman courts. They raised the standard of equity. They taught the equality of all men before God and the law. "I venerate Christ in the slave who cleans my sandals," said Paulinus. They became intercessors for the oppressed and dependent, and still later they were judges in the towns of the West. They had the oversight of the public morals. Husbands must not divorce their wives upon a whim. Parents must take care of their children. Creditors and debtors must be honest. The gambler learned that there was a law for him. At a later time "the bishops were charged with an oversight of prisoners, lunatics, minors, foundlings, and other helpless persons." Ambrose sold the plate of his church to redeem captives. They taught loyalty towards their rulers, and prayed that the emperor might have a long life, a secure realm, a safe home, valiant armies, a faithful senate, a righteous people, and a world at peace.

NOTES.

I. *Hymnology.* To the psalms of David and Scripture paraphrases were gradually added hymns and anthems in the Church services. Chrysostom favored such chants as the "Gloria in Excelsis." Ambrose probably arranged the "Te Deum Laudamus" from a Greek anthem. In the East the finest early hymns came from Ephraem Syrus and Anatolius (451). In the West, Hilary, of Poitiers, (350) struck the note of Latin song, and was followed by Ambrose, Augustine, Damasus, Sedulius, Prudentius, and Fortunatus (600). Great revivals have always brought a fresh growth of spiritual

hymns; *e. g.*, the times of St. Bernard 1130, Luther and Xavier 1540, the Wesleys 1760, and the many religious poets of our century.

II. *The word Liturgy* at first meant the public service of worship, whether oral or written. Each minister had his own order, or form, but no written order of service can be traced with certainty beyond the time of Basil, and even then no minister was confined to written prayers and forms of administering the sacraments. The first written liturgies were very simple. After the fifth century they were gradually amplified, but no one was enjoined upon the whole Church. The earliest seem to have been those of Antioch, Basil, Chrysostom, Alexandria, Rome, Milan, Gaul, and Spain. One long effort of the Roman popes was to secure a uniform ritual in the West.

III. *Monasticism in the Church* was probably not borrowed from the Jewish monks nor pagan hermits. In its history were various stages of growth. 1. *Asceticism* in persons who thought the body was the chief seat of sin, and gave themselves to rigid self-denial, self-punishment, and self-imposed duties, such as unusual fasting, poverty, loneliness, and religious devotions. They did not retreat from all society, but were the more silent, gloomy, and often censorious members of it. 2. *Hermitry*, which first appeared in Egypt and Syria. The hermit (eremite, anchorite, monk) was the man of the desert, living alone in his cell or cave, making a virtue of his shabby dress, coarse fare, meditations, and afflictions. Paul, of Thebes, and Anthony (250-350) set the example for thousands of hermits who filled the deserted cities and lands of the Nile. Rich men gave their wealth to the poor, put on a sheepskin, and lived on herbs. Some of them were studious, learned, pious men; too many were crazy zealots. Persecution drove many to the deserts. Among the most fanatical hermits were the "pillar-saints," the imitators of Simeon the Stylite (see Chapter VII). 3. *Conventualism*, cenobitism, or cloister-life. Several monks lived together in one house and formed a society. As women could not well be hermits, they dwelt together. Pachomius founded this sort of monachism, or celibate communism, about 325, on an island of the Upper Nile, when he brought monks together on a self-supporting plan. They had precise rules for religious exercises and labors. They made boats and baskets, wove mats and coverlets, cleared lands and made gardens. The monastery became a farmhouse, workshop, church, school, and hospital. The system bred corruption. 4. *Monastic education and scholarship*. These were promoted by the rules of Basil the Great and Jerome, whose learning was his chief virtue, while he gloried in being a monk. In a book written by Chrysostom the best side of monasticism is presented. Jerome roused a strong opposition to the system, for at Bethlehem he often turned from his library and his Biblical studies to honor the relics of martyrs. Vigilantius came from Gaul to visit him, heard him preach, clapped his hands and shouted: "Orthodox." But the Western man was disgusted at his relics and tapers, and went home to write against the evils which had crept into celibate and monastic life. The two men had a fierce controversy, in which Jerome lost his temper and the respect of many of his friends. Vigilantius is claimed by some writers

as one of the fathers of the Waldenses. Other opponents of "this mighty movement of the age" were Acrius, Helvidius, and Jovinian. The latter denied the meritorious virtues ascribed to fasting, mortifications, and celibacy. 5. *The Benedictine System* in Europe (see Chapter VIII).

IV. *The earliest Church historians* whose writings are fully preserved. The Greek were Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea (270-340), "the father of Church history," a moderate Nicenist and court-theologian. In two of his various works he sought to refute the heathen religions. His *Evangelical Preparation and Demonstration* are valuable apologies. He wrote also upon Biblical introduction. Socrates and Sozomen were lawyers at Constantinople (380-440). Theodoret was bishop of Cyrus in Syria (420-457), and not only rooted heresies out of his diocese, but devoted his income to building bridges, baths, hospitals, and to the arts of civilization. He is distinguished as a historian, commentator, and theologian. As the friend of Nestorius, and the advocate of fair dealing, he suffered from the violence of opposing factions. But not one of his own clergy appeared before a secular tribunal while he was bishop. Evagrius was a lawyer at Antioch. He continued the line of Greek histories to 594, and was very superstitious as well as orthodox. The early Latin historians were Rufinus of Italy (330-410); Cassiodorus, an adviser of Theodoric the Goth, and a monk (died about 562); Sulpitius Severus in Gaul (died 420); and Paul Orosius, of Spain, who attempted a universal history down to his time in the fifth century. More valuable are the Letters of Augustine and his "City of God."

V. *Ancient Creeds*. Naturally doctrines were formulated for purposes of instruction, definition, avowal, unity, and defense. From the time of Irenæus, who left us the first quite scientific rule of faith, on through two centuries, there was much freedom in the construction and uses of doctrinal formulas, every prominent church, or every province, having one of its own. More than thirty of these, slightly varying, are on record. Three ancient creeds are regarded as œcumenical:

1. The so-called Apostles' Creed. It was not an apostolic gift, but a gradual formation (see p. 59), and was completed about 650 in the Latin Church. The form given by Rufinus, 390, is the first to bear the phrase: "He descended into hell" (*ad inferna*), although Bishop Alexander, of Alexandria, before 326, wrote that Christ's soul "was banished *ad inferos*, . . . He did not descend into hades in his body, but in his spirit." (Ante-Nicene Lib., vol. xiv, p. 357.) Dr. Schaff says of this brief creed: "It has the fragrance of antiquity and the inestimable weight of universal consent. It is a bond of union between all ages and sections of Christendom."

2. The Nicene Creed, 325, revised in 381 at Constantinople; the only one of the three put forth by a general council, and required to be subscribed by the clergy. (See pp. 77, 78, 101.)

3. The so-called Athanasian Creed, framed probably in the fifth century in the West. It was never adopted by the Eastern Church. It seems to be the product of a deep thinker, in some Gallic convent, who freely took the weightiest ores of his own meditations, and by one quick process, like that of making Bessemer steel, drew forth his logical statements of the catholic

faith. Its "damnatory clauses, especially when sung or chanted in public worship, grate harshly on modern Protestant ears," but it ranks high among the attempts to define the mystery of the Trinity.

These three symbols marked the first period of creed-formations. They passed through the Middle Ages into the next creed-period, the sixteenth century, when they were reaffirmed by the Romanists and by evangelical Protestants. They do not positively express all saving truths. They give no outline of the moral nature of man. They assume, rather than affirm, the doctrines of sin, repentance, faith, regeneration, justification, and godliness. They do not assert all the practical doctrines believed and taught by the early Church.

The Bible gave to the Church her belief on all the religious subjects of her thought; the belief gave the creed, or the deposit of faith in crystalline forms; and the creed became the basis of systematic theology. The early Church left us no well constructed theological science or system, but the doctrinal symbols were a foundation for it. Augustine expounded the Apostles' Creed; on it Calvin reared the Institutes. The difference between a creed and a scientific theology is very marked in history. One taught essentials, the other built systems. One affirmed, the other proved. One was limited to certain doctrines, the other took free range in the world of truths. One was a fence, the other a field. One was a finished thought, the other an endless study. One was a watchword, the other a literature. One was intended to be a settlement of doctrine, the other was long a progressive science.

"There is a development in the history of symbols. They assume a more definite shape with the progress of Biblical and theological knowledge. They are mile-stones and finger-boards in the history of Christian doctrine. They embody the faith of generations, and the most valuable results of religious controversies. They still shape and regulate the theological thinking and public teaching of the Churches of Christendom. They keep alive sectarian strifes and antagonisms, but they reveal also the underlying agreement, and foreshadow the possibility of future harmony." (Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, i, p. 4.)

VI. *Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.* The early Fathers "teach us that Inspiration is an operation of the Holy Spirit acting *through* men, according to the laws of their constitution, which is not neutralized by His influence, but adopted as a vehicle for the full expression of the divine Message. . . . They teach us that Christ—the Word of God—speaks from first to last; that all Scripture is permanently fitted for our instruction; that a true spiritual meaning, eternal and absolute, lies beneath historical and ceremonial and moral details." (Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 449.)

THE CHIEF CONTROVERSIES IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH

RELATE TO THREE SUBJECTS:

I. The DIVINE, or the TRINITY, whose defense produced a Scientific THEOLOGY.

1. GNOSTICISM (the Logos an æon). 100-300.

Emanation of Son and Spirit from God.
 Docetism, } a doubly defective Christology.
 Ebionism, }

2. MONARCHIANISM (the Divine Unity).

- A. The Dynamists (impersonal Logos).
 The Alogoi of Asia Minor, 170.
 Theodotus of Byzantium, 190.
 Artemon at Rome, 190-5.
 Paul of Samosata, at Antioch, 260-72.
- B. The Modalists (the Logos evolved from God).
 Praxeas, 100. Patripassians.
 Noetus, Callistus, 220; Beryllus, 224.
 Sabellius of Rome and Egypt, 225-65.
 Marcellus, Photinus, 330-60.

3. SUBORDINATIONISM (Logos inferior).

Tendencies of Tertullian, Origen, and Dionysius.

4. MACEDONIANISM (Spirit not co-essential).

The Arians; Macedonius of Constantinople, 375.

5. ARIANISM in the transition to the next group.

II. The DIVINE-HUMAN, or THE CHRIST, whose defense produced a Scientific CHRISTOLOGY.

1. ARIANISM (the Logos not co-essential).

- Arius, of Alexandria, 314-36.
- Eusebius, of N; Constantia; George, of Capp.
- Arian Bishops and Synods, 337-75.
- Emperors Constantius, 337-60; Valens, 354-78.
- Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, Lombards.
- Semi-Arians grow more Nicæan.
- Anomeans deny Christ's likeness to the Father.

THE CATHOLIC BELIEF.

Justin Martyr, 114-165. "Apostles' Creed."
 Irenæus of Lyons, 160-202.

Provincial Synods. School of Alexandria.

Tertullian, 200-20, uses the word "Trinitas."

Apollinaris in Phrygia, 180.

Victor, Bishop of Rome, 192-201.

Zephyrinus, Bishop of Rome, 201-19.

Synods of Antioch, 264-9.

Hippolytus, "Against all Heresies," 225.

Cyprian, 258. Origen, 185-254.

Firmilian of Casarea, 250.

Dionysius of Alex., 260. Novatian, 260.

Dionysius, Bp. of Rome, 256-269.

Theophilus of Antioch [Tris].

Lactantius. Eusebius, 300.

Schools and Synods. The Donatists, 305-430.

Didymus, 370. All Nicenists.

Alexander, and Synods at Alexandria, 314-325.

FIRST GENERAL COUNCIL, Nice, 325.

Athanasius, 325-73. Eustathius.

Emperors Constantine. 314-37. Jovian, 363, 4.

Valentinian I, 364-74. Gratian, 375-83.

Three Cappadocian Doctors.

Basil and the Gregories, 350-400.

Chrysostom, Theodoret, Epiphanius.

Hilary of Poitiers. Ambrose 401-17, Jerome.

SYSTEM.

SYSTEM.

2. **APOLLINARIANISM** (Logos for human spirit).
Lucian of Antioch, 300-11.
Apolinaris, Bp. of Laodicea, 370.
3. **NESTORIANISM** (two natures, two persons).
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 393-428.
Tendencies of Antiochian School.
Nestorius, Bp. of Constantinople, 428-40.
Schools of Edessa and Nisibis.
Nestorians still in Persia and India.
4. **EUTYCHIANISM** (one person, one nature).
Tendencies of Cyril of Alexandria.
Eutyches of Constantinople, 440-49.
"Robbers' Synod" at Ephesus, 449.
A. Monophysites (one nature in Christ).
Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, Armenians.
B. Monothelites (one will in Christ).
Maronites of the Lebanon.

OPPOSED BY

- Innocent I, Bp. of Rome.
Emperor Theodosius, 379-95.
- SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL**, Constantinople, 381.
- Augustine of Hippo, 354-430.
- THIRD GENERAL COUNCIL** at Ephesus, 431.
- Cyril of Alexandria, 412-46.
Celestine, Bp. of Rome, 431.
Emperor Theodosius II, 408-50.
Flavian, Bp. of Constantinople.
Leo I, Bp. of Rome, 440-60.
- FOURTH GENERAL COUNCIL**, Chalcedon, 451.
- Emperor Leo I, 457-74. The Henoticon of Emperor Zeno, 482, fails to unite parties.
Emperor Justin I, 518-27, repeals it.
Emperor Justinian, 527-553.
- FIFTH GENERAL COUNCIL**, 553.
- SIXTH GENERAL COUNCIL**, 680.

III. The HUMAN, or MAN, the statement of which results in a Scientific ANTHROPOLOGY.

SYSTEM.

1. **PELAGIANISM** (freewill and merit).
Pelagius, Celestius, 400-30.
Julian of Eclanum, 420-50.
Synods in Palestine and Ephesus.
2. **SEMI-PELAGIANISM** (grace synergetic).
Tendencies of the Antiochian School.
Tendencies of Monasticism after 375.
John Cassian at Marseilles, 412-32.
Vincent of Lerins, 430-40.
Faustus of Riez, 450-80.
Synods of Arles, 472; Lyons, 475.
Strong party in the Gallic Church.
Continues in the Medieval Church.
Rabanus Maurus, Hincmar, John Scotus, 850-80.
Duns Scotus, 1275-1308, and the Scotists.

OPPOSED BY

- Augustine, 354-430. Jerome, 331-420.
Twenty-four Synods. Gen'l Council of Ephesus.
Paul Orosius. Paulinus of Nola, 400-31.
Innocent I, Bp. of Rome, 401-17.
Prosper, Hilary of Arles, Lupus of Troyes.
Germanus of Auxere, in Gaul and Britain.
Roman Bps., Leo I, 440-60, Gelasius, 492-6.
Avitus of Vienne, 490. Claudian, Salavian.
Cesarus, 500-42. Fulgentius, 520-33.
Synods of Orange, 529; Valence, 529.
Pope Gregory I, 590. Isidore, 625.
Iede, 700; Alcuin, 800; Charlemagne, 768-814.
Gottschalk, Ratram, Prudentius, 850-80.
Thomas Aquinas, 1250-74, and the Thomists.

CHAPTER VII.

FIVE GREAT CONTROVERSIES.

400-451.

I. WAR ON ORIGEN AND CHRYSOSTOM.

WAS Origen a heretic? This was the question one hundred and forty years after his death. It set the whole country, from the Nile to the Bosphorus, in a flame of personal controversy, and led to the banishment of the most princely preacher in the Greek Church. It brought out some zeal for the true faith, but more bigotry and wrath. Touching it lightly, we employ it as a mere base-line from which to survey the field and notice the chief men in it. Three parties arose: 1. Independent students of Origen's writings, like Chrysostom, who took what was valuable, and cared little for his speculations. 2. Blind followers who laid great stress on his erratic views; such were the monks in the Nitrian deserts up the Nile, four of whom were very tall and very learned. 3. Bitter opponents of almost every body who did not condemn Origen.

The leader in "the crusade against the bones of Origen" was Epiphanius, bishop in Cyprus (367), an honest, well-meaning man, whom one calls "a type of primitive piety," and another, "a violent, coarse, contracted, and bigoted monastic saint, the patriarch of heresy-hunters." His chief work is the *Panarium*, or medicine-chest, containing antidotes for eighty heresies, among which are Barbarism, Platonism, and Scribism. In this learned volume he branded Origen as the father of Arianism and various other errors. He traveled widely in order to dispense freely his medicines. At Jerusalem, as he passed along the streets, mothers brought out their children to receive his blessing, and people crowded about him to kiss his feet and touch the hem of his garment. They needed an antidote to the heresy of superstition. Wiser people laughed at his blustering sermon, in which he demanded the condemnation of

Origen. The monk, Rufinus, and bishop John, of that city, set up a defense. They expected Jerome to stand on their side.

Jerome (340-419) was a Dalmatian by birth, highly educated in the classics at Rome, and a traveler in many lands. In Syria he entered a convent to mortify his sinful passions. As one means to this end he began the study of Hebrew; and he mastered the language, but not his strong temper, nor his pride. He afterwards boasted that he was "a philosopher, a rhetorician, a grammarian, a logician, a Hebrew, a Greek, a Latin—three-tongued." He became more than that—a commentator, and "the lion of Christian polemics." From him came the Latin Vulgate, the version of the Bible in use for centuries. But before his vast labors were thus far advanced he was at Rome, expounding Scripture, and lauding monasticism. The clergy, except Bishop Damasus, disliked him. He rebuked their luxury, despised their ignorance, and provoked their jealousy by praising the monastic life. He sought to persuade wealthy Christians to enter convents. He was an oracle with many devout and noble women, who received a taste for learning. Among them were the rich widow, Paula, and her daughters, one of whom gave herself to extreme fasting, and soon died. The Romans thought it a case of religious suicide. They blamed Jerome, saying that "the accursed race of monks should be banished, stoned, or drowned;" and he went back to his convent at Bethlehem. He had once revered Origen as the greatest Church teacher after the apostles. But now, when Epiphanius was so near at hand, he dared not risk his own fame for orthodoxy. He opposed Rufinus, broke off fellowship with Bishop John, and plunged into one of the most disgraceful literary quarrels in all history. Rufinus went to Italy, and translated certain works of Origen into Latin, giving them a sounder tone. He was condemned for heresy, a word easily pronounced in those days.

A third chieftain entered the lists. Bishop Theophilus, the image-breaker at Alexandria, had all the worst traits, but none of the virtues, of honest Epiphanius. The city was not large enough for his quarrels. The Scetic monks, up the Nile, forced him to anathematize Origen. The Nitrian monks turned upon him, and the "four tall brothers" in his service refused to intrust him with benevolent funds. His troops scoured the

Nitrian desert, and drove the monks out of Egypt. The "tall brothers" led fifty of them to Constantinople, where John Chrysostom gave them a welcome, rather from charity than any zeal in the controversy. His kindness was his doom.

The fiery controversies of the time showed one great need; that was an ethical spirit. Theology had become intellectual, polemic, speculative. In trying to save it, many of its advocates were not earnest to save souls. The Church, especially in the East, was losing her grip on morality. Many of her peculiarities there find explanation in the intensity of the Greek nature. Her people did nothing by halves. They went into every thing with heated feeling. They loved the Church; they loved the world: a flaming zeal for the one might compensate for a keen devotion to the other. If there were extremes in religion and secularity they would enjoy the raptures of both, and conscience scarcely gave them trouble. In worship they were ardent; in amusements, fervid; now clapping hands at a sermon, next shouting lustily at a horse-race. The same eyes dropped tears with equal facility at the altar and the theater. Lips that recited the Nicene Creed were pressed to the wine-cup at a festival. And still faith was intense—such brain-faith as it was—and the questions which were to come before the next council were the talk of the market, the baths, the taverns, the forum. No doubt there were pastors and people whose faith worked by love, and produced a serene and temperate morality. But they hardly got into history, which gives the storm-record, rather than the quieter scenes of the voyage.

Two men raised their voices to call back the Church to morality, charity, and love of souls. One was Augustine in the West, telling men what sin is, and what human nature needs. The other was Chrysostom in the East, trying to restore the ethics of Christianity. Both had most admirable mothers. Both were strongly tempted by pagan philosophies and by heresies. Both were likely to be drawn into the profession of rhetoric; one almost wrecked on the barren strands of vice; the other recoiled from the licentiousness which polluted the cities. Chrysostom is now before us—a man famous for his pure life, his eminence as the first really great orator of the Greek pulpit, his union of Christian theology and ethics, his rich expositions of Scripture, his freedom from episcopal

pride, his pastoral care, and his missionary zeal at a time the Greek Church showed little benevolence to the heathen world.

John of the Golden Mouth was born in 347, at Antioch. The piety and good sense of his mother, Anthusa, led the pagan philosopher Libanius to say, "What wonderful women these Christians have!"* He found John's mind so well stored with Holy Scripture that he could not persuade him into heathenism, while imparting to the lad a good degree of classic culture. When this rhetorician was asked whom he wished for his successor he said, "John, if the Christians had not carried him away." The tears of his widowed mother kept John out of a monastery so long as she lived. He studied with Bishop Meletius, and became a public reader in the Church. A bishopric was offered him; but he put forward his friend Basil, the Cappadocian, who protested against the evasion. He entered a convent near Antioch, studied there six happy years, undermined his health, returned to the city, became a presbyter, and the pastor of one of its Churches. There for sixteen years his eloquence, his boldness in attacking sins of every sort, and his clear expositions of Scripture, drew vast crowds to hear him. He represents the school of Antioch in rejecting the allegorical, mystical sense of the Divine Word, and in adhering to the plain, historical, spiritual meaning. He is the type of practical preachers and reformers, warning men of the pestilence of sin, eager to draw them out of their ruinous vices, and not failing to set before them the only remedy. His most successful

* Julian had complained of the influence of Christian women, saying "that they were permitted by their husbands to take any thing out of their houses and bestow it upon the Galileans, or upon the poor, while they would not expend the smallest trifle on the worship of the gods." He sent a governor to Antioch with orders to set up paganism; but the women were too strong for the philosophers and priests. Libanius reported the causes of the failure to Julian, saying, "When the men are out of doors they obey your best advice, and come to the altars; but when they get home their minds undergo a change; they are wrought upon by the tears and entreaties of their wives, and they come no more to the altars of the gods." Wise women! they knew what paganism would make of their husbands and sons. We have not space for the mention of many names which we had noted, but that of Flacilla is one of the noblest. Libanius must have hoped that she would restrain the wrath of her husband, Theodosius, against the images and temples. She often reminded him that God had raised him to his throne, and he should rule in justice and mercy. Empress as she was, she was simple in her Christian life, visiting the hospitals, administering food and medicines, and dressing wounds with her own hands.

labors were at Antioch, where about one hundred thousand Christians rejoiced in the healing of their schisms.

One day the governor took him outside the walls to visit a martyr. A coach was driven up; he was put into it, and whirled away to the first station on the road to the capital. There he found that he was in the hands of men who were resolved to secure him as the Patriarch of Constantinople. He submitted, and was ordained. He began his reforms. He had his quarters in the episcopal palace, where his predecessor had lived in splendor. All its ornaments, carpets, curtains, finery, and some statues intended for the Church, went to the auctioneer. He lived as a plain monk. The clergy must live as celibates, quit idleness and feasting, dress more simply, and go to work earnestly, or be dismissed. Gay widows must draw less from the treasury, and lazier men must live by work. So generous was he to the really poor and suffering that he won the title of "John the Almoner." He rebuked the displays of riches and dress in church. "Oh, the tyranny of money," said he, "when it drives so many of the flock from the fold." The people saw that he had brought to the capital all his ethical zeal. Every-day life and heavenly truth were feeders of the stream of eloquence which poured through his lips. To him the most common things are symbols of the life everlasting. An event of the day, news from the court or the army, the arrival of a ship-load of corn, a sudden change in the fashions, are all brought into the spiritual service. He scathes the respectable sins. He learns that many people who were at church one day were at the circus the day after. And they know what to expect; for he has warned them of suspension from the communion if they persist in the pestilent vices of the race-course and theater. But his heart is sad; he brings an aged rural bishop into his pulpit; they noisily protest, and the old man smiles and gives way; John rises, takes up some of their social follies, and when he hits the hardest they clap their hands the loudest, until he tells them how the chariot yesterday cut to pieces a young man about to be married, and that for such a youth God spared not his own son; and this fickle people must now sit down and think of the Redeemer weeping over a deaf city, and dying as its rejected Christ.

No doubt Chrysostom was too often rash, hasty, arbitrary,

and severe. He lacked administrative wisdom. In his frank and confiding nature he was often unguarded in his words, and deceived by men of jealousy and intrigue. He had high notions of episcopal authority. As patriarch, he sought to reform the clergy and purify the pulpits of Asia Minor. He held synods, and degraded worldly bishops. The worse the clergy the louder the cry against him. But the great majority of the bishops seem to have stood by him. From Alexandria came the resistless opposition. Her bishop, Theophilus, had three objects in view: to condemn Origen, though this was really a pretense; to chastise the escaped monks, whom Chrysostom had tried to reconcile to him, and now scarcely protected; and to depress a rival patriarch. This last was the chief desire. To do this he set all his forces in motion. Epiphanius went to Constantinople in the Winter of 402, refused to hold fellowship with the patriarch and his clergy, dealt out his antidotes to Origenism as far as he was able, but was not allowed to publish his anathema against the Tall Brothers from the pulpit. Saying to some bishops at the harbor, "I leave to you the city, the palace, and hypocrisy," he took ship, and died on his way home. Then came the cunning Theophilus. He gained the Empress Eudoxia,* who gave him a palace in which to weave his nets. He disdained to accept the hospitalities of Chrysostom, and to have any conference with him. He listened to slanderers, and framed his twenty-nine charges, such as these: that Chrysostom was too much of a monk; that he ate by himself; that he abused the clergy; that he called Epiphanius a fool and the empress a Jezebel. Origenism was dropped, and the Tall Brothers conciliated.

Theophilus packed a council to suit himself. It met secretly at The Oak, a church near Chalcedon, in a diocese where he had no sort of jurisdiction. Nor had most of the thirty bishops who sat in it; for they came chiefly from Egypt and Syria. They summoned Chrysostom. He declined to appear, and forty bishops were with him in his own city, sustaining him! His reply was: "Theophilus and his allies have no right to sit in the council. Invite all the bishops of Christendom, and I will appear; until then I will not go, though summoned ten

* Eudoxia, young and beautiful, despised her husband, Arcadius, and led a licentious life.

thousand times." His messengers were outraged, and "The Holy Synod of the Oak" deposed him on false charges of unchurchly conduct and treason, and decreed his banishment. The Emperor Arcadius indorsed the sentence. His people rose to defend him, but he was intent upon obeying. They guarded his doors to prevent his escape; but he slipped away, and a vessel landed him on the eastern shore. Theophilus entered the city, with his imported monks and sailors, to possess the churches. But the sad and sullen people fell upon them, slaying the boldest, and he narrowly escaped. Sailing home, he declined to attend the next council on the plea that his devoted people could not spare him.

On the third night after the sentence a well-timed earthquake shook the city. Eudoxia was terrified. She sent a messenger to bring back Chrysostom. The Bosphorus was alive with people to receive him. They carried him into his church, and compelled him to speak. "Blessed be the Lord," said he. "I gave thanks when expelled; I give thanks when returned. . . . O noble flock! In the absence of the shepherd ye have routed the wolves." Sixty bishops annulled the decrees of The Oak. Two months later the empress set up her statue in front of his church, and dedicated it with pagan ceremonies, adoring the image of the emperor. Chrysostom denounced the heathen revels. On the day of John the Baptist he began his sermon thus: "Again Herodias rages, and dances, and demands the head of John." The empress took it to herself, and raged furiously. At Easter, when hundreds were to be admitted to Church membership, and thousands were keeping vigils, troops of soldiers committed a horrible slaughter in the cathedral. For days the clergy were hunted down, and the "Johnites" were cast into prison, to compel the bishops to meet and anathematize John. After two weary months a little packed synod deposed him. Again he stole away from his watchful friends, and, as the chronicler says, "the angel of the Church went with him." He was sent, in 404, to Cucusus, a hamlet in the wilds of Armenia. Even there were monks, nuns, and a pastor to befriend him. His flock sent him every sort of supplies. But in his third year of banishment he was exiled to a more desert place, and on the way to it he died, at sixty-three years of age, saying, "Glory to God for all things!"

Chrysostom had long been active in aiding missions among the Goths, Phœnicians, and Persians. Wealthy friends, especially ladies, supplied the funds. In his exile he had a vast influence by his letters. One great bishop, Innocent of Rome, nobly exerted himself for John and the "Johnites," who were treated as schismatics for ten years. The West was likely to withdraw her fellowship from the East. Prelatic tyranny began to change its tone. Antioch led the way in acknowledging the orthodoxy and innocence of Chrysostom. On that simple act of justice seemed to depend the unity of Christendom. His name was restored to the Church registers. His remains were brought from the grave, where they had lain twenty-seven years; and when that sacred dust was placed near the altar, where it had once been so eloquent, the schism was healed. The voice was hushed; the life of the man was an enduring plea for liberty.

II. CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES.

The schools of the East gave rise to other controversies. The doctrine of the Trinity being settled, the next questions would properly refer to the two natures in Christ. How were the Logos and the humanity related in Jesus? There had long been two drifts of thought. The Alexandrian school had tended to lose the human in the divine. The school of Antioch tended to a distinct separation of the two natures. Hence arose the Christological controversies which agitated the Greek Church for more than two hundred years with extraordinary violence. In the process of stating and maintaining her own belief, the Church threw aside various doctrines which may be reduced to three leading types: The Apollinarian, which left Christ's human nature incomplete, so that he would not be perfect man; the Nestorian, which was represented as attributing to his human nature a personality—two natures, two persons; and the Eutychian, or the absorption of the human nature in the divine—one person, one nature.*

* Before the Council of Chalcedon, which most clearly defined the Church doctrine, Vincent of Lerins, in Gaul, put it thus: "In God one substance (essence), but three persons; in Christ, two substances, but one person. In the Trinity there is a distinction of persons, but a unity of substance; in the Savior, a distinction of substances, but a unity of person."

I. The Apollinarians insisted that in Jesus the Logos took the place of a human spirit. In one of his kindlier moods Epiphanius wrote: "Some of our brethren, in high position and esteem, hold that our Lord Christ assumed flesh and soul (*psyche*), but not our spirit (*pneuma*), and, therefore, was not a perfect man. The aged and venerable Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, dear even to the blessed Father Athanasius, and in fact to all the orthodox, has been the first to frame and spread this doctrine. When we first heard of it we could not credit it, thinking that his disciples had not understood the deep thoughts of so learned and discerning a man, or had fabricated it themselves." In 362 an Alexandrian council rejected the doctrine, affirming that "Christ had a reasonable soul." Nearly ten years later Apollinaris, who was usually treated with tenderness, seceded, and formed a sect of his own, which was often condemned by councils and severely persecuted, until some of its members returned to the catholic body, and others ran into Eutychianism.

II. The Nestorians are represented as holding that each nature in Christ was personal; thus the two natures would give a twofold personality. It seems clear that Nestorius did not mean to teach this doctrine. He was a Syrian monk, then a presbyter at Antioch, and, in 428, Patriarch of Constantinople. The people hoped for a second Chrysostom when he came; for he was plain, frank, honest, eloquent, and impetuous. He was Chrysostom overdone, not having so much spiritual fervor, Scriptural knowledge, love, and humanity. He hated heresy more, but sin less. In his inaugural he said to Theodosius II: "Give me, O Emperor, the earth purified of heretics, and I will give thee heaven for it! Aid me against the heretics, and I will help thee fight the Persians." But he failed to class himself among the authors of a heresy. The Arians burned down one of their churches rather than yield it to him. Other buildings fell, and he was called "the incendiary." The Pelagians* were the only errorists whom he and the emperor spared. He now objected to the term, "Mother of God" (*thcotokos*), which Origen had applied to Mary. It had come

* The Pelagian controversy came between the Apollinarian and Nestorian, but was not Christological. Nestorius favored the Pelagian doctrine of Free-will, but not that of Original Sin. He gave shelter to several Pelagian leaders.

into very common use, along with a growing devotion to her. Nobody meant to say that the eternal God was born of Mary in any absolute sense. He proposed the term, "Mother of Christ" (*christotokos*); for Christ was both God and man. A lawyer placarded him as a follower of Paul of Samosata. The monks, and most of the clergy of the city, were against him. Men contradicted him in the pulpit, insulted him in the street, threatened to fling him into the sea, and many forsook his church. He retaliated, and had the noisier monks whipped and cast into prison. Proclus, his chief opponent at home, honored Mary in a bombastic way as "the spiritual paradise of the second Adam, the workshop in which the two natures were annealed together, the bridal chamber in which the Word wedded the flesh," and much more too coarse for our pages, but proving that Mary was gaining undue reverence by this controversy.

The leading antagonist, as in the war upon Chrysostom, was a bishop of Alexandria. He was Cyril, the nephew of Theophilus. He is painted by Dr. Schaff as "a learned, acute, energetic, but extremely passionate, haughty, ambitious, and disputatious prelate. Moved by interests both personal and doctrinal, he entered the field, and used every means to overthrow his rival in Constantinople. . . . In him we have a striking proof that the value of a doctrine can not always be judged by the personal worth of its representatives. God uses for his purposes all sorts of instruments, good, bad, and indifferent."* But Cyril did one fair thing at the outset; he wrote to Nestorius. Finding no concessions would be made, he warned the whole Church against the new heresy, and ran into another which Eutyches drew to a head.

A third Œcumenical Council was attempted in 431, at Ephesus. Both Nestorius and Cyril were there with their bishops and armed attendants. A deliberate fight with swords, in an open field, might have been more fair and honorable

* The last brilliant lecturer on the Neoplatonic philosophy, at Alexandria, was Hypatia, "distinguished for her beauty, her intelligence, her learning, and her virtue, and esteemed both by Christians and by heathens. She was seized in the open street by the Christian populace and fanatical monks (415), perhaps not without the connivance of the violent Bishop Cyril, thrust out of her carriage, dragged to the cathedral, completely stripped, barbarously murdered with shells before the altar, and then torn to pieces and burnt." (Schaff.)

than those "mutual criminations, invectives, arts of Church diplomacy and politics, intrigues, and violence which give the saddest picture of the uncharitable and unspiritual Christianity of that time." The leaders were put under arrest by the imperial force. Yet, in the fires and the whirlwind there was at last a calm voice from the lips of the gentle Theodoret, the bishop of Cyrus, which affirmed the belief in one Christ, whose two natures are united without confusion; and Mary was confessed to be the "Mother of God" because the Word was incarnate and born of her. The question of personality was evaded. Nothing was really settled except the deposition and retirement of Nestorius. His supporters being "satisfied with saving the doctrine of two natures, thought it best to sacrifice Nestorius to the unity of the Church" and condemn his innovations, for nothing less would quiet Cyril, who barely escaped deposition by the emperor. After four years' rest in his old convent, Nestorius was driven from one and another shelter to some remoter place of exile, and he died, no one knows when nor where. Every year the Monophysites of Upper Egypt cast stones on his supposed grave, and they say no rain ever falls upon it. The emperor caused all his writings to be burnt, and also those of Theodore, of Mopsuestia, the long-deceased teacher of Nestorius and the father of his error.

The followers of Nestorius, expelled from the Roman Empire, found refuge in Persia, gained the Christians of that country, strengthened them under persecutions, had flourishing schools at Nisibis and Edessa, and spread to Arabia, India, and China. Thus a powerful body was lost to the Catholic Church. The story of Prester John, a king who became a presbyter and brought his people to the Christian faith in the eleventh century, connects them with Tartary. The ninety thousand Christians of St. Thomas, in India, are still Nestorians. The American Church has prosperous missions among the Nestorians of Persia.

III. The Eutychians went to the other extreme, and virtually said, "one person, one nature." They took their name from Eutyches, an aged abbot at Constantinople, who merely brought to the front what Cyril had kept in reserve. The doctrine was that "there are not two natures in Christ after the incarnation, but one nature incarnate." It was virtually the deification of

the humanity of Christ. This party came to insist upon the language of a favorite hymn, in which were such terms as, "God was born, God was crucified." Eutyches was opposed by Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, and his doctrine condemned by a local synod in that city. Then help came from the same old quarter, Alexandria, and it was of the same old sort. Cyril had died in 444, and in his stead was Dioscurus, whose bad qualities exceeded those of his two nearest predecessors. It is painful to think that such a man ever made a page of Church history. The Patriarchates of the Nile and the Bosphorus were soon in a third war.

An attempt was made to convene a general council, in 449, at Ephesus. The result was, "The Synod of Robbers," so many bishops were robbed of their titles and offices, so many human rights taken from men, and, worse still, Christ was denied his true humanity. Dioscurus presided, and soldiers forced the votes of bishops who sought to hide under the benches. The good Theodoret was excluded and deposed along with Flavian; and the latter was so wounded by monks that he soon died. Of course, Eutyches was pronounced orthodox and a saint. The deacon, Anatolius, was elected patriarch of Constantinople, but he afterwards renounced the Eutychian doctrine. We can forgive him for having once yielded to Dioscurus, when we sing his hymn,—

"Jesus, deliverer, come thou to me;
Soothe thou my voyaging over life's sea;
Thou, when the storm of death roars, sweeping by,
Whisper, O Truth of Truth, 'Peace, it is I.'"

It was the cry of one who was weary of the angry controversy about the Prince of Peace. Of all themes ever discussed, the one then in question requires calmness, reverence, charity, and a profound sense of that mystery which no human reason can explain. Theodoret said that these zealots for the phrases of a hymn acted as if "Christ had prescribed merely a system of doctrines, and had not given also rules of life." Fighting for a creed they forgot their Christianity. The notable thing is that they were erroneous in theology as well as in conduct.

One man now stood forth at the head of a host to stay the advance of error, and save the Church from the Alexandrian tyranny and theology. He was Leo the Great, Bishop of

Rome, from 440 to 461, superior to all the predecessors in his chair, and few greater ever came after him. With all his ambition to increase the papal power, he represents a class of men who could contend earnestly for the faith without losing their personal religion. The age had scarcely a theologian equal to him. He was worthy to take up the pen which Augustine had recently dropped. He secured the calling of a general Council. The ravages of Attila* forbade a meeting in Italy. Nice was chosen, but it really met near there, at Chalcedon, in 451, the number of bishops being about six hundred, and they chiefly Oriental. The first sessions were stormy. When Theodoret entered his friends cheered him; the other side shouted, "Away with the Jew, the master of Nestorius, the blasphemer of Christ!" A retort was given, "Cast out Dioscurus! Who does not know his crimes?" Dioscurus was soon abandoned by his allies, put under guard, and deposed for avarice, injustice, and vices of licentiousness. Discipline must go along with doctrine. The most important result was the famous creed of Chalcedon, relative to "the one and the same Christ, known in (of) two natures without confusion, without division—the distinction of the natures being in no wise abolished by their union." Ever since, this has been the catholic Christology. It was drawn from the letter of Leo, who objected to only one decision of the Council, which was that the Patriarch of Constantinople was on an equality with himself. Henceforth the rivalry was between the patriarchates of the Bosphorus and the Tiber. The emperor ordered the Eutychians to leave the empire, and their writings to be burnt. But their theories reappeared in new forms, equally unscriptural and more metaphysical, and condemned in two councils at Constantinople (553 and 680), which are often called general.†

We are indebted to the Eastern part of the ancient Church for the Œcumenical creeds she left us—creeds still retained by Greek, Roman, and really Protestant Churches. Carrying that legacy with us we shall devote the coming pages of this book mainly to Christianity in the West.‡ The Eastern division

* He lost the great battle of Chalons, 451. All the Western Empire was now threatened or tribulated by invaders. (See Chapter viii.)

† Note II.

‡ Note III.

of the Church was in an old world, beyond which she reached only the Slavonic nations; in the development of Christian doctrine and life she almost ceased at Chalcedon: the Western had new peoples in Europe to Christianize, and her sons would have a new world to populate; she has had a progress of her own, often slow and once long checked, but with a grand outcome at last.

III. CONTROVERSY ON ANTHROPOLOGY.

The Church in the West gave rise to but one great controversy in the fourth century, and that pertained to Anthropology, or the doctrines concerning the nature of man, his sin, his ability, his freedom, and his salvation. Not only is there a change of subject and field, but we shall happily find a more calm spirit in the debates; fire enough, yet not so much Church force, nor imperial power. In it there was more reasonable discussion; the sword does not glitter, the pen wins its victories. We shall first notice Pelagius and his doctrines, and then Augustine and his system.

Pelagius was born about 350, probably in Wales, or Brittany, his Celtic name being Morgan, or the sea-born. He was a monk, but never a preacher. Dr. Schaff says, "He was a man of clear intellect, mild disposition, learned culture, and spotless character. Even Augustine, with all abhorrence of his doctrines, repeatedly speaks respectfully of the man." His personal morality may have led him to exalt human ability and merit. He studied the Greek theology, inclining to the school of Antioch. In 409 he was in Rome commenting upon Paul's epistles, and seeking to reform the corrupt morals of the clergy, with whom Jerome could do nothing. He won to Christianity the lawyer Celestius, who may have been a Scot. These two men were the complement of each other. The monk was the author of the moral part, the lawyer, the formulator of the mental part of the system. They viewed Christianity on its ethical side. To escape the invading Goths*

*To preserve unity of subjects the Germanic settlements in Western Europe, previous to 451, are reserved for treatment within the next period. Perhaps, if the Goths had not sent its founders from Rome, Pelagianism might have had a different development, or met with less resistance from Augustine and more success in the West of Europe. It ran the gauntlet between ortho-

they went over to Hippo, and had some friendly correspondence with its bishop, Augustine, then away at Carthage. Pelagius went to Palestine, where Jerome soon assailed him. One local synod was puzzled over him, and a larger one acquitted him of all heresy.* Certain monks were enraged at Jerome's fury, and rushing to Bethlehem broke into his monastery, beat the inmates, set it on fire, and drove the aged scholar into an unfriendly world.

Meanwhile Celestius requested the clergy of Carthage to ordain him a presbyter. This brought on the crisis. The examination was not satisfactory. An accuser presented several errors drawn from his writings. The synod excommunicated him. He went to Ephesus and was ordained. In these affairs Augustine was not the leader, but he now, in a kindly spirit, wrote treatises against the new doctrines.

The starting-point of these teachers was their maxim, "If I ought, I can;" obligation implies ability. They held that Adam was mortal before his fall; that his sin affected only himself; that newly born infants are in the same condition in which he was before he fell; that every man can, if he will, obey God's commands, and maintain innocence, having all necessary ability and free-will; that before Christ came there were some sinless men; that God gives men grace in proportion to their merit; that grace is synergetic; and that men must be perfectly free from sin in order to be the sons of God. They also affirmed what then shocked many minds, that infants, dying unbaptized, are saved; but they did not believe that the death of Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit secured their salvation.

Several synods in North Africa (416-418) condemned these doctrines, and protested against Bishop Zosimus, of Rome, for having declared that Pelagius and Celestius were orthodox; a clear case against his infallibility. He now saw his error, and sent forth to all the bishops, East and West, a letter pronouncing an anathema upon the heretics. Whoever would not sign

dox pens and Arian swords, for the Southern invaders were ignorant Arians. The time of war and woe was not favorable to it, for human nature disclosed its own inherent depravities.

* He is said to have taken offense at the prayer of Augustine: "Give what Thou commandest, and command what thou wilt." Thus far his doctrine was a reaction against Augustinianism.

it should be deposed, banished, and impoverished. (Bishops were now supposed to have property.) Eighteen bishops of Italy refused to subscribe, among whom was Julian, of Eclanum, near Capua, "the most learned, acute, and systematic of the Pelagians," and the strongest opponent of Augustine. He and other leaders fled to Constantinople, where Nestorius gave them a kind reception. Julian sacrificed all his property to relieve the poor in a famine, and probably became a school-master in Sicily, where he ended his days. Pelagius and Celestius disappear from history. Their system never gathered a sect; it simply formed a school of opinion.

Augustine was born in 354, at Tagaste, a northern village in Numidia. His father, Patricius, was kind, high-tempered, sensual, and a pagan until near his death. Monica will never be forgotten for her zealous efforts to educate her son and save him from the vices into which he plunged. Her consecration of him to the Lord, her lessons, prayers, and entreaties, all seemed to be in vain for thirty years. The boy was given to play, if not pilfering; the student read the Latin poets with eagerness, and took holiday with strolling comedists or in the circus; the young man of eighteen had his mistress, and was the father of a son; and still that mother had faith that he would yet turn to Christ. In scarcely any other young man do we see such a conflict between heart and conscience, passion and principle, temptation and conviction. Leaving his widowed mother to care for his sister and brother, he went to Carthage to learn eloquence and become a teacher of rhetoric. Now we see him winning a prize; the walls ring with applause. Again he is lounging with idlers of the park, or wild with delight in the theater. Now rioting in vice, again stupid in his meditations; now flinging down his Cicero, because the name of Christ is not in it, and once more opening his Bible, but not finding there what he craves; one hour saying, "I have lied to my mother, and such a mother!" at another time praying, "Give me purity, but not now"—this was young Augustine.

The Manicheans took him up, and for nine years held him in their sensual heresy. Monica was almost in despair of him, until a bishop, who had once been snared into that heresy, said to her, "It is not possible that the son of such tears

should be lost." She saw him waste the earnings of his profession; she feared that he would die in some of his revels. She followed him to Rome and to Milan, and thither went some of his young students, who were now almost Christians. He listened to the sermons of Ambrose, who would sometimes say in public, "What a mother you have!" little knowing, wrote Augustine, "what a son she had, and what doubts were in his mind." At length the divine Word brought conviction. His will was turned, his heart renewed, his health seemed to be ruined, and he felt that he was a mere wreck washed up on the Rock of redeeming grace, saved himself, but with the loss of his physical powers. But soul and body were alike restored to vigor.

On his return homeward, at the age of thirty-two, he and his mother were in a house at Ostia waiting for a ship. As they gazed from a window she said: "My son, I am done with this world; it no longer delights me. What I have hoped and lived for is gained—your conversion. What then do I here?" Five days later she died, "and yet she was not altogether dead," wrote Augustine, who buried her, unconscious that he would be the eternal monument to her name, her motherly love, faith, wisdom, and persistent effort. One of his first contributions to the power of divine grace was his volume of "Confessions," almost the only autobiography which combines honesty with interest, self-exposure with the design to honor God, and grateful piety with popularity. "It is one of the devotional classics of all creeds." The key-note is struck in the words: "Thou hast made us for thyself, and the heart is restless till it rests in thee." We venture to put another sentence thus:

I loved thee late, too late I loved thee, Lord;
Yet not so late but thou dost still afford
The proof that thou wilt bear with winning art
One sinner more upon thy loving heart;
And may I prove, when all this life is past,
Though late I loved I loved thee to the last.

The prodigal son of the fourth century appears in the fifth as the simple child of God, the affectionate pastor, the popular preacher, the wise bishop, the eminent scholar, the prolific writer, the defender of the Church against heresies and schisms, the opposer of prelatic tyranny, the metaphysician, the philos-

opher, whose reasonings always start out from the maxim that faith precedes scientific knowledge, and the founder of a system of theology from whose base lines all other systems have ever since been measured. They are, or they are not, Augustinian. Having been elected presbyter against his will, he was, in 395, chosen bishop of Hippo, about two hundred miles west of Carthage. The kings who once reigned there limited their power to Numidia, and are forgotten. The bishop had vast influence in the whole Church of the West, and in that city he is still called "the great Christian." He was not quite a monk, and he once said that "he had nowhere found better men, and nowhere worse, than in monasteries." He lived with his clergy and students in one house, had all things common, and sent from it ten men who became bishops. His simple rules gave rise to the Augustinian order of monks, to which Luther belonged. The labors of his thirty-eight years as bishop seem enormous. He was like Basil and Ambrose in his devotion to all the humane and spiritual affairs of his people. To him many a troubled home owed the return of sunshine after a storm, and many a captive his release. "Am I not your pastor?" he would say in his pulpit as he broke into some extempore train of thought; "I do not wish to be saved without you—all of you, my flock."

Men who write for their time are not often read in the future. Augustine wrote for his age and to it. Yet his best writings became the study of later centuries. "No important vessel has foundered of that large squadron which he committed to the stream of ages." We bring a volume of his admirable letters into port, and see how he bore himself towards the Donatists, who are sometimes put forward as the Protestants of that age. He offered the fairest terms of peace and union to the best of their clergy. He entreated them to repress the outrages of the Circumcelliones, saying: "These desperadoes laid ambush for our bishops on their journeys, abused our clergy with savage blows, and assaulted our laity in the most cruel manner, and set fire to their habitations. . . . These men are among your presbyters, keeping us in terror. . . . They live as robbers, they die as Circumcelliones, they are honored as martyrs! Nay, I do injustice to robbers in this comparison, for robbers do not destroy the eyesight of those whom they have

plundered. . . . If you treat all our remonstrances with contempt, we shall never regret that we desired to act in a peaceful and orderly way." He had narrowly escaped these ruffians when they waylaid him. When he first favored the rigorous measures of the Emperor Honorius against this sect it was to repress the crimes, and even murders which they shielded, and not to persecute them for their religious errors. Many of the purer Donatists submitted and entered the Church catholic, and as the penal laws seemed to produce good results he began to say: "Compel them to come in." This text was still more grievously misused in later times. But the fanatics of this sect grew more lawless, and he more severe, although he opposed the infliction of death upon them.

The Manicheans were not so openly at war upon civil society. They were worse heretics, but better citizens than many of the Donatists. To them Augustine wrote: "Let those who do not know what it costs to find the truth burn against you; but I must bear myself towards you with the same patience which my fellow-believers showed towards me while I was wandering in blind madness in your opinions." He knew their wretched theories and their secret sins. His experience was a source of power in all his arguments against them and the Pelagians, for he had learned that sin was deeply rooted in the human soul, and that nothing but divine grace could eradicate it.

Augustine met every leading tenet of Pelagius with an opposite doctrine. He affirmed God's absolute sovereignty in predestination, and in all the gifts that pertain to eternal life; the fall of the whole human race, generically, in Adam; the judicial transmission of original sin to all men; the depravity of all human powers in man; a condemnation of all infants dying unbaptized; justification by faith in Christ; sanctification by the Holy Ghost; unmerited and irresistible grace, without which free will can effect no spiritual good; and the necessity for God to move and direct the human will in salvation.

When nearly seventy-six years of age Augustine saw a new enemy overrunning his diocese. The Vandals had rushed out of that vast Gothland, which bred the destroyers of the Western Empire, crossed the Rhine (405), pillaged Gaul, and settled in Spain. A foolish empress, Placidia, had threatened to remove Governor Boniface from North Africa, and he had resisted,

rebelled, and invited Genseric to come with his Vandals and defend him. Just then the empress saw her folly and recalled her orders. But it was too late. The Vandals were on the soil, supported by Moors, Donatists, and Circumcelliones. Boniface could not drive them back. They ravaged cities, villages, and churches, and shut him up in Hippo, where Augustine was wearing out his strength in providing for the bands of refugees within the walls. The dying bishop could not do better than point the Christian general to the penitential psalms, written upon the walls near his bed, and which he read over and over with tears. The Lord took his servant from the evil to come (430).*

The city fell. It seems never to have had another bishop. Carthage fell at the stroke of these Arian Vandals, who subdued the whole country, ruled it, and caused scenes of terror to the catholics for nearly a century. The word Vandalism came into history. The orthodox Church made a noble record. Bishop Vigilius has been called another Athanasius, and Fulgentius, who was banished for a time with sixty bishops to Sardinia, was called the Augustine of the sixth century. In 534 the famous General Belisarius expelled the Vandals, and restored the African Church to peaceful times until the Mohammedans crushed it into the dust from which it never rose. Her first known father, Tertullian, had said that "the blood of the martyrs is seed," and her last great theologian and bishop saw the harvest-field in its widest extent and its richest wealth. Henceforth it declined and perished, showing that the Church in certain localities has not always flourished under persecution, nor retained her life after the slaughter of her children.

Semi-Pelagianism took a quite mature form from John Cassian, an Eastern monk of culture, devotion, and energy. He had studied with Jerome and Chrysostom, and in his old age he said: "What I have written John taught me, and it is not

* Augustine wrote various works on theology, and in refutation of the Manicheans, Donatists, Arians, Pelagians, Semi-Pelagians, and Pagans. When Alaric, the Arian Goth, captured Rome, the pagans rallied and asserted that the calamities of the expiring empire were due to Christianity. He soon began his great apology—"The City of God"—and upon it spent much of thirteen years. In it he portrays the nature of paganism, and sets forth the place and power of God's eternal city, or kingdom, in this world. This work "has remained to this hour the standard philosophy of history for the Church orthodox."

so much mine as his. For a brook rises from a spring; from the teacher flows what is found in the pupil." John had urged repentance upon those gay people who had applauded his sermons and gone home to forget the ten commandments, or run to the circus; and he meant to charge the responsibility upon them when he said: "You are what you make yourselves to be. You have the remedy in your own hands; your wills are free; that iron will can make a way for your escape from sin." Cassian went into Southern Gaul about 412, and devoted himself to founding monasteries, and framing a theology that would be adapted to monastic life. His rules were severe against "the eight capital vices—intemperance, unchastity, avarice, anger, sadness, dullness, ambition, and pride." At Marseilles he founded two large convents, one of which was for nuns, and soon it had some five thousand inmates. It was the model for many nunneries. Assuming to dislike dogmas, he formulated some of his own. He decidedly opposed the chief errors of Pelagius, with whom he had labored awhile in Italy; but thought that Augustine laid man too helpless at the foot of a Sovereign's throne. He held that all men sinned in Adam; that all have hereditary and actual sins; that all are naturally inclined to evil; that all who are saved must be assisted by supernatural grace; that grace develops the germs of virtue which God has put in man's nature; that the human will, which is simply weakened by the fall, renders that grace effective; that man is not spiritually dead, but sick, and can at least desire the aid of the physician, and either accept or reject it when it is offered; that God saves while man co-operates, and that God calls, but man is elected only on condition of his faith. Predestination was explained as twofold; the general, by which God wills the salvation of all men, and the special, by which he determines to save all *who, as foreseen, will believe*; hence Christ died alike for all men, and his grace is offered to all. Children dying in infancy are dealt with according to what God foresees they would become if they should live to mature years; yet all baptized children seem to be placed among the saved.*

* "Augustinianism asserts that man is morally *dead*; Semi-Pelagianism maintains that he is morally *sick*; Pelagianism holds that he is morally *well*." (Wiggers.)

This system made great progress in Gaul. It had its schools, and as early as 475 it controlled two synods, at Arles and Lyons, which led to a schism. In the reaction against it, a moderate Augustinianism was adopted at the Synod of Orange (529), in which Cæsarius, the bishop of Arles, was the leading advocate. Sixty years later Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, represented the same milder doctrines. Thenceforth there were three types of doctrine in the Latin Church—those of Augustine, Cassian, and Gregory.

NOTES.

I. *Three systems* in which anthropology is prominent:

1. Semi-Pelagianism, after Cassian, was advocated by several influential men in the West. Vincent of Lerins (435) had his monastery on an island near Marseilles. It educated many monks, presbyters, and missionaries. He laid down the famous test of catholic truth, "Whatever is held always, every-where, and by all, must be believed." His little "History of Heresies" does not contain his own name as that of a heretic, for he thought he was sound. Another champion was Faustus, Bishop of Riez, Piedmont (456), who devoted his eloquence and his pen to the cause, and roused no small controversy in the East. Pope Gelasius put him and Cassian down in the first Index of Prohibited Books.

2. Moderate Augustinianism. Cæsarius of Arles (501-542) was a model bishop and missionary, who sought to bring the Gothic conquerors of his country out of their nominal Arianism, and to secure the rights of the conquered. By his wisdom, charity, and zeal he did much to harmonize the two races and promote civilization. Avitus of Vienne, the Milton of his time; Claudian Mamertus, the philosopher; Salvian, who wrote on "The Divine Providence," to show that the Gothic invaders were sent to chastise the Church for her sins; Eucherius, the married Bishop of Lyons,—were representatives of the old Gallic Church in her efforts to convert the Germanic invaders.

3. Strict Augustinianism was defended by Prosper of Aquitaine and the layman Hilary, who informed Augustine of the views of Cassian, and thus called forth his last writings on Predestination and Perseverance. Fulgentius, the exiled African bishop (525), was the theological model of Gottschalk in the ninth century. Isidore of Seville (636) was greatly admired in his time.

II. *Eutychianism* produced the Monophysite (one nature) and Monothelite (one will) controversies. Pope Honorius I (625-638) officially indorsed Monothelitism, and after his death the Sixth Œcumenical Council, 680, condemned and excommunicated him as a heretic, and this was repeated in 787 and 869 by other councils, and by popes down to the eleventh

century—a case of papal fallibility on one side or the other. It also shows the power of councils. The existing Monophysites are: 1. The Jacobites of Syria. 2. The Copts of Egypt and the Abyssinian Church, founded by the missionaries Frumentius and Edesius, whom Athanasius sent out from Alexandria. 3. The Armenian Church, planted by Gregory the Illuminator. Among all these there are American and European missions. The Maronites of the Lebanon are the only Monothelites existing as a sect.

III. *The Church in the East* reached its highest point, theologically, at the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, and thenceforward tended more and more to a separation from the Church in the West. Excepting a few references farther on, we shall leave it with this summary. The causes of its separation from the West were mainly these: 1. It was Greek in its language and spirit. 2. It was in the Eastern Empire, and greatly subject to the emperors, who held their power until 1453, when the Turks overthrew them. 3. It differed from the West about Easter-day, celibacy, and various customs and ceremonies. 4. It refused to admit the Latin addition to the Nicene Creed; namely, the "Filioque," or the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, as well as from the Father. 5. In the image controversy of the eighth century it opposed the use of images or statues (but not pictures) in the churches, they being admitted generally in the West. 6. After the Patriarch of Constantinople gained the chief power over the Eastern Church he was not willing to be second to the Patriarch of Rome. The strife waxed hot when the Eastern patriarch was Photius, a rich noble, a very able general, the finest scholar in the Greek Church after Theodoret, and put in his chair by Emperor Michael the Drunkard, in 867. He and Pope Nicholas deposed each other, and neither would stay deposed. The new emperor, Basil, deposed and banished him, but finally recalled him. A quite similar controversy in 1054 made the separation complete, and all later attempts at reunion failed. In the fourteenth century Pope John XXII invited the Greeks to unite with the Latins; they returned this answer: "Exercise your authority over your own creatures. As for us, we can neither bear your pride nor satisfy your avarice. So the devil be with you; the Lord is with us!"

PERIOD III.

FROM LEO THE GREAT TO HILDEBRAND.

A. D. 451—1085.

THE NEW EUROPE—ITS CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY AND SUBMISSION TO THE PAPACY—IN THE PROGRESS OF THESE CHANGES THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST WAS DESTROYED BY THE GERMANIC PEOPLES—THE GERMAN EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE ROSE AND FELL—THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN STATES WERE LAID—THE ERA OF MISSIONS—THE BENEDICTINE SYSTEM OF MONASTIC LIFE CONTRIBUTED TO CIVILIZATION, DECLINED, AND NEEDED REFORMS—CIVIL SOCIETY ABSORBED IN THE CHURCH—IGNORANCE AND SUPERSTITION HELD SWAY—IMITATING CHARLEMAGNE, ALFRED THE GREAT ATTEMPTED TO PROMOTE EDUCATION AND SOCIAL ORDER IN ENGLAND—THE HIERARCHY CULMINATED IN THE PAPAL SYSTEM OF HILDEBRAND.

CHAPTER VIII.

ROME, HER PILLAGERS AND BISHOPS.

376—600.

I. NEW PEOPLES IN SOUTHERN EUROPE.

ROME was more than the capital; she was the mother of the state, the creator of a realm. This is a peculiar fact. Berlin did not create Germany; but Rome made an empire. Proud of her growth and glory, she was cruel to the Church until forced to yield; but in yielding she sought to Romanize the kingdom of Christ. The great city must be brought low. Outside of her own pagan vices, which powerfully aided in the destruction of the empire, the two causes of her fall were Christianity and barbarism, or the Church and the Germanic peoples. The first gave a new heart to multitudes of her subjects, converted the throne, caused the removal of the capital, destroyed her paganism, and thus took away her heathen life. Still the old pride and imperiousness remained. She stood

sullen by fireless altars, and at the closed doors of her temples, or rioted in her sins. The second cause was that very muscular force by which she had gained the mastery over the world. It took away her possessions, her cities, her provinces. The Germanic tribes had long been moving from the Baltic towards richer and sunnier lands. They had often crossed the border and made desperate battles. In the time of Theodosius they were drawn up for the final onset all along the frontier line formed by the Rhine and the Danube. The Saxons were ready to cross into Britain. The Franks were eager to step over into Gaul. The Vandals would soon pack their wagons and march into Spain. The Burgundians were pushing towards the Rhone. The two specific tribes of the Goths were on the lower Danube, only waiting to move upon Greece and Italy.

How would these Germans affect society, and what would they receive from the Church? The Romans called them "the barbarians," and there surely was barbarism enough in their fierceness, their love of plunder, their modes of warfare, their social revels, and their worship of the Northern gods. But the pagan Romans seem to have been more corrupt, and less capable of moral convictions. It was hard for Christianity to "do its best work on degenerate and worn-out races;" hard to rouse any moral sense in converted Greeks and Romans; and hence the Church suffered from their lack of an active conscience. The German peoples, whom Dr. Arnold called "the regenerating race," would require centuries of tuition; but they would finally bring into society more honesty, more sincerity and truthfulness, a purer sense of justice, a higher regard for human rights, a nobler liberty, and a truer respect for woman as maiden, wife, or mother. They had a warmer love for kindred. To be kind to a man was to treat him as one of the kin. Their rough virtues put to the blush all the smooth vices of the Romans. They had healthy muscle and vigorous mind, and would change the civilization of Europe. "The barbarian invasion was, on the whole, more of a good than an evil. It was a scourge of God; but Roman society needed scourging, and the rod was sent in mercy as well as wrath. A worn-out and effeminate race required strengthening by the infusion of fresh, vigorous blood. Christianity works on nature, and renews it; yet the renewal is modified by the condition of the

nature on which it operates. The history of Christianity in Western Europe could not have been what it proved but for the new elements infused into European society." Thus much upon the providence and philosophy of these movements, by which the Church became the real architect of European civilization.

The Goths learned Christianity from captives taken in some of their raids. They had often swept through the Greek lands, and been east of the Hellespont. The first teachers named among them were Theophilus, who sat in the Council of Nice, and Ulfilas, or the Wolf-born, who came to Valens, in 376, and told him how the Huns were pressing hard upon his people. He asked that they might cross the Danube and live on Roman soil. Valens was too zealous an Arian to let slip the chance of making a convert, and he was likely to demand that his faith be accepted with his grant of new homes. Ulfilas was too little versed in controversial theology, and too eager for the relief of his people to suspect any great harm in Arianizing them. So he returned, and as "the Moses of the Goths" led them "through the deep waters of the Danube to the Land of Promise." But the old corn of the land failed them. The emperor sent funds: the Roman officials kept them, and left the Goths to starve. The flesh of dogs and even worse rations were offered them. They bartered the best goods they had, and at last their children. From that hour Justice took their part. Ulfilas could not help their revolt. King Fritigern brought over more Goths, and even the hideous Huns came. And then the human deluge began. The invaders rushed into Thrace, pillaged and burnt cities, and recovered their children, who told tales of horror. They grew madder on their way towards the capital, and Jerome says, "They left nothing alive, not even the herds in the fields, till nothing remained but growing brambles and green forests." In 378, one million of men fought at Hadrianople, where Valens saw his army cut to pieces, fled wounded to a cottage, and in it was burnt by the Goths. They were allowed by Theodosius to settle upon the rich lands which they had overrun. Ulfilas had tried to check the war. He led his more Christian people into the Mœsian valleys, where they dwelt as shepherds, and in 388 lamented his death. He left them nearly all the Bible translated into

their language. He had to construct an alphabet, inventing some of the letters. This version was carried by the Goths in their migrations as late as the ninth century. Part of it, in letters of silver and gold, apparently stamped on parchment with hot metal types, is now at Upsal, in Sweden.

When Theodosius was gone, his niece was the wife of the Vandal Stilicho, a far worthier man to rule the West than Honorius, who petted chickens at Ravenna, or strolled abroad with profligates. It shows to what Rome had come, when her safety depended upon the Vandal statesman and general. In 404, amid the rejoicings over his victories, and the rare visit of an emperor, the heathenism of the city was displayed. In the coliseum eighty thousand people looked down from the benches upon gladiators mauling and stabbing each other, and reddening the ground with blood. Such prize fighting always drew the Roman crowd. It was wild paganism, utterly defiant of the throne and the Church. The emperors had tried in vain to abolish these brutal shows. Christianity was now to meet them in a new way. When the crowd was in wild delight, an old monk, Telemachus, who had walked from some Eastern desert, suddenly leaped into the ring, threw himself between the combatants, and forced their swords apart. The crowd rose, yelled, cursed, hurled missiles at the supposed madman, and he fell dead. The gladiators finished their bout. But the monk, who had laid down his life for humanity, had his victory. The emperor enacted a law which put an end to such barbarous games. The coliseum yet stands, but the breach in its side is a symbol of the assault which Christianity made upon pagan society.

Stilicho kept back daring invaders; one of them was that mysterious Radagast, whose two hundred thousand Germans, Huns, and Vandals sat in siege around the walls of the old Florence, where heat and wine and vice did their work. (406.) "Like water they flowed in; like water they sank into the soil; and every one of them a human soul." The survivors were made slaves to the Romans.

The other invader was Alaric, the greatest Goth who had yet made a line of history. He had failed to obtain Stilicho's place as general, had revolted, and had fought his way to Athens, where he bathed and feasted, and for one day tried to behave like a Roman gentleman. He had subdued Greece,

and his soldiers had lifted him on their shields, and proclaimed him king of the Visigoths. A saga whispered to him, "You will reach the Italian city by way of the Alps." So up the shore of the Adriatic and over the Alps he went, until Rome's defender checked him (408). Then Rome put to death Stilicho, the hero, the patriot, and the Christian, probably for being too loyal, or for wedding his daughter to Honorius, or in that madness which was a token of her destruction. This outrage sent thirty thousand Roman soldiers into the army of Alaric, who leaped to the gates of Rome, and sat down before her walls. The Romans began to starve and die. In the famine mothers devoured their little children. The pagans clamored for their gods and altars to be restored. The senate stripped the gold plates from the doors of the capitol to make up a ransom. They went to Alaric, but he scorned their money, their pride, and their despair. They boasted of their numbers—more than a million citizens. He laughed, saying, "The thicker the grass the easier it is mowed." More gold was offered; he grew more serious, and when asked what would satisfy him, he answered, "All your treasures—all the German captives whom you hold as slaves." He had a touch of mercy for his kindred. When asked, "What will you leave us?" he replied, "Your lives."

They bought him off. He added the forty thousand liberated slaves to his army. He might have asserted himself king of Italy, but he claimed to be the vassal of the emperor, who went on fighting Jews and heretics rather than Goths, and inflaming pagans by overturning altars, converting temples into churches, and taking the income of heathen priests to pay his body-guards. In vain did Bishop Innocent try to kindle in his soul a love for Italy, and wisdom enough to unite all parties in one cause. Amid a confusing series of events Alaric was insulted by the emperor, at Ravenna, and marching in Gothic wrath upon Rome, he pillaged it for five days (409).

Pelagius saw in the woes of the time a picture of the last judgment. Augustine wrote *De Civitate Dei* to set forth the philosophy of history, show that Christianity was not justly chargeable with the barbarian conquests, and comfort the Church with the assurance that the City of God, enduring on earth and eternal in the heavens, shall outlast all cities and empires of men. It is the last great Apology from the Ancient Church.

What were the effects of this event upon the Christians, the Churches, and the city? Of course in the wild tumult there were intense sufferings, lawless attacks upon innocence, and the shedding of blood. But there was no special assault upon catholics. It was not meant to be a war upon orthodoxy. The Arian Goths in the city put to shame the Arian Greeks in their councils, and laid some restraint upon the savage Huns who served in their army. Plunder seems to have been the main object of the leaders. The aged Marcella, the friend of Jerome, famed for her noble rank and her piety, was beaten in order to wring from her the treasures thought to be hidden, but really expended in charity. Her patience and courage softened the heart of the spoiler, and his rough hand led her to one of the churches, where she was safe. Among the numberless captives sold into slavery, or people driven into exile, there must have been hundreds of Christians. Augustine gave some of them shelter and secured to them means of support. Jerome saw them coming to Bethlehem, begging at the convent door. Who knows what kindly refuges the monasteries were at that time?

The churches, twenty-six of them, were generally respected. Alaric said, "I wage war upon the Romans, not upon the apostles." The churches of St. Peter and St. Paul were turned into asylums and guarded by soldiers. The pagans ran to them for safety. While nothing in a heathen temple was too sacred to be left, the treasures of the churches and convents were not often disturbed. A Gothic captain, entering some Christian building, met an aged nun or deaconess, and civilly asked for the gold and silver in her care. She promptly set before him an array of massive plate that astonished him. "These," said she, "belong to St. Peter. Take them if you dare, and answer to God for the deed." He was awe-struck. He sent an inquiry to Alaric. The reply was, "Bring them into St. Peter's Church." And then a body of Goths formed a procession, placed the nun and her associates in line, with the sacred vessels on their heads, and began the stately march. A crowd of Christians fell into the ranks; psalms were sung; cheers rose from the streets, and many thought that after all these Goths were men of humane hearts.

The effects upon the city were beyond estimate. She was

never again the old Rome with her former wealth, grandeur, haughtiness, luxury, idolatries, and pagan society. Emperors had tried in vain to banish the gods and the vices. Jehovah's decree sent Alaric, and the scarlet woman began to walk in whiter robes upon the seven hills. "It was pagan Rome, the Babylon of sensuality, pride, and idolatry, which fell before Alaric; the Goths were the agents of divine vengeance against the paganism which lingered in this its last stronghold." There was another effect in the direction of the papacy. "If Christian Rome thus rose out of the ruins of the pagan city, the Bishop of Rome rose in proportionate grandeur above the wreck of the old institutions and scattered society. The capture of Rome by Alaric was one of the great steps by which the pope arose to his plenitude of power. From this time the greatest man in Rome was the pope." He alone had any real power that was permanent.

Alaric moved southward, and at Nola made a well treated prisoner of Paulinus, who had been a consul, then a monk, and was now a bishop with a wife. He bestowed his immense estates upon missions, church erection, and monasteries. If no other warm friend of Augustine fared worse than "this eminent and holy servant of God" did in the hands of Alaric, it was proof that the Arianism of these Goths was not so fierce as that of the Vandals. In the far south of Italy the conqueror stood on the shore shipping his men for Sicily. A storm wrecked their boats. He suddenly died, in 410, and was buried in the river-bed near Cosenza. His followers, under Ataulf, brother-in-law of Honorius, marched into the lands on both sides of the Pyrenees, where the Visigothic kingdom was founded, with Toulouse as the capital. Thus a strong Arian power was established in the West, very threatening to the orthodox Church. In Gaul the Visigoth took from his conquered neighbor half the forest, two-thirds of the farm, and one-third of the serfs, and the Gallo-Roman submitted, with the politeness of a modern Frenchman, calling his surrender "hospitality" to his intrusive guest. "So both sides took matters philosophically, and amalgamation began forthwith." They must have united to put down the Bagaudes, or rebellious peasants, in one of whose frequent insurrections Autun, with her Latin schools, was destroyed. Interpreting these conquests

in his book on the Providence of God, Salvian (440), the Gallic Jeremiah, thought that the sins of his Church were enough to bring upon it the invaders. In his strongly drawn contrasts, the new peoples appear less debased by luxury, idleness, theaters, and vices, than the older Christian inhabitants. "They are heretics, but they know it not; the truth is on our side, but they think they have it; they err, but their intention is right." He means that the rudest impulses of barbarism are more excusable than the refined vices of civilization; weeds on the common are not so unsightly as grass in a corn-field.

In Spain the Visigoths made a deadlier assault on the catholic Church. They stabled their horses in monasteries, fought down bishops, forbade councils, burnt creeds, silenced believers, and so repressed the Nicene faith that it has been represented as dying there without a cry. It found no toleration in Spain for more than a century, and no chartered rights until King Recared (586) accepted and established the Nicene creed.

II. RISE OF THE PAPACY.

Evidently the papacy was not a divine gift to the Church, but a human growth within it. By degrees St. Peter was regarded as the official primate of the apostles; imperial Rome as the seat of his power; and her bishops as his successors in authority. But for a long time the Roman bishops hardly dreamed that residence in a grand city made them great men, nor that Roman imperialism was the divinely ordained type of Christian episcopacy. After the year 200 we begin to find glimpses of assumptions and claims to a limited primacy over Churches at a distance, but presbyters and bishops did not sustain them.* The notable instance of the local Council of Sardica (343), of which so much is still made, amounts to this: Permission was granted to Bishop Julius to act in a possible case of appeal—one that might come from such a bishop as Athanasius, recently deposed by the Arians—and Julius was specially named, as if he were a commission with delegated

*Cyprian conceded to the Roman bishop high honor on account of his position at Rome and in "the chair of St. Peter," but he said in the Council of Carthage, 254, "None of us ought to set himself up as a bishop of bishops, or pretend tyrannically to restrain his colleagues." He knew how Peter had written, "I am a co-presbyter." (1 Peter v; 1.)

power to ratify the deposition or to call a new council, or to institute a new trial in a synod of other bishops. It was a new and special method adapted to Arian times. His wisdom was trusted; nothing of supreme power, as Bishop of Rome, was conceded to him. His act was prescribed, and when done, his commission ended. True, he was appointed "in honor to the memory of the holy Apostle Peter;" but the memory of Peter did not mean the supremacy of Peter nor of his supposed successor. Still later, the Roman bishop was on an official equality with the "pope," or primate, or patriarch of certain other cities; and each of them held a position accorded to him by a Church which had gradually passed from presbytery to prelacy. What raised the Bishop of Rome above this equality? Various causes: such as residence in the Mother City of the empire; pastoral care of the alleged "Mother Church" of the West; a supposed analogy between him and the emperor, to whose throne Rome had never surrendered the title; requests for advice, and appeals by persons dissatisfied with the acts of synods and of other bishops; the Germanic invasions, which led the oppressed Church to look to him as a spiritual father; his patronage of missions among the new peoples; the fall of the old empire in the West; but especially the ambition, claims, and abilities of a succession of great men in the episcopal chair. These men asserted and elevated its dignity and power.

Innocent I (402-417), a man of excellent life, the patriot, the noblest Roman of the time, took up the twofold doctrine that Peter was the primate of the apostles, and the Roman bishop was the official successor of Peter. These points were more easily assumed than proved, but with bold men and their admirers assumption is proof. "Upon his mind appears first distinctly to have dawned the vast conception of Rome's universal supremacy; dim as yet and shadowy, yet full and comprehensive in its outline." Having taken the side of Chrysostom in the great Eastern quarrel, he won the favor of the better and wiser bishops in the East. His support of Augustine secured him favor in the West. But he was far from being acknowledged as the sovereign of the whole Church. These powers were asserted more boldly by Celestine (423-432), who is claimed to have sent St. Patrick to Ireland, and who gained

some new timber for his chair in the Nestorian controversy. He let the rival patriarchs do all the shameful fighting, and managed to get out of it a victory for his office. When his letters were read at the General Council of Ephesus the shout arose, "Thanks to the second Peter, Celestine, and to the second Paul, Cyril; to Celestine, the protector of the faith and unanimous with the Council. One Celestine, one Cyril, one faith in the Council, one faith throughout the world." Such was the new creed in favor of the Papacy and incipient Eutychianism!

Leo the Great (440-461) was elected with popular enthusiasm. No man of such commanding intellect and clear knowledge of theology had ever sat in the chair. We saw how his letter was the basis of the creed of Chalcedon. His biography would be the history of his times, often called "the Age of Leo." He was the first Roman bishop whose popular sermons have come down to us. He was a Christian Cato, rebuking vice, and laying down the law; a man of no imagination, no warmth, but plain, solid doctrine, and a full creed concerning Christ. He condemned the whole race of heretics, who he thought did not deserve any benefit of law, Gospel, or charity. Assuming that his was the chair of St. Peter, he wrote, "In his chair dwelleth the everliving power, the superabounding authority. Let the brethren, therefore, acknowledge that he is the primate of all bishops, and that Christ imparts his gifts to none except through him." To protest against the practice of this high doctrine, Hilary of Arles walked through the snows over the Alps, without even a mule to carry his robes and his evidence; and he set forth the basis of the "Gallican Liberties," so famous in the ages down to Père Hyacinthe, when he said that no Gallic bishop could justly appeal to Rome, nor the Roman bishop entertain an appeal in a case outside of the Roman diocese.* But Leo had his claims backed by the Emperor Valentinian III, who asserted that the empire was protected mainly by the Christian faith and Church, and that the peace of the Church depended on the primacy of the Roman see. Hilary submitted. He was famous for his be-

* An offending bishop should be tried in his own diocese, and he might appeal to some higher Council. Augustine and others had been of Hilary's mind.

nevolence, and for redeeming captives from the Visigoths and Burgundians. His eloquent sermons were sometimes four hours long, and the people, as a novelty, brought seats into the cathedral.

These were the days of Attila the Hun, who may have been "the most powerful heathen king that ever ruled in Europe," for his confederation of tribes may have extended from the Baltic to the borders of China. A woman's ring led him to think of adding the West to his realm. Somewhere in Hungary his headquarters grew into a city of tents and hovels. His wives and warriors indulged in golden wares, and luxuries, but a wooden plate was good enough for him, and he never tasted bread. His boast was, that where his horses trod, the grass never grew again. In his greatest campaign, he shot across the German lands, with a vast army of Huns and all sorts of vagabond tribes, and fell upon Gaul. "Who art thou?" asked Bishop Lupus, of Troyes, who knew how to fight Pelagians, and would not run from a heathen host. "I am Attila, the scourge of God." The invader did not sack the town, as was his custom, but took the gentle monk with him as a safeguard. At Chalons, in 451, was fought one of the great decisive battles of history. The men of the West forgot all their differences of creed and race, for their country and the Churches of Christ were in danger. For once were united Gaul, Burgundian and Visigoth, Frank, Breton, and Saxon, Arian, Augustinian and Semi-Pelagian, in one common interest, and they won the day, but with immense slaughter. Attila and his hordes rolled away into Italy, intent upon Rome. Cities paid him vast sums to be spared, or fell by his strokes. When he drew near "the Eternal City," Leo came out to meet him, and bought him off by allowing him the dowry of that crafty princess Honoria, who had started this avalanche of woes when she sent her ring to him and asked him to be the champion of her political schemes, if not to become her husband. He marched away across the Danube, where a German girl, just added to his wives, best knew how "the scourge of God" came suddenly to his earthly end. He seems to have been stabbed in his house.

Another woman had her plot. The Empress Eudoxia brought over from Carthage the Vandal sea-rover, Genseric,

to be her champion. He spent fourteen days, of the year 455, in pillaging Rome, sent to Carthage ship-loads of treasure and captives, and carried off the empress, who paid dearly for her treasons. Again the bishops of those cities were active in caring for the bereaved, the impoverished, the prisoners, the exiles, and in ransoming Christians from slavery.

Here is one feature of that age; the Church was not under persecution for her faith, except in Africa, and among the Visigoths; but she was almost every-where in the West under pillage. To impress this fact we have dwelt somewhat upon the Germanic invasions. No one can tell the distress of the Christians in these dreary years. The name of a later town is often the only record of the agony. Wimpfen (women's pain), on the track of Attila, shows the spot where women suffered untold horrors. Churches fell and Christians fled, and when the tramp of his horses was heard at Metz, the pastors hastened to baptize the infants, for rumors told them to expect a general massacre. He left that flourishing city a scene of blood and ashes; only a solitary chapel was spared to mark the site. The Goths were not so savage as the Huns. We may find the Franks still less murderous. But the Saxons, after 449, were driving the ancient Britons from their homes, and Gildas says that "priests and people, churches and dwellings, were involved in one common ruin." The England thus formed was completely under Teutonic paganism. There the early Church—feeble at best—was so erased that her story comes to us in legends.

The southern invaders wrought great changes. And yet we may be misled by such phrases as "the deluge of barbarians," and "the dissolution of society," and imagine too much. We may think that in the whole West one people came and another left; or that the invaders made slaves of all the former inhabitants. But the new-comers usually took the richer towns and cities, seized the powers of government, compromised with the older people, and ruled the two mingled races with some degree of equality and fairness. In most of Gaul the Church stood forth sublimely amid the rapine and ruin, and sought to convert the conquerors. When the Arian Visigoths and Burgundians were most severe upon the orthodox bishops and pastors, it was for reasons very creditable to the older Church.

To her the native people looked as their most willing defender. "It was the bishop who administered justice, redressed grievances, appeased tumults, sheltered the fugitive in the asylum of his palace, and alleviated by his charity the miseries of war." Many Roman gentlemen, officials and senators in Gaul, such as Eucherius and Sidonius, lost their civil positions and became bishops.* Such men carried forward some elements of Roman law, language, and literature. They preserved much of the old civilization as a basis for modern France. In the very years of the great changes many pastors held their ground. Their suffering Churches remained. They convened more than twenty synods at such towns as Lyons and Arles, and twenty, thirty, forty-four bishops were present. Those bishops became the great men in society, and often at the courts of the new kings. They mediated between the two races. They knew more of the Roman law than the barbarians. They became magistrates and governors in the cities. The tendency was to grow more secular, more ambitious. Hence the power of the bishops in the Middle Ages.

In these wars and compromises between races may be found some causes of the decline of piety and learning, the decay of schools, the flight of many Christians into monastic life, the rearing of monasteries and their use as refuges, and the laws of Bishop Leo, who made every church an asylum, as sacred as the refuge city of the Hebrews. We have seen what power Leo claimed for the Bishop of Rome. He was as zealous to see every other bishop hold a power over the presbyters in his diocese, and the presbyter (priest) maintain high authority over the people of his charge. It seems that private confession to a priest came into vogue.

*Notice the dates, localities, and religions of the new nations:

1. *Arian*—The Vandals and Suevi in Spain in 409, and Vandals in Africa, 429-534: Visigoths in Spain, 419-711, and in Gaul, 422-507: Burgundians on the Rhone, 420-534: Heruli in Italy, 476-493, and subdued by the Ostrogoths who ruled Italy, 493-553: Lombards ruled in Italy, 568-774.

2. *Heathen*—The Saxons in Britain, 449, but Christianized after 596: All the peoples along the east bank of the Rhine and in the Swiss Alps until the seventh century.

3. *Orthodox*—The Franks, in northern Gaul, about 412: Converted about 496 under Clovis, who drove the Arian Visigoths southward, and they became orthodox about 586, under Recared. The Burgundians orthodox after 510, and the Lombards in 595.

All this helped to centralize the Church in four ways: 1. The Church became the center of society. The building was the common resort and refuge. The very holidays were the Church festivals. The German Yule tide and Easter were identified with the Church Christmas and paschal feast. Fewer people then than now dared to be non-professors, unbelievers and scoffers; the majority were nominal Christians. Civil society was absorbed in Church society: the one became more ecclesiastical, the other compromised too much with pagan customs. 2. The priest, or pastor, became the center of the Church. His word was social law; his deeds the common talk. By him the children were baptized and the parents blessed; to him the penitent confessed his sins, and came for relief in his sorrows. 3. The bishop was the center of the priests, or presbyters, of a diocese, and the central personage in a large group of churchly communities. In the same way the archbishop had a broader influence over bishops and in synods. 4. The Bishop of Rome must be pope,* and the center of the whole system. Leo aimed at this; the times in the West favored him; the tribulated pastors and people wanted an adviser, helper, father; and the converted kings began to ask his counsel and mediation.

Thus the new Europe was forming, and from child up to king, from peasant up to pope, all classes of people were coming into new relations. With all her errors, the Church of the West did much good work in the new civilization. "In Gaul the early Church was the one great antagonist of the wrongs which were done upon the earth; she narrowed the range of fiscal tyranny; she mitigated the overwhelming poverty of the people; she promoted the accumulation of capital; she contributed to the restoration of agriculture; she balanced and held in check the imperial despotism;" she revived the uses of free voices and free votes, and did more for learning and liberty than any other institution or philosophy of that age. We regret her mistakes; but wise reapers will thankfully gather what sheaves there are, rather than idly censure the plowman for not securing a perfect harvest.

* The title pope, *abba*, *papa*, *father*, had been applied to nearly all bishops, then to the patriarchs, and in the West it was gradually limited to the Bishop of Rome.

III. FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

Bishop Leo died in 461, at a time when good emperors like Majorian could do nothing with a bad people, and usurpers cared more for themselves than their country. Count Ricimer, a king-maker, sacked Rome to show that he owned Italy, the only remnant of the Western Empire. Another king-maker and king-remover was Orestes, who thought that his old master, Attila, had been too honest, open-hearted, and magnanimous in dealing with Rome. He set up his little son as ruler in 475, calling him Romulus Augustulus, after Rome's first king and first emperor. In him the old empire of the West practically ended forever.* For Odoacer (Odoaker) came down from the Noric Alps to seek his fortune. The story is that he was the chief of some robbers, and visited the cell of St. Severinus, the missionary near Vienna, to ask his blessing. The door was low, he was tall, and as he stooped the monk thought him very humble and great in spirit. "Go to Italy in your sorry furs," said the adviser; "you will soon be rich enough to give gifts." Odoacer† served in the army, revolted, slew Orestes, and, in 476, sent Romulus Augustulus to spend his crownless days in a splendid villa near Naples, from which he and his relatives could look upon Vesuvius and think of social earthquakes. After he was gone, that villa, in which the epicure Lucullus had spent millions upon art and dinners, was converted into a church and monastery, and there the bones of St. Severinus‡ were laid, as if it were to stand as the memorial of the revolutions and systems of long ages.

Odoacer brought in the Heruli, with other tribes, and became a wise, valorous, moderate king. An Arian, yet tolerant; a barbarian, yet a civilizer, ruling Italy seventeen years and "keeping some sort of rude order and justice in that wretched land," but scarcely aware that as he had done unto others so should it be done unto him. He introduced the feudal system

* Theoretically it was continued until 1806. See Note IV. The "Middle Ages" are sometimes reckoned from 476. See Note V.

† His brother Hunwolf, Onulf, Welf, or Guelf, went to Bavaria and there reared Guelfs, who made a name in the later wars and on the thrones of Europe, one of them now reigning in England.

‡ Note VI.

by giving to his followers one-third of the lands. He left two-thirds to the native people, and sought to elevate them by industry and better morals.

Now comes Theodoric the Great, leading the Ostrogoths out of the Mæsan Valleys and over the Alps; a great host of them on a Winter-march, with wives and children, wagons and cattle, grinding their corn in hand-mills, roasting game at the camp-fires, carrying their shivering sick and burying little children, bringing the Bible of good Ulfilas, and Arian priests to keep alive their faith. Three years of war, a treaty, a feast at Ravenna, the slaying of Odoacer in some unjust way, and Theodoric was master of Italy (493), and founder of the kingdom of the Ostrogoths. There he ruled for thirty-three years with a vigor, justice, and parental care not paralleled in that age, if in any age before Alfred the Great, who seems to have imitated him. He did not pillage Rome nor oppress the Italians. The unruly Heruli were scattered elsewhere, the peaceful well settled. Exiled Romans were brought home. Wars were ended in Italy for the present. Law was restored, each race abiding by its own. The police was so strict that merchants thronged from all parts, and it was loosely said that a man might leave his gold on his farm as safely as in a walled city. The races began to cherish that mutual admiration which helps to make good society.

The two great rulers then in the West were Theodoric and Clovis, the king of the Franks. They conquered the provinces lying between them until their kingdoms touched, and on the border the Arian and the Nicean monarchs shook hands in peace. Each of them formed alliances with the new nations by marriages. Among all of them there was a common language, and the same minstrel might sing his rude ballads at the courts of Ravenna, Paris, Toulouse, and Dijon, and be surer of applauses than liberal pay.* One fact is notable on the side of

* Out of those times grew two sorts of literature: 1. The heroic minstrelsy and poetry concerning the German warriors. Even Attila becomes the Etzel of the Nibelungen Lied. Theodoric is Dietrich the Strong of Verona. The heroes are so transformed that one can scarcely recognize them. For a long time Germany has the Minnesingers and France the Troubadours. The Celts have their bards and minstrels. 2. The heroic legends in the Church, concerning persons who are supposed to have miraculously defended churches and towns against the invaders; *e. g.*, Genoveva, the peasant maiden, warded off Attila from Paris, and to this day is one of her guardian saints.

orthodoxy: the Gothic princesses who were married to catholics readily gave up their Arianism, while the Frankish princesses, who married Arians, adhered to the catholic faith. However, Alboflada, the sister of Clovis, must have become an Arian after she married Theodoric. This Gothic king gave his followers fully one-third of the lands. He did not care to educate them, saying: "The boy who trembles at a rod will never face a lance." He had no son, but his daughter, Amalasuntha, "the heavenly beauty," received a high culture for the time. When she became the ruler, her determination to have her son learn the Roman sciences brought a revolt of the Gothic courtiers, a conflict of races, and those plots which ruined the kingdom.

The great failure was in not giving a common law and a common education to the mingling races. The people became industrious, more wealthy, quite highly civilized, and happy. Paganism was under ban, but Theodoric was the first great ruler who was effectively tolerant to all parties of the Christian religion. If the catholics were treated with some severity in his last years it was mainly the fault of the Eastern monks and emperors. When a "pillar-saint"* controlled throne and Church at Constantinople, a Gothic king might well be disgusted. During his reign the Church in Rome and in the East presented little else than a series of contentions. He saw the rivals for the bishop's chair at Rome in hot strife, and said: "Let the man who has had the most votes and been ordained first be pope," which was good sense. The Jews were assailed by the

*In 423 Symeon the Stylite began this sort of hermitry, when he went into the desert, not far from Antioch, reared a pillar and stood on its top. He finally made it sixty feet high. On it he lived thirty-seven years, engaged in devotions, preaching orthodox sermons, drawing vast crowds of pilgrims, and securing praises even from the good Theodoret. He is said to have been the means of converting many pagans; kings and emperors sought his blessing. He attempted to settle the controversies in the Church. He had imitators in the East far down to the twelfth century. Western bishops forbade this sort of holiness. In Theodoric's time the chief of these "Holy Birds" was Daniel, who stood thirty-three years on his column four miles from Constantinople, the prophet, the oracle of the capital, and surpassing Symeon in his power over the Church and the state. Once he appeared in the city to decide the fate of an empire, and place Theodoric's old master, Zeno, on the throne. Zeno sought to secure peace in the Eastern Church with the "Form of Union" (Henoticon), but failed.

catholics; his decree was, "Arrest the ring-leaders;" but, as they could not be singled out, he said: "Let the whole catholic community restore the losses and rebuild the synagogues." When this was refused he grew severe, and probably allowed one chapel at Verona to be burnt. He took from the catholic Italians their swords and allowed them to carry only a common knife. The Arians were assailed in the East and West, and he wrote to the upstart Emperor Justin: "To pretend to a dominion over the conscience is to usurp the prerogative of God. By the nature of things the power of sovereigns is confined to political government. They have no rights over any except disturbers of the public peace. The most dangerous heresy is that of a sovereign who separates himself from a part of his subjects because they believe not as he believes." These, says Milman, are "golden words, but mistimed about twelve hundred years."

Justin and John, the Roman bishop, along with certain senators, were plotting to bring Italy under the power of the Eastern throne. This led Theodoric to suspect, wrongly, doubtless, the loyalty of two of the noblest Romans, Boethius and his father-in-law Symmachus. Gibbon says: "The senator, Boethius, is the last of the Romans whom Cato or Tully could have acknowledged for their countrymen." He lived from 470 to 525, and rose to high honor under Theodoric, who thought that all past learning, philosophy, and logic were concentrated in his secretary. When the Goth was old and annoyed by the Eastern persecutions and plots, he listened to the charges involving treason, and threw Boethius into prison, where he wrote his book on the "Consolations of Philosophy," so greatly admired ever since, the regret being that it scarcely gives evidence that the author was a Christian. The sad result was that the philosopher was horribly tortured to death; the last blow was from a club. "It was not Hercules who dealt it; rather was it Hercules who died." Symmachus was beheaded. The story is that soon afterwards Theodoric, now seventy-four, was at dinner; a large fish was brought in; its head seemed to him like that of Symmachus, the leader of the senate, when it was on the block. He rose up in horror, took to his bed, felt the mortal chill, and died (526), confessing that the execution of those noble men lay heavy on his soul.

Another of his ministers of state was Cassiodorus, who rendered all possible aid to the successors of Theodoric against the wiles and armies of Justinian,* until the fate of the Gothic kingdom was sealed by the victories of General Belisarius, the conqueror of the Vandals, and captor of Rome. Then the scholar resumed his hood, returned to the monastery he had founded in Calabria, and wrote history and scientific compends which became text-books in the schools of the Middle Ages.

IV. THE BENEDICTINE MONKS.

Theodoric was not admired by the monks, nor did he permit any of his Goths to enter convents. No doubt he despised them as heartily as men now do, who think that a monk of the fourth century was the miserable wreck of humanity which they find in the fourteenth. Yet at the very time when he was repairing the wasted cities of Italy, young Benedict of Nursia was reforming the monastic system, and gaining a wider and more lasting influence than ever followed a Cæsar. There had been monasteries in Europe ever since the exiled Athanasius had his cells near Rome and Treves. They had increased rapidly. The system was better than that of the East; the monks were not so meditative, and far more missionary; not trying to get so far out of the world, but going into it to subdue its paganism, convert barbarians, and comfort the poor. It had about it less hermitry, less shabbiness, less glorying in rags and self-righteousness, less laziness and ignorance. It did not send such wild troops of unwashed devotees into the cities to aid a fighting bishop, nor send fanatics into the desert to stand upon pillars and rob devotion of its common sense. There were exceptions on each of the continents, and Basil represents the practical conventism of the East. His rules were carried into the West, where the monk often lived amid his books, or with his ax and shovel turned forests into harvest fields.

But monasticism in its best estate was an error. Its theory of life was wrong. It centered a monk's thoughts about himself, in the effort to destroy self. Its principle of seclusion ignored the social virtues, the duties of man to man, the privileges of home and kindred, the love and law of the family, and the very modes of living which God has enjoined. It perverted

* Note I to this chapter.

Scripture and nature, when celibacy and solitude were accounted as modes of holiness. It drew men and women away from the open field of common life, in which they may best fight the moral battle, and conquer their temptations and their sins, after they have put on the whole armor of God in the lonely place of prayer. The solitary was apt to become morbid, indolent, conceited, or full of trust in his routine of devotions. Men living together for years, without any other society, became coarse, uncleanly, idle, and too often licentious. Women in convents had their follies and besetting sins. No doubt many overcame the evils inherent in the system, and are justly enrolled among the saints. Despite the evils, inherent and developed, monasticism did exist as a fact in the Divine Providence, and we can not ignore some benefits to the Church and civilization from the monks of the West.*

In Benedict, the Roman noble became a monk. He was born a baron over four hundred towns and villages. Cicero's friend, Anicius, founded a house which had not lost its glory in the time of Augustine, who praised its virtues. One branch of it sent Gregory the Great into the papal chair, and another sent out Benedict as a reformer. He was born in 480 at Nursia, and was placed early in the schools of Rome, where the sins of the people tempted him. To be "religious" in that day was to be a monk. When fifteen years of age he entered a cave at Sublacum, on a lake thirty miles east of Rome. His fame brought thither kindred souls, and about that holy grotto a large convent afterward rose. He became abbot of a monastery, tried to reform lax monks, and taught the sons of wealthy Romans. There twelve cloisters were built, lands were cleared, farms were tilled. Leaving these in good hands, and seeking

* "The history of monasteries presents enormous corruptions on the one hand and vigorous attempts at reform on the other. It would be easy, first to cite numerous passages showing the idleness, profligacy, and crime which existed in the abodes of reputed sanctity, and then to add as many more indicating the sorrow which such excesses inspired in nobler minds. Two great reformers arose, sincere and earnest—Benedict and Bernard; others, animated by the same spirit, came in between them. It was a battle all the way through between an unnatural system and nature itself." (Stoughton, *Ages of Christendom*.)

The same remarks will apply to the Church in general, through the Middle Ages, for the corruptions, superstitions, pretended miracles, wild legends, and abuses of power were not confined to the monasteries, although they so absorbed the life of the Church that it became monastic, and lost its original form and nature.

to escape the hinderances and plots of a dissolute priest, he went, in 529, southward to Monte Cassino, near Naples, routed a band of robbers, or converted them, destroyed a pagan altar, and on the ruins of an old temple of Apollo he reared what Montalembert calls "the most powerful and celebrated monastery in the catholic universe; celebrated especially because Benedict there wrote his Rule, and formed the type which was to serve as a model to innumerable communities of monks." His sister Scholastica built a nunnery in the neighborhood. He and she met but once a year, on a mountain side. In his new enterprise he labored fourteen years till his death. Though a layman, as all mere monks were, he preached through the surrounding country, superintended the increasing numbers of his brethren, made his monastery a great farm-house, manufactory, school, church, asylum, hospital, and home. It was noted in those warring times for its morality and law.

He was thirty years perfecting his Rule, or regulations. At the basis were the three vows of "poverty, chastity, and obedience." He doubtless saw that "indolence, self-will, and selfishness were the three arch-demons of the cloister," as they are of the outer world, and he sought a remedy: not the best, yet not worse than the vices to be cured. All property was held in common: no monk owned even a pen, or tablet, or book; all belonged to the institution, and must be borrowed of the abbot. The monk must regard himself as isolated from home, kindred, society, country, and all mankind; he was no longer a son, brother, friend or patriot. His three employments were worship, reading, and manual labor, along with no little meditation and penance. The one hundred and fifty Psalms were chanted through every week, and the whole Bible seems to have been read in allotted portions. The fasts and festivals of the Church were observed. The men rotated in work at the bakery, mill, stables, and shops. Groups of them toiled on the farm in silence. The plan of a uniform costume was new. The color was black, though the style was that of the common shepherds and farmers. It was retained after the worldly people ran to a new fashion. The good brother could be promoted to some office in the convent, or to the work of a teacher, or a lay preacher, or be sent to organize a new monastery.

Some of the good results of the system were seen in five directions, affecting life in all phases and conditions. 1. *In agriculture.* We could name monks who went into a wilderness, reared a hut which developed into a group of convent buildings, broadened the garden into a farm, made the valley cheerful with harvests, rented their lands to tenants, until there grew up a village with its chapel, or a city with its cathedral. Farmer Benedict did not dream that his followers would become the landlords of the finest estates of Europe, and too many of them revel in wealth. 2. *In hospitality.* The convent door was open to penniless footmen, and the fugitives from war, famine and plague. The hospice on some dreary road was especially meant for travelers, pilgrims, and peasants driven out of their homes by feudal lords. That of St. Bernard, on the top of the Alps, still remains, the oldest existing one of its kind, built there in 962 by Bernard, a nobleman of Savoy. Nunneries were long the chief places where sad women and sorrowing children were sure to find sisters of charity. 3. *In human rights.* Christianity had long preached that every human being was a man, that the meanest slave had a soul, and that a malefactor once found a Redeemer by his side on the cross. This doctrine was not to be learned in a day, but the monks helped to teach it when they protected the weak against the strong. For centuries there was scarcely a middle class, a "third estate" between the nobles and the laborers. The peasants were sold along with the lands. But in the monasteries the rule was to treat rich and poor alike; the half-witted serf who had not sense enough to serve the king might serve the abbot and have his rights. The brave and vigorous enlisted in the army under a feudal lord or a fighting bishop: the timid, delicate, and studious went into a convent, to escape insult and brutal force. 4. *In missions and education.* These were not prominent in Benedict's plan, but he did not ignore them. "The monastery became the mission-house for the surrounding heathen, and a homestead amid barbarous wilds." We shall find the later schools connected with the parish church and the convent. 5. *In literature.* Benedict ordered his monks to collect and copy books. Fortunately for the classics, he said nothing about their nature, as if he thought them all religious, and thus an open door was left for the poets, historians, orators, and philos-

ophers of ancient Greece and Rome. His brother monk Maurus built the first Benedictine monastery in France—that of St. Maur on Loire, near Angers—and it became famous for its manuscript editions of Bibles, the Fathers, and the classics, during the Middle Ages, and for printed editions of them, and of various original works in history and theology, since the sixteenth century. This example was widely imitated. The art of illumination rendered their books elegant. Hallam says, “The Abbey of Cluny had a rich library of Greek and Latin authors. But few monasteries of the Benedictine rule were destitute of one. It was their pride to collect, and their business to transcribe books. . . . Almost all we possess of the Latin classical literature, with the exception of a small number of more ancient manuscripts, is owing to the industry of these monks.” We may wisely heed the proverb, “Speak no ill of the bridge that carries you over the stream.”*

V. GREGORY, BISHOP OF ROME.

The great monk was three years in his grave when his relative, the great Bishop Gregory I, was born in 540 at Rome, just a century after Leo had taken the chair. He was well educated, very rich, a senator, and governor of the city at the age of thirty. He built seven monasteries, and, quitting politics, retired to one of them, where he began with the most menial services, and rose to the office of abbot, very rigid in his discipline. The story is that he one day saw, in the slave-market at Rome, some fair-haired Saxon boys and girls exposed for sale. When told that they were “Angli,” he replied, “Non Angli, sed Angeli”—not Angles (English), but angels. Other puns were mingled with his compassion, and he resolved to be a missionary to the Saxons of Britain. He got fairly on the way when the pope checked him, and sent him as a legate† to Constantinople. There he wrote his Commentary on Job, finding in that profound book nearly all natural and Christian theology, ethics, philosophy, and the sacraments. Upon his return the Romans saw him courageously active during a famine and pestilence, and with one voice they elected him

* On the later reforms of monasticism, see Note III.

† Leo began this custom of sending papal legates to foreign courts. It became a great evil, and roused Edward III and Wyclif to the need of reforms.

"pope." He ran away, hid in the woods, but was found and consecrated in 590, and for thirteen years he labored as a truly great bishop.

In him monasticism took the papal chair. He was always a monk. He could not endure paganism, however trifling some of his superstitions. It even spoiled the classic literature, which he despised. Perhaps he burnt some heaps of it, and threw some fine statues into the Tiber. It is more certain that he laid a check upon certain bishops, who were reading his allegorical commentary on Job in their pulpits; otherwise he "might have become the founder of a new religion." He objected to being called "universal pope," and yet he asserted high powers. Leo had given law to the rising papacy; Gregory gave it life and love. He was a warm-hearted pastor of pastors, as his eight hundred letters prove. He tried to heal schisms and convert heretics, though severe upon the wayward. He settled episcopal quarrels; pleaded with kings to show mercy to the people and justice to the Church; rebuked the Jews for their slave-trade, but interceded for them when they were oppressed, saying: "Do not force them to have their children baptized. Do not expel them; convert them by preaching." He cheered King Recared in Spain, who had seen his princely brother put to death for his Nicene faith, and on becoming king said to the Arian clergy: "I boldly profess my brother's faith, and beg of you to embrace it; for the earth has submitted to the Nicene Creed, and all the people of Spain except the Visigoths." The change began; the Arian books were burnt; most of the Arian clergy joined hands with the catholic bishops, who had long been persecuted. Nor must we forget that among the precious relics which Gregory sent to the orthodox king were a few reputed hairs of John the Baptist, a cross partly of the true wood, and a key made of some filings from the chain that bound Paul! He would not have them adored, but kept as memorials. We shall soon notice his interest in missions.

We still sing the Gregorian chants, some of them continued from Basil and Ambrose. So deep was his interest in the music of the Church that he formed a singing-school, and at the rehearsals of his choir sat as the pope of song, cracking his whip over certain vocal deacons whose conduct had been

scandalous. His charities were dispensed by an admirable system, so that all the poor were registered and visited. Among them were persons whose ancestors had been consuls and orators. The legend is that when he preached a white dove sat on his shoulder; the real dove was his charity, and at no time was it whiter than in months of siege and war.

One day in 595, when he was preaching, messengers came saying that Agilulf, the Lombard king, was at the gates of Rome with an army. Maimed soldiers, quite out of breath, confirmed the sad news. He was at once a patriot. He imparted vigor to the garrison. The Lombard was persuaded or paid to abandon the city; but he dragged into captivity many who were outside the walls. Then reproaches fell upon Gregory for the miseries of the citizens. The Eastern emperor laughed over his peace with the Lombards. To him he replied, "If I had sought their death their nation would to-day be without king, duke, or count, and would be in utter confusion." He had gained a nobler object; for when Agilulf was at the gates Gregory was corresponding with the orthodox queen, Theodolinda, and through this woman the Lombards were brought over to the Nicene faith. The king restored the spoils he had taken from the churches, reinstated the bishops whom he had expelled, and raised the clergy from abject poverty to comfort and influence. Now the Romans entitled Gregory the Father of his Country, but the Lombards were masters of Italy.

NOTES.

1. *The Eastern Emperor Justinian* (527-565) appears great in history for these reasons: 1. He closed the last school of pagan philosophy when he silenced the seven followers of Proclus at Athens. 2. His general, Belisarius, conquered the Vandals in Africa, in 534, and gave liberty to the North African Church. 3. Belisarius and Narses expelled the Goths from Italy, and opened it to the Lombards, who were led by their first king, Alboin (568-573). "The overthrow of the Gothic kingdom was to Italy an unmitigated evil," says Milman. The Lombards ruled there until reduced by Charlemagne, in 774. 4. Belisarius drove back the powerful King of Persia, Chosroes, a noble ruler, who promoted learning, was far more tolerant than Justinian, and gave the Christians in his realm peace and freedom. 5. Bishops were restrained in their luxury and avarice, and sent from the court to their charges; heretics severely treated; and seventy thousand

converts added to the Church. 6. Zeal for architecture; many churches were built. When he had rebuilt the Cathedral of St. Sophia he exclaimed, "O Solomon, I have surpassed thee!" 7. The code of Roman laws, which have still their influence in Europe.

II. *Peculiarities in the Church in the year 600.* In theology and exegesis men quote from the Fathers rather than produce original works; errors creep in, though the great creeds are maintained. Chronicles and legends take the place of history. Preaching declines; the liturgy forms the chief service; public worship still in the language of the people. Paulinus of Nola uses pictures in the church to illustrate Scripture, and bells to summon people to church; images begin to be introduced. Absorbing attention to the externals of religion. Baptism by immersion and pouring; infants baptized, unless the parents fear that post-baptismal sins are unpardonable. A saving power often attributed to the sacraments. Saving merit ascribed to penances, fasting, building churches and convents, and observance of the multiplied festivals. Christians adopted many pagan customs; divination and ordeals practiced. Clerical celibacy enjoined by several Western councils (506-585), but not yet fully adopted. Worship paid to the Virgin Mary: exaggerated or invented legends of saints.

III. *European monasticism* presents so many orders of monks that the history seems confusing. The following plan of three periods may show a principle of unity and a progress in the system.

1. The period of introduction, individuality, and experiment, from Athanasius, 335, to Benedict, 529. Each convent chose its own rule; that of Basil the most practical. The Culdees in Scotland were peculiar, more freedom being allowed.

2. The period of systemization and unity from Benedict, 529, to Berno, of Cluny, 912. Nearly all monasteries on the Continent were brought under the Benedictine rule. To this the Columbanian convents were subjected in the ninth century. In 1350 there were said to be thirty-seven thousand Benedictine houses.

3. The period of Reforms, from Berno, 912, to Ignatius Loyola, 1540; each reform starting from the Benedictine basis. Nearly every reformed branch had its offshoots, and came to need reformation. Each century from the tenth to the sixteenth produced one new order or more. The leading reforms were:

(1.) The Cluniac reform in the tenth century. Berno founded Cluny in Burgundy. The order spread rapidly and grew rich in lands. Its fifth abbot was called King Odilo. In 1300 it had two thousand monasteries.

(2.) The Carthusian reform in the eleventh century. Bruno, a professor of philosophy at Cologne, founded the house at Chartreuse, in Dauphiny, about 1055. The rule was very strict; nuns could not endure it. The order grew wealthy, cultivated literature, and claimed that it "never needed a reform." In this century rose the Camildoli in the Apennines, the monks of Hirshau, in Germany, and the Grandimontanes, or Good men, in France.

(3.) The Cistercian reform, in the twelfth century, began at Citeaux,

near Dijon, in France, about 1100. Its chief organizer was Stephen Harding, an Englishman, who introduced the new principle of confederation; the Cistercian abbots were required to meet in a synod once a year, unless resident in distant lands. This principle was adopted by the later orders. The Cistercians grew rich and popular after St. Bernard established his house at Clairvaux. By 1200 they had two thousand convents.

(4.) The Dominican and Franciscan reforms in the thirteenth century; chartered in 1215.

(5.) The spiritual or pietistic reform by the Mystics and the Brethren of the Common Life, in the lower Rhine countries, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

(6.) The Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in the sixteenth century, founded by Ignatius Loyola, 1540; a new system intended to counteract the Protestant reformation.

4. Exceptional orders. (1.) The Augustinian canons. The canons were the bishops' helpers about the cathedrals. In the twelfth century they attempted to reform the clergy. Among them were the Premonstrants and Gilbertines. (2.) The Crusade orders—Templars, Hospitalers, and Teutonic Knights. (3.) The Fraternities, namely: the Oratorists, 1550, founded by Philip Neri at Rome; and the Paulists, or Lazarists, from Vincent de Paul at Paris, 1632; they started "Foundling Hospitals" and "Sisters of Charity."

IV. *The theory of a Western Roman Empire* was long maintained in Europe as a sacredly political idea, as a support or rival of the papacy, and as an opponent of the Eastern Empire. It greatly affected the theories concerning the Church and her relations to the state. "The empire may have been a shadow," says Freeman in review of Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, "but it was a shadow to which men were for ages ready to devote their thoughts, their pens, and their swords." This is the key to the political history of mediæval Europe, and to much of the papal history since Leo the Great. The emperors ruled it as the "German Empire," the popes sought to control it as the "Holy Roman Empire." It became a nominal power, and ended in 1806 with Francis Joseph.

V. *The Middle Ages*—a period between the decline of the ancient Church and the rise of Protestantism—are differently limited by different writers, according to their main subjects. The beginning is fixed at 451, 476, 590, or 750, and the close at 1453, 1500, 1517, or 1520. These dates show that the terms Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern are applied to ages which did not begin nor end abruptly, for one glided into another. The arbitrary terms may be convenient, yet they should not break the unity of history.

VI. *We find more reputed miracles* than credible facts concerning Severinus, "the Apostle of Noricum." It seems that he went to the relief of the Church in Austria and Bavaria, and labored to convert the Germanic invaders, and restored or founded several churches. But the waves of conquest swept over them, and the history of Christianity began anew in those lands with later missionaries.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FRANKISH EMPIRE AND CHURCH.

481-900.

CLOVIS founded the greatest of the early kingdoms in Western Europe, and became the champion of the Nicene faith. He began his career in 481, a fierce pagan, fifteen years of age, with scarcely a foot of land in the France of modern times, and the chieftain of the Salian Franks, who could muster only five thousand warriors. No wilder men, with barer heads, and longer, redder hair, had ever crossed the Rhine. They stripped their game to clothe themselves in rough furs, and, perhaps, their *francisca*, their war-hatchet, gave them their now ennobled name. With these men of the battle-ax he cut his way to Soissons, conquered the last remnant of the Roman power, and proved himself a king. In time he made Paris his capital.

The conversion of Clovis, whether real or nominal, is one of the decisive events of history. Once more a woman was the agent of immense good to the Church. The Princess Clotilda, of Burgundy, seems to have learned the orthodox faith from some such teacher as Avitus, of Vienne. She saw her father slain by his brother Gundobald, who seized the throne and displayed his zeal for Arianism. She accepted the hand of Clovis in 493, and on the bridal journey to his court she rode across the border in the light of burning villages, which she caused to be set on fire to express her flaming vengeance upon her uncle. In a far nobler spirit she sought the conversion of her husband, although she talked too much about the reputed miracles at St. Martin's tomb, and tried to affect him by imposing ceremonies. He permitted their first child to be baptized; it soon died, and he charged the sad result upon her religion. The next child was baptized and fell sick; she prayed and it recovered. But he still resisted her entreaties. He admired Bishop Remi, of Rheims, to whom he had given some

lands, probably to atone for having let his soldiers pillage the church; the bishop donated them to charitable objects, lest he should be thought greedy of wealth. Clovis thus came somewhat under the influence of a good man who would be his life-long counselor, so far as Clovis ever yielded to advice. We shall often see that the missionary seeks to convince a king, and through him convert the nation. This may have been the policy of Remi. But he seemed to fail. At length the Allemanni crossed the Rhine and Clovis rose to drive them back. At Tolbiac, near Cologne, when the furious battle seemed doubtful, he declared that his gods had failed him, raised his hands to heaven, invoked the God of Clotilda to help him, and vowed that if he were victorious, he would accept the Christian faith. He won the field, returned home, and was instructed by Bishop Remi at Rheims. When he was baptized on Christmas, 496, with all possible splendor, the bishop said to him, "Bow thy head, Sicambrian; worship what thou hast hitherto burned; burn what thou hast worshiped." Three thousand warriors were that day baptized. The Frankish nation was nominally converted. Such a national conversion could not result at once in personal piety in king or subject. One day, when the bishop was reading to him the account of our Lord's crucifixion, the strong man was so moved that he suddenly sprang up, laid his hand on his sword, and exclaimed, "Had I been there with my Franks I would have avenged his wrongs!"

We judge not the motives of Clovis. We regret that many of his acts must be called crimes. Yet two facts are plain: the Most High used him to render a vast service to Christianity; and the Church of Gaul, whose fathers were such men as Irenæus, Hilary, St. Martin, and Lupus, was the right arm of his power. "It was the Church that made the fortune of the Franks." It helped him to bring the whole country under his dominion. It looked to him as a deliverer. It united in a common faith and loyalty the Celts and Franks north of the Loire. South of that border line the orthodox were under the rigorous hand of the Arian Visigoths and Burgundians. There was likely to rise the cry, "Come over and help us." The old Roman Gauls would welcome the orthodox invader. When he was making his conquests Avitus, of Vienne,

wrote to him, "Your faith is our victory, for our prosperity is affected; as often as you fight we conquer."

Clovis was soon told by the pope that he was the only catholic sovereign in the world, for all other Western kings were Arians, and the Emperor Anastasius in the East was a Eutychian. He was by the pope honored with the titles of "Most Christian King" and "Eldest Son of the Church." These titles have ever since been given to the kings of France. The Eastern emperor called him a Roman consul. All this may have filled him with a pride which lifted him above the most royal morality. He soon resolved to humiliate Burgundy. Gundobald called together the clergy at Lyons. He said sharply to the catholics: "Why do you not restrain the king of the Franks, if yours be the truly Christian religion? Let Clovis show his faith by his works, and not make war upon a relative and brother king." Bishop Avitus did not ask why the Arian brethren at his side had not restrained Gundobald from his murders, but frankly said: "I am ignorant of the designs of Clovis; but since the Holy Scriptures assure us that no kingdom can stand when it departs from the law of God, let me exhort the king to seek security by embracing the true faith." Gundobald was still haughty, until Clovis came down upon him with an army, reduced him to allegiance, and forced him to place the catholics on an equal footing with the Arians. Gregory of Tours, "the father of French history," says: "King Gundobald instituted the most mild laws in order that the Romans [Gauls, among whom were the orthodox Christians] might not be oppressed." Some of them amount to this: "The condition of the Burgundian and the Roman is the same before the law; all legal difference has vanished." One law is a picture of the time; it runs thus: "If a Burgundian find a traveler at his door asking hospitality, and shall send him to the house of a Roman, and this can be proved, let him pay three solidi to that same Roman, and three more by way of fine."

Clovis next said to his warriors: "It grieves me to see the heretic Visigoths holding the finest part of Gaul. Let us, with God's help, march and subdue them." Threats came from the great Theodoric, who had learned that his Gothic kinsman, Alaric II, was in peril. But Clovis was soon at Tours, where omens and miracles are said to have aided him. The catholic

population gladly supported him, and almost entirely forsook the Arian king. Not far from Poitiers, in 507, the two armies met, and fought for the mastery of Gaul and for two different creeds. Clovis slew Alaric with his own hand, routed the Visigoths, and finally drove nearly all of them into Spain, where, eighty years later, they renounced their Arianism. Clovis was now regarded as the new Cæsar restoring the old empire, and the new Constantine defending the Nicene faith. By no little fraud and violence he carved out a wide kingdom, and left it to break in four pieces, when it fell to his four sons. His zeal for the Church was the veil over the murder of his Frankish rivals. The good bishop Remi said to his detractors: "Much must be pardoned to him who has been the propagator of the faith and the savior of the provinces." The excellent Gregory, of Tours, with perfect coolness and without a censure, wrote of Clovis: "Thus God daily cut down his enemies under his hand because he walked before him with an upright heart, and did that which was well-pleasing in his eyes." These bishops were looking upon the better results secured to Christianity and civilization, such as these: The unity of races and tribes with more law and less outrageous barbarism; more unity in the Church of that realm, with an increase and security of its property; an elevation of the clergy in social and civil life, if not in their moral and intellectual strength; the rearing of monasteries and houses for the relief of the poor, and the right of asylum to the oppressed who fled to the churches or homes of the priests. This latter privilege was greatly abused by vagabonds and robbers who did their plundering by night, and hid by day at the sacred altars defying the officers of justice. Nor was it always granted to better men. In 586 Pretextatus, bishop of Rouen, having offended the notorious Queen Fredigonda, was stabbed at high mass on Easter-day in his cathedral. The Frankish princes of her time revealed a depravity that was frightful, and scarcely paralleled in history.

The successors of Clovis, down to Duke Pipin of Heristal, (700), were quite well portrayed in a dream invented to rouse one of them from his wickedness. In it Clovis appeared as a lion; his sons and grandsons as ravenous bears and wolves; and after them the little dogs, or "do-nothing kings." The royal courts were demoralized; the Church kept up some sort of light

in dark and stormy places. We pass to the times of the great Duke Pipin, who won the power over all the Franks, robed himself splendidly and rode proudly through the land in an ox-cart, held assemblies to promote justice and good order, till in 715 the kingdom passed to his brilliant son, Charles Martel, the hammer of political sinners and Saracen infidels. In their time there were three movements of vast influence upon the Church: aggressive missions east of the Rhine; the secularization of the clergy; and the victory over the Mohammedans south of the Loire.

I. Pipin of Heristal made wide conquests in Germany, recovering the ancient lands of the Frankish tribes. A door was opened for the entrance of Christianity in all that country. In the next chapter we shall see an army of Celtic, Frankish, and Anglo-Saxon missionaries there waging their spiritual battles.

II. Charles Martel (715-741) took the wealth of the Church rather violently, and used it to pay the soldiers who beat down his rivals. He then put many of his officers into bishoprics and abbasies, and secularized the clergy; bishops rode about like feudal lords, counts, and dukes; pastors did little good preaching or visiting; the monasteries grew dissolute; the priests were grossly ignorant, and many of them licentious; and "like priest, like people." Reforms were needed. In some degree they would come through the next great Frank, Charlemagne.

III. The great battle of that age in Europe was fought. If the West was saved from the horrid savagery of the Huns in 451 at Chalons, and from Gothic Arianism in 507, near Poitiers, it was defended in "the Battle of Tours" from a deadlier foe to Christianity in 732, when the Saracens were resolved that—

"Like the Orient, the subjected West
Should bow in reverence at Mahommed's name."

A new power had suddenly risen in the East. The spirit of Ishmael had become fanaticism in Mohammed. This powerful Arab (570-632) had become disgusted with the idolatry and polytheism at his native Mecca, and he saw only an impure form of Christianity in that land. The poor man, honest in his business affairs, a shrewd agent of the merchant widow Kadijah,

married her and she helped turn his epilepsies and trances into pretended inspirations and revelations. One result was his fiery preaching of the unity of God, and that basket of curious scraps and impostures, the Koran. His cry was: "Allah, Allah, there is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet." There were in this Monotheistic system a few great truths, which some writers think should have the credit of its conquests, rather than the confused mass of errors. But its direct power was the sword. The Meccans persecuted the bold preacher, and the few followers which he had been long years in winning. They fled to Medina. On the way the prophet hid in a cave; a spider may have woven a web over its mouth; and his friend, Abu Bekr, said mournfully: "There are only two of us." He replied cheerfully: "There are three; the third is Allah himself. Blessed be Allah!" Then began his vast success. Instigated by persecution, he took the sword and promised a gorgeous paradise to every follower who should die in battle for the new faith. He conquered Mecca, and made it the holy city of believers and pilgrims through all the centuries. He brought Arabia under his power. Two years after his death Damascus was taken, then Antioch and Jerusalem fell. Twenty years later Syria and Persia were under Saracen sway; Alexandria submitted, and her library of seventy thousand volumes went out in flames. The conquerors boasted of having taken thirty-six thousand cities, towns, and castles, destroyed four thousand Christian churches and several thousands of idol temples, and built fourteen hundred mosques. The defeat of one hundred and twenty thousand Moslems at the gates of Constantinople in 718, by the Eastern emperor, Leo III, the Iconoclast, is one of the great events in history. It kept a part of the Church from their ravages for seven hundred more years. The fatal "Greek fire" was long a defense of Christianity. They swept on eastward to the borders of China, and westward to the Atlantic, mastering a wider realm in eighty years than Rome had subdued in eight hundred years. They threatened to reduce the whole Church to a state of wretched dependence. It might exist, but in existing starve. They offered to men the choice of three things—tribute, the Koran, or the sword.

About the year 710 some Christians of Spain were greatly

offended by the injustice of King Roderic, the last of the Goths. They asked an Arab chief in Africa to come and deliver them from tyranny. He went, and they soon had a greater tyrant over them, for the Saracens subdued Spain and drove bands of Christians into the mountains, where they formed the little kingdom of the Asturias. The conquerors pressed northward over the Pyrenees, sacking cities, pillaging churches, laying waste the country, until they were in the center of France. On a field between Poitiers and Tours* the question was whether the cross or the crescent should prevail in the West; whether lustful Arabism or hopeful Teutonism should control Europe. Charles Martel brought down his Franks and faced

"A countless multitude:
Syrian, Moor, Saracen, Greek renegade,
Persian and Copt, and Tartar, in one bond
Of erring faith conjoined—strong in the youth
And heat of zeal—a dreadful brotherhood."

The crash came; the fight went on for six days, and one hundred thousand Mohammedans were slain and routed (hardly three hundred and fifty thousand fell, as the monks say); so that the Franks won the victory, a crowning mercy for the Church, and "one of those signal deliverances which have affected for centuries the happiness of mankind." Still later Charlemagne, protecting modern Christendom, drove a Moslem host back into Spain, where they ruled and declined until 1491. Then on a certain day they gave up their last fortress at Grenada; on that very spot, soon after they resolved to embark for Africa, Columbus had his charter signed by the victorious Queen Isabella. And here is one reason why no Mohammedans sailed out of Spain into the New World.

We pass to the grandson of Charles Martel, Charlemagne, the creator of an epoch, "the father of modern Europe." In 768, at the age of twenty-four, he ruled a kingdom; the forty-six years of his reign made it a vast empire. He was great in body, mind, purposes, ambition, and success. He has been called the Frankish Solomon. He was simple in his dress, a part of which was woven at home; and when his courtiers be-

* The great battle is named after both of these cities, which are one hundred and fifty miles apart.

gan to wear silk and satin he once led them out on a hunt and into a heavy rain, to take the starch out of their finery. He was temperate at the table, hating drunkenness, fond of the chase, full of good humor, fresh in his spirit, a fluent talker, genial among friends at home, but terrible to his foes everywhere, and sometimes regardless of human life. He came upon the royal stage ignorant, unable to write his name, a rough and ready king, with mighty forces in him, and with some big ideas to make real in his age. He inherited no culture, and made his own civilization. He came to be president of his own royal academy; the patron of scholars, and no small scholar himself; the founder of schools, and their most interested visitor; the reformer and wise adviser of the clergy; and the rare man who held in his powerful grasp the reins of the army, the state, and the Church. In the Roman calendar he is a saint; in heroic legend he is the universal crusader, rushing unseen into the dust of battle, and aiding all true cavaliers; and in the songs of minstrelsy he is "dreadful to his foes, kind to the poor, merciful to offenders, devoted to God, an upright judge, who knew all the laws, and taught them to his people as he learned them from the angels. In short, he bore the sword as God's own servant." He so impressed the imagination of men that the historian must separate his actual deeds from the romances of poets, and his morals from the praises of the canonizers. With all his divorces, he had still too many wives at one time, and yet no courtesans managed him as they did the Eastern emperors. Like Theodosius, he was willing to be put under penance after some cruelty. Now he stands in the cathedral, merely whispering the loud anthem of which he is so fond; again he fasts eight hours in the day, and, wrapped in his long cloak, he sits on the steps of the church, listening to the solemn chants through half the night. He had a soul for music. His outbursts of heroic inhumanity and his sorts of immorality were "precisely the failings which the gross and semi-barbarous society of that day either encouraged and applauded, or excused and ignored." He died at the age of seventy-one, almost to the last day a healthy giant; and his tomb at Aix-la-Chapelle* (the Chapel at the Springs) repre-

* *Ace-la-Shapel*, or Aachen, the chief seat of government under Charlemagne, who quite neglected Paris. He had been crowned at Noyon.

sented him sitting upon a throne of gold, his crown surmounted with a cross, a globe-like chalice in his hand, his sword Joyeuse at his side, his pilgrim's pouch hanging from his girdle, his scepter and shield at his feet, and the Book of the Gospels on his knee. These were the symbols of his character and history.

Men use a breaking-plow, not as a model of elegance, but as an instrument for cutting up the roots and turning over the sod of wild lands. Thus the Lord has employed human agents from the time of Noah, and Charlemagne was among the mightiest of them. His policy was to secure three grand results: the union of the Germanic nations on the Continent in one monarchy; its elevation by Christianity and civilization; and its alliance with the papal power. This will appear when we glance at his many-sided character and his achievements.

I. *The Conqueror.* His wars were waged for thirty-two years. Carrying out what Clovis had begun, he reunited the Franks, shut up the Saracens in Spain, conquered the Lombards in Italy, and also reduced to his sway most of the countries now called Austria and Germany. After the year 800 he made no more conquests. He assumed no imperial title until the pope conferred it.* He was not simply a French, but a German, ruler.

II. *The Emperor and his relation to the papacy.* Two powers had been growing in strength: Frankish kingship had become imperial, and the Roman bishop had become a pope. They had helped each other. Clovis had been "the eldest son of the Church," the first king in all the West to do homage to the man who sat in "St. Peter's chair," and he had made that chair stronger by his victories over Arianism. A pope had made the second Pipin King of the Franks (751-768), and this "anointed of the Lord" marched to Rome, drove the Lom-

* Charlemagne's dates are: Born at Aix-la-Chapelle (?) in 742; king east of the Rhine, 768; sole king of the Franks after Carloman's death, 771-814; correspondence with Haroun Al Raschid, Caliph of Bagdad, began 768; first war on Saxons of Germany, 772; subjection of the Lombards in Italy, 773-774; second war on the Saxons, 775-777; war against the Saracens in Spain, 778; third war on the Saxons, who had almost reached Cologne, 778-785—during which he executed about forty-five hundred prisoners in one day, and forced baptism on the conquered chiefs; victories over the Huns and Bulgarians, 785-800; called to support Pope Leo III against a rebellion in Italy, and crowned emperor, 800. From that time he devoted his remaining fourteen years to the culture and civilization of his people.

bards from its gates, brought them to terms of peace, and insisted on their surrendering Ravenna and its towns to Pope Stephen III, who is said to have offered them to St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Roman bishops, and thus secured to the popes the main basis of their temporal power.* Such was the famous "Donation of Pipin," which, if genuine, set the popes among the earthly princes, and began to furnish them with men for their armies. The son of this donor, Charlemagne, gave other cities and lands to Hadrian I, the pope who seems to have palmed off upon Europe the grandest forgery by which the papacy rose to its highest power. This was the collection of "Decretals" bearing the name of Isidore of Seville, and pretending to show that the early bishops of Rome had heard appeals from distant quarters, and decided cases by their own authority. The fraud was not really exposed until the sixteenth century, long after their purpose had been served.

Charlemagne had now the ambition for the title of the Cæsars, for the shadow of the old Roman name fell upon him. He had more than once defended Rome; in 800 he went again to protect its bishop, who was his vassal and spiritual lord. On Christmas he and his courtiers, with the grandees of the old city, met in the cathedral. Pope Leo III chanted the mass; and when the King of the Franks must have been delighted with the music (if it be true that he knew not what was coming) the pope advanced with a splendid crown, put it on his brow, and proclaimed him Cæsar Augustus. At once the shouts arose from people, nobles, senators, soldiers, and clergy, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God, the great, pious, and pacific Emperor of the Romans." Then he was anointed by papal hands.

Thus, in the glamour and worship of the old name, Rome once more chose her own Cæsar, and placed herself at his feet; for he was really greater than her pope and senate, and they added nothing to his actual power. It pleased her, and did not injure him. She was flattered with an imagination of her ancient greatness; he was dignified with new honors, which in the eyes of all the world were the most glorious that could be worn on earth. There were five important and quite perma-

* Notes I, II. The temporal power of the pope began about half-way between the birth of Christ and the Reformation (1517).

ment effects: 1. The papal power was strengthened. Future kings and emperors must protect the pope, or do insult to the example of the great Charles. They were likely to court him for a crown, until their sense of manly liberty should grow strong. The new nations were nearly all led to a higher reverence for the pope. 2. The emperor had now more fully the support of the Church, and he seemed to be "a different being from the mere barbaric conqueror. His rule was at once changed from a dominion of force into a dominion of law." 3. The old races of Europe, which counted themselves Romans, were now united with their conquerors in one Christian monarchy; the one thought that the ancient order was restored, the other, that the new system was fully indorsed. "The coronation of a Teutonic prince at Rome was an act of reconciliation and union between the victorious and the vanquished races." Thus there might be more social and religious equality among Celtic and Frankish neighbors in the West. 4. Sanction was given to a theory which prevailed in the Middle Ages, that the state and the Church were the two powers of one theocracy. "The empire and the Church were to support and serve one another, living together like body and soul; the empire guarding the interests of the Church with the sword, and the Church consecrating the organization and work of the empire." Thus they would maintain a balance of power. The theory would fail when either state or Church became corrupt or tyrannical. 5. The power of the Eastern Empire was ended in Italy, and was thenceforth overshadowed by the Western powers of France, Germany, and the Roman papacy. The whole course of history was changed.

Charlemagne lived and dressed a few days in Roman style, and went away the simple, hearty German as of old, to his homespun blouse, his books, and future peace. Perhaps it was the pope who set on foot the vast scheme of uniting the East again with the West, by the marriage of the German emperor with the Empress Irene, at Constantinople. A usurper drove her from her throne, and ended that project. The Greeks began to say, "Have the Frank for thy friend, but not for a neighbor." Already was he in friendly alliance with the wisest, noblest, and mightiest Caliph of the East—the scholarly Haroun-Al-Raschid (Aaron the Just), of Bagdad, who greatly

admired "the enemy of his enemy" in Spain, and sent to him a musical clock, an elephant, and a key to the Holy Sepulcher, implying that pilgrims might safely visit Jerusalem. Western alliances were sought with the kings of the Asturias and the Scots, with Offa of Mercia, and Egbert of Wessex, in England, elevating them in dignity and aiding them in the work of Christian civilization.

III. *The Civilizer.* We can merely hint that he promoted agriculture, industry, commerce, and the happiness of domestic life, although the Germans clung to the rude plow and left trade almost entirely to Greeks, Arabs, and Jews. He constructed roads, and undertook to connect the Rhine and the Danube by a canal. He aimed to bring the various peoples under one common law and education. "His system of civil government will perpetuate his fame more surely than his most brilliant victories." In the annual legislative assembly all classes were quite fairly represented. Bishops and abbots sat in it. Many of the laws pertained to morals and even house-keeping. Four times a year the bishops must see that their districts were visited and the wants of the people made known to the emperor, who noted down the modes of relief. The New Europe began to have its castles and increase its cities.

IV. *The Educator.* He educated himself, and that was no small achievement. "The native speech of Charles was the old Teutonic. Latin, the literary tongue of the whole West, and still the native speech of many provinces, he spoke fluently as an acquired language; Greek, the other universal and imperial tongue, he understood when spoken, but could not speak it with ease." No French language can be said then to have existed. When dining at home a monk read to him some book—partly for the good of the Benedictine. He delighted to study the writings of Augustine, especially the "City of God." He felt qualified to enter into controversies of the time, especially against image-worship, and the Adoptionists.

Whenever he met a scholar, a copyist, an author, a poet, whether Goth, Lombard, or Saxon, he made him his friend, and thus gathered about him a literary circle. When scourging the Lombards he sent word to Paul Warnefrid, "I make war upon rebels not upon scholars," and brought him to Aix-la-Chapelle to act as chancellor, write chronicles, and aid in the

work of popular education. Eginhard, the secretary of state, the reputed son-in-law, and the biographer of Charlemagne, was another of the scholarly monks. But the chief of all was Alcuin, a native of York, in England, a deacon of the cathedral there, a hard student in its fine library, and headmaster of its school, to which many foreigners resorted. He belongs to that last race of scholars in Britain previous to the general onslaught of Norsemen, whom Alfred resisted. He had been a pupil of the venerable Bede. He has been described as "by far the most commanding genius of his age," and its most princely scholar. Traveling to gain knowledge, and meeting Charlemagne at Parma, in 781, he was invited to become the teacher of the emperor, his family, his courtiers, and his people. The warrior and the scholar entered upon a work of national education, which should appear wonderful to those who treat the Middle Ages with contempt, or charge the monks and clergy with all their darkness and demoralization.

In this vast scheme, which was something better than a splendid failure, we find three kinds of schools: 1. The court school—*Schola Palatina*—held in whatever palace the imperial family might reside for a time. It seems to have been a sort of royal academy. It was intended to be the model for similar institutions throughout the empire, and thus reach the ruling classes in government and in society. To the court and town-council knowledge was to be dispensed by means of conversations and lectures upon the seven liberal arts. Embraced in the *Trivium* were grammar, rhetoric, and logic; in the *Quadrivium* were arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music; and as Alcuin was, for that age, no mean expositor of Scripture and gatherer of patristic lore, we may be sure that theological science was not entirely forgotten. "History presents to us few more striking spectacles than that of the great monarch of the West, surrounded by the princes and princesses of his family, and the chief personages of his brilliant court, all content to sit as learners at the feet of their Anglo-Saxon preceptor, Alcuin, in the school of the palace, at Aix-la-Chapelle." Those who sought a higher knowledge were directed to the writings of Boethius, Cassiodorus, and the Fathers. 2. The convent schools established in the larger monasteries for the study of Latin and Holy Scripture in order to qualify men

to teach and preach. From them went out men who kept up some sort of intellectual fire and did noble missionary work through the next two hundred years.* 3. The cathedral schools in the cities and parish schools in the towns, for the gratuitous instruction of the poorer children. The education did not go far beyond the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. Of the success of this plan we know little more than that Bishop Theodulf of Orleans opened parochial schools in his diocese.

V. *The Revisers of Scripture.* In the revival of literature it was found that the Latin manuscripts of the Bible and the Psalter needed revision, for errors had slipped in through the fingers of copyists. Purer copies were brought from England, Italy, and Greece. The emperor as patron, Alcuin as editor, and the monks as copyists, produced a fair supply of more accurate editions of all the sacred books for the principal churches and convents. But they failed to provide translations of the Bible. In the same way they applied their critical skill to such classical writings as they could obtain. As the work rose before their eyes in its magnitude, Charlemagne said, "Would that I had twelve clerks as learned as Jerome and Augustine." To which Alcuin replied, "The Creator of heaven and earth has had no more like these two; yet *you* would have twelve!"

The patron must soon be alone in this noble employment, for which his love increased to his last days, and just before his death he was engaged in comparing a Latin version of the Gospels with the Syriac translation and the original Greek. Alcuin grew weary of court life.† He was retired in 796 to the monastery of St. Martin, of Tours, which then had great wealth

* Among those in France were the schools of Tours, St. Maur near Angers, Corbey near Amiens, Luxeuil, Metz, Fontenelle in Normandy, Aniane in Languedoc, Orleans, Paris, Cluny (912), Chartres (1000). In Germany, Fulda, the oldest in Saxony (744), New Corbey in Westphalia (826), Cologne, and St. Gall in Switzerland. The universities of Paris, Bologna, and Pavia hardly grew out of the schools of Charlemagne.

† He seems to have been displeased with certain novelties which Clement the Scot (Irishman) introduced into the court-school. Eginhard says, "It happened that along with some Breton merchants came two Irish Scots (Clement and John of Mailross), men of incomparable skill in learning, both profane and sacred, and landed on the coast of Gaul. They set out no merchandise for sale, but exhorted all comers to receive wisdom, saying, 'We have it to sell.' The people thought they were madmen, and told King Charles. He sent for them.

and very disorderly inmates. Alcuin did not perfectly reform them. He enriched the library with books from England, and raised the school to great fame during the six remaining years of his life. It is said that he would not allow his pupils to read the "falsehoods of Virgil," in which he had once delighted, but he so taught truths that some of his students became eminent men in the next generation. He left behind him a mass of writings not much ventilated in our times, but his name is worthy of long remembrance.

VI. *The Churchman.* With all his faults Charlemagne loved the Church of God. In his zeal for the faith he attempted to impose Christianity upon the conquered Saxons, in the hope that they could thus be brought to submission and peace. In the next chapter we shall notice his military mode of conversion and the missions he promoted. However he did his work it was done effectually, in a nominal sense. Those wild tribes began a new kind of life, and the rich fruits of it are seen in the times of Luther. At home Charlemagne was a reviver, if not a reformer, in the Church. He paid earnest attention to the services of worship, personally showing the choir how to sing and the lectors how to read the Scripture lessons. He set Paul Warnefrid to writing homilies for the country pastors. He required preaching in the language of the people, to whom the Creed and the Lord's Prayer must be taught and explained. He let certain bishops and abbots know that their letters were not written in good style, and that they must learn both grammar and Scripture. It was his mistake to repress the liturgy of Ambrose, and enjoin the ritual of Gregory the Great. His few army chaplains must "preach, conciliate, bless, impose penance, celebrate mass, take care of the sick, anoint the dying, but carry no arms, nor shed any blood." Bishops must not be translated from one city to another, nor be voluntarily absent from their charges more than three weeks. He means something when he says that bishops, abbots, and abbesses are forbidden to keep fools, buffoons,

and gave them a chance to dispense their learning." Clement taught learners of all ranks. John went to Pavia, and there opened a market for his wisdom. Of his success the Pavians make no audible report. Eginhard also says, "Almost the whole nation of the Scots, braving the dangers of the sea, came to settle in our country with a train of philosophers."

and jugglers, hawks and hounds, for their diversion. No fox hunting clergy were wanted. Monks and clergy must not frequent taverns to drink. A monk must not be mutilated for failing in his rules. The churches must not be asylums for robbers and vagabonds. Tithes were exacted for the clergy, the poor, and church erection. He writes to the bishops. "We beseech you that the ministers of God's altar may adorn their ministry by good morals. . . . A priest should be learned in Holy Scripture, and rightly believe and teach the faith of the Trinity." Benedict, of Aniane, a monk of great note and influence, was at the head of a commission appointed to reform all convents and bring the Columbanian monasteries under the older Benedictine rule.

Was Charlemagne a successful man? Did his best measures secure any permanent benefits? The results do not appear to be commensurate with the efforts. This is a telling fact against that age. It silently points to barbarisms in society and corruptions in the Church, which a dreary volume could not fully expose. It testifies to a darkness which a hundred lamps could not expel. Yet the extent of the failure and the causes of it are often misstated. The blame is sometimes laid chiefly on the clergy; let them bear their proper share of it. Some of them were very ignorant; others indolent and steeped in their own vices; some made a religion of trivial rites, and doubtless others "understood much better the use of a sword than that of a pen." But three other facts must be remembered:

1. The empire was soon broken in sections, and each part was a field of strife and revolt. The Frank, the German, and the Italian could not agree. Three grandsons of Charlemagne signed the treaty of Verdun, in 843, and thus laid the foundations of three modern kingdoms. France was allotted to Charles the Bald, Italy to Lothaire, and Germany to Louis the Pious. Yet over all there was an emperor to preserve the old Roman theory of supervision. He and the pope were to be the two fatherly sovereigns of state and Church; but they fell into deadly quarrels. Thus arose three kingdoms, each growing more distinct in character, interests, language, law, life, Church, and literature. Each produced its type of civilization. In many respects the Church in each was national.

2. In that age the people looked to their rulers to promote reforms. It was not a time for popular movements, as the days of Luther came to be. Every crownless reformer must have a charter from his king. Queen Judith, the Guelf, who caused the threefold division of the empire, was not a nursing mother to the Church and its schools. Her own learning only shaped her intrigues. She turned her husband, Louis the Pious (814-840), from his good plans as a nurturing father of the Church. A student rather than a statesman, he was more occupied with priests than with warriors. He ordered parts of the Bible to be translated into German, and was glad to see the famous Anskar go as the great missionary to Scandinavia. But schools and reforms were of less moment to his sons than battles for real estate and crowns. And after them came the depravities of royal courts, and the ceaseless wars between kings, dukes, and feudal lords.

3. The incursions of the Northmen. No sooner had the Germanic peoples south of Denmark become fairly settled in the lands they had conquered than they were assailed by the more Northern branch of the old Aryan family. The story is that Charlemagne was once at a feast far down on the Mediterranean at Narbonne, when some boats shot up into the harbor. "They are Jews coming to sell goods," said one; others guessed them to be British traders. "No," replied the emperor; "they bring not merchandise. Those ships are manned with most terrible enemies." He stepped to the window, and there stood in tears. "It is not for myself that I am weeping," said he, "nor for any harm they can do me. But if they dare come now even to this shore, what evils will they bring on my successors?" This was no false alarm. Lothaire, of Italy, urged them to ravage the lands of his brothers, while he kept back the Saracens from his own borders. No wonder that many of the clergy gave up in despair or became warriors. Year after year, during the ninth century, the piratical vikings and sea-rovers pushed up the rivers, pillaged towns and burnt them, sacked monasteries and churches, until some coasts were visited and valleys wasted fifty times.* The French lost their defensive

* Guizot repels the error that Charlemagne "accomplished nothing; that his empire, his laws, all his works perished with him." He was not merely a brilliant meteor. Freeman says: "We are too apt to suppose that his great







courage, so often were they "stunned by the Northmen's approach, subjugated by their fury."

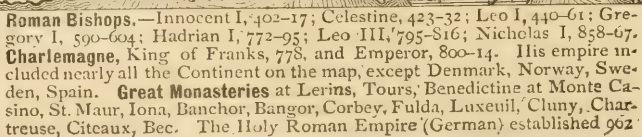
One effect of the Norse invasions was to give a new center to France and its history. Paris had been quite ignored for a long time. It now was assailed by the Northmen. "It was the great siege of Paris in the ninth century which made Paris the chief among the cities of Gaul, and its count [Robert the Strong, the Maccabee of his country] the chief among the princes of Gaul. . . . It created the county, and then the kingdom." It became the center, the capital, the life, and soul of modern France, and the city of massacres and revolutions, mediæval philosophy and theology, later fashion and liberal culture, sentimental literature and free-thought. Count Robert—not the crusader, but the father of the Capets and the champion against wild heathenism—saw the Northmen pillage and burn Rouen, and attack Paris repeatedly, rifle its abbeys, burn one of its finest churches and spare three more only for a ransom, and slaughter its people until "the islets of the Seine were whitened with the bones of their victims." These were the terrible days of Regnar Lodbrog (840-860), and after him came Hasting, who slew Robert in a church near Angers. The count "died as he had lived, fighting for Gaul and Christendom against the heathen Dane,"* and the land mourned its loss. Besides King Alfred the Western Church seemed to have no other great defender on earth. The tone of the preachers grew still sadder as they compared the woes of the cities on every river to the woes of Jerusalem. Radbert paused in his arguments for transubstantiation and lifted his wail of sorrow for "the havoc of Paris and its holy places." In his commentary on Jeremiah he found the sympathy of the prophet and wrote: "Who could ever think that the pirates would touch the walls

work was almost immediately undone amidst the dissensions of his grandsons. This arises from looking at him and his empire from a French instead of a German point of view." The political institutions, the rise of cities, and the missionary influence of Germany were largely due to him. Though his schools declined in France, yet they developed the intellectual vigor which is seen in certain theological controversies and in scholasticism.

* "When he hoisted his standard black,
Before him was battle, behind him was wrack,
And he burned the churches—that heathen Dane—
To light his band to their barks again."

(Scott's "Harold the Dauntless").

. 2d. Roman, . 3d, Frankish, . 4th, Anglo-Saxon, . 5th, German, . 6th, Greek, . They



CHAPTER X.

MISSIONS IN EUROPE.

440-1050.

THE Churches of Italy and Gaul, when struck by the invaders, cast down but not destroyed, rose up and offered the Gospel to the conquerors. The conversion of the victors would be the triumph of the vanquished. The Church did no little to civilize her masters.* In the growth of the empire of the Franks we followed one line of her successes. But within the empire, and on the northern and eastern sides of it, there had been peoples as barbarous as ever were its founders. Their need of conversion prompted those missions, which went on like the movements of armies for six centuries. Many of them were contemporary. We shall, in the main, keep the order of time if we treat them according to races, countries, and peculiarities, and thus classify them under six types: the Celtic, Roman, Frankish, English, German, and Greek.†

I. THE CELTIC MISSIONS.

They began in the British Isles, not long after the Roman legions were called away (402-20) to fight the Germanic invad-

* "Amidst all the fury and the abounding horrors of the barbarian conquests we still find Christianity interposed as a shield between the wrath of the conqueror and the terrors of the conquered. From realm to realm, from city to city, we see the bishop marching with his clergy [*e. g.*, St. Martin of Tours], singing psalms, addressing invocations, arresting the inundation, staying the plague. Sometimes he prays, sometimes he adjures, sometimes he offers the example of a holy martyrdom. And so he conquers his conquerors." (Merrivale, *Conv. of Northern Nations*.)

† These sketches must be limited to the greater movements by which nations were Christianized, and to representative men. It is here said, once for all, that these men had many of the faults, as well as most of the virtues of their times; that they employed the agencies then in use, all of them preaching, praying, and reading the Bible, but too many of them laying stress upon crosses, relics, external rites, and an erroneous ministration of the sacraments; that some professed to work miracles, and to all miracles were ascribed by later writers, and that nearly every one of them had assistants and successors in their noble, self-denying work.

ers on the Continent, and never to return. The troops and camp-followers left not one certain sign of a school, or church, established by them in the military towns, which the Romans had held through four hundred years. The Islanders were mainly Celts whose ancestors had come in an early drift of Aryans from the Bactrian hills. The origin of the Christian Church among them has no trustworthy record. "It was almost certainly from Gaul," perhaps in the days of Irenæus. In exultant terms, if not mere rhetoric, Tertullian asserted "against the Jews" that "places in Britain, not yet visited by the Romans, were subjected to Christ." The long third century passed, and His servants there left us no clear voice of preacher, singer, or martyr. A doubt hangs over that brightest name, St. Alban, who, as a pagan, sheltered a Christian missionary from persecutors (305?): learned the Gospel, and was baptized. A few days later he saw the soldiers coming to the house, put on the teacher's cloak, gave himself into their hands, and was condemned to die as Britain's first-named martyr.

"Self-offered victim, for his friend he died,
And for the Faith."

Rather than dwell upon the merest legends, we may admit that from the close of the second century there was a British Church, with its chapels in villages of peasants; its cells and barefoot Culdees among the hunters of the North; its more cultured pastors in such towns as Chester and Glastonbury: its happy memories of Constantius Chlorus, who would not enforce the savage edicts of Diocletian; its bishops of London, York, and Lincoln at the Council of Arles (314), very grateful to Constantine for paying their traveling expenses; three other bishops at Rimini (359) equally poor and grateful for like favors; its slow victories over the romantic but savage paganism of Druid bards and priests, and its first-known book, written in Latin by Bishop Fastidius, of London, about 420, on the Christian Life. Pelagianism sorely tried the lore and logic of its pastors, and they sent to Gaul for help. Germanus, once a lawyer but now Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus,* whom Attila had not yet impressed, came over about 429, and we begin to hear of "field-meetings" quite worthy of Wesley's days. "They preached

* He was addressed by Sidonius of Clermont as "a bishop of bishops;" a title not yet monopolized by the Roman prelates.

in churches, and even in streets and fields, and in the open country, to the great encouragement of the faithful." They met the Pelagians for a discussion before a vast assembly, at St. Albans. Old writers say that "on one side was Divine authority: on the other was human assurance." In the high debate the errorists were not only worsted in argument, but "the exulting people could hardly keep their hands off them." Other triumphs of Germanus appear in legends of the Hallelujah Victory.

The Romans were gone, and the Britons entered the forsaken homes and towns. They lived proudly in frescoed houses and in villas adorned with tessellated pavements, statues of marble and bronze, vases of terra cotta, and Latin books not readable by them. They strolled in gardens and orchards into which the Romans had first acclimated the rose, the grape, the apple, cherry, pear, and plum. But this grandeur was brief, since they were rich enough to be plundered, and their spirit and art of defense were gone. Upon them came the northern Picts, rushing in droves over the Roman walls, and the pirating Scots (Irish) ravaging the coasts of Wales. Deep must have been the despair of the Britons, if they were willing to invite and trust the Saxons to aid them. A Roman poet, who could not predict the final outcome of these Germanic savages, described them as "the sea-wolves that live on the plunder of the world." They had already made little settlements in Britain, and there their kinsfolk, the Angles (English) seem to have begun their New England. Whatever be the fact about Hengist and Horsa, their sailing from Jutland in 449, and driving back the Picts and Scots, it is clear that the Angles and Saxons turned their forces upon the Britons and made it a field of robbery and slaughter. In the long war and woe the native people were slain, reduced to serfage, or driven into the western marshes and mountains. Wherever the invaders founded kingdoms they outdid the Goths in their violence to the Christians; and yet these importers of Odinism were the fathers of English nationality, language, law, and liberty. "Nowhere else in Western Europe were the existing men and institutions so utterly swept away."

A remnant of the early British Church was left in Wales and northward probably as far as the Clyde. If Potitus, the reputed

grandfather of St. Patrick, was an active presbyter near Dumbarton, he may have been favored by the Roman garrison. With Paul he might say, "I am a Roman citizen." Roman names run in his family, for it is not certain that his renowned grandson was first called Succat, and then Patricius. The lowland Picts, while the Romans held them quiet, seem to have lent an ear to the missionary Ninian (400-432), to whom are ascribed miracles, large successes, and the rearing of the white stone church (Whithern) in Southern Galloway. It seems credible that, in 431, the Roman primate, Celestine, sent Palladius to act as the bishop "to the Scots believing in Christ:" the Scots being in Ireland and in Argyle. Those scattered believers had no prelate over them. He failed in Ireland; perhaps his prelacy was not acceptable. There are traditions of his later labors in the present Scotland. In the best and oldest Irish manuscript yet known,* he is said to have been "sent by Pope Celestine with a Gospel for Patrick, to preach it to the Irish." This may indicate that "the Apostle of Ireland" had already entered voluntarily upon his mission.

The eminent leader in Celtic missions was Patrick, born probably at Alclud, near the present Kilpatrick, on the Clyde, in Scotland.† The best account is that his grandfather Potitus was a presbyter, his father Calpurnius a deacon, and his mother Conchessa may have been related to St. Martin of Tours. At the age of sixteen, when a merry, careless boy in the fields, he was carried by pirates to Ireland, where he was for six years a slave tending sheep on the lonely hill-sides of Down. The holy lessons of childhood came to remembrance. "I frequently rose to prayer in the woods before daylight, in snow, and frost, and rain. And there the Lord opened my unbelieving mind, so that, even late, I thought upon my sins, and my whole heart was turned to the Lord my God, who looked down on my low condition, pitied my youth and ignorance, and cherished

* Now published, Dublin, 1874-5.

† His dates and birthplace have been variously fixed according to certain theories. One view is that he was born in 372, sent by Celestine to Ireland in 432, and there died between 465 and 493. Dr. Todd favors the Scottish birthplace, and the later dates, making his mission begin between 440 and 450. Dr. Killen has more recently attempted to show that he was born in Northern Gaul, in 373, began his Irish mission in 405, and died 465. (Old Catholic Church, 1871, pp. 311, 312.)

me as a father would a son." One can see that his religion was not ritual, but spiritual; not a matter of forms, but of faith; not penance, but repentance; not a mere reform of conduct, but the renewal of the soul. Escaping from bondage, he was again with his parents, who questioned the import of a dream in which he thought he heard the voice of the Irish calling him: "We entreat thee, come and walk among us." He resolved to go. His relatives tried in vain to cool his enthusiasm.

His own account of himself has not one word about being at Rome, nor his appointment by the pope to succeed Palladius, nor any long years of study. In his old age he writes (we blend two accounts), "I, Patrick, a sinner, a very rustic, unlearned, and the least of all the faithful, by many persons held in contempt, acknowledge that I have been appointed a bishop in Ireland. I most certainly believe that it is the gift of God that I am what I am, and so I dwell among barbarians, a proselyte and exile for the love of God." To speak thus, "I am constrained by my zeal for God and for the truth of Christ, which stimulated me through a love of my neighbors and [spiritual] sons, for whom I have given up my country and parents, and even my life itself to death, if I be worthy. I have vowed to my God to teach the nations." If Rome had sent him he surely would have said so. What we know is that he was well versed in Scripture, that he preached in his homely way to the heart, and devoted the rest of his life to the Irish, beginning his missionary work there perhaps as early as 425, perhaps not until twenty years later. He began with his old, angry master, and so won him to the faith, that he gave to the missionaries the land on which rose the "barn of Patrick," and later a famous church.

Many were his preaching tours through the land, and many the perils from the Druids and the pagan chiefs. Might made right among the clansmen whose wrath was often roused by the beat of a drum, which called the natives out of their huts to listen to "the Apostle of Ireland." He adapted himself to the people, holding up a shamrock leaf to illustrate "the Three in One," and dealing gently with customs which then seemed harmless, but grew into such superstitions as wakes, holy wells, and Beltane fires. One aim was to convert the chiefs, and the kings of the mythical histories. Wherever there was to be a

crowd at the Celtic games, or the Druid festivals, or the league of clans, he was likely to appear, and his fine physique, good address, honest face, earnest soul, ringing voice, wit, wisdom, common sense, bold exposures of popular sins, direct appeals to the conscience, ready use of Scripture, and his spiritual fervor, had their effect upon masses of people. For his success he seems to have relied upon the truth of the Divine Word, the attributes of God, and the presence of Christ in the hearts of preacher and people. While rejecting the miracles and legends that have grown about him, like poison ivies about an oak, we may believe that he and his singing companions won honorable triumphs at Tara, where the chief northern king was brought to the faith, and that many were baptized. Thereafter he was no court-bishop, nor layer of tithes upon the people. His preaching tours were made through the broad country whose four corners now are Belfast, Dublin, Galway, and Donegal. He was long ago said to have founded three hundred and sixty-five churches, and placed over them three hundred and sixty-five bishops. Such estimates are merely general. The Church at Armagh became the metropolis at a later day. Some of his conferences and synods of the clergy have been magnified into legislative councils of vast importance. His labors probably extended through fifty or sixty years. He seems to have died at his favorite residence, near the first church he planted.

No other human name has ever been stamped so deeply upon Ireland as that of St. Patrick. It goes with her children wherever they roam through the world. It has recently become more and more fully rescued from myth and legend, prelacy and papacy. There was no such papal system in the fifth century as he was long made to represent. He appears as the superintendent of a vast work which resulted in the revival of the few Christians already there, in the founding of Churches, convents, and schools, and in the fresh stimulus given to missions. "The Church of St. Patrick" was not precisely like any denominational Church of our time in its mode of government. It was long in adopting the later polity of Rome. We read that "Ireland was full of village bishops," and that there were "bishops without sees—wandering bishops." Far down in the twelfth century St. Bernard, the restorer of

preaching in France, thought it an error that "every particular church in Ireland should have its particular bishop." Yet Ireland had to submit to the invasions of the twelfth century before its presbyterial polity entirely gave way to prelacy. It was long under the Culdee system which we find in Scotland. The glory of the Ancient Celtic Church is that she did not employ her mind in the invention of new modes of Church government, but threw her best life into missions.*

The next eminent Celtic missionary was Columba, born in 521, of royal blood, among the wildest of the Donegal Mountains. By his time the Irish Church had made great advances. He was educated in a Christian home, a Culdee cell, and in some of the best monasteries. He was ordained a presbyter, and began his work in the manner of the age. On a hill covered with oaks he made his cell, and this grew into a convent, around which slowly rose the city of Derry. He founded other monasteries, and was a Celtic Benedict before the Nursian had matured his rule. He seems to have promoted learning in Ireland. How he came to leave it we are thus told by his biographer, Adamnan, who wrote in the next century. He borrowed the Psalter of his teacher, St. Finian, and cautiously made a copy of it. But the saint detected him, and claimed the copy, at which Columba was highly indignant. The disputants agreed to refer the case to King Diarmad, at Tara. He sagely decided that "as to every cow belongs her calf, so to every book belongs its copy." Columba, disgusted with this use of a Celtic proverb, was still more angry. Not long after, when some young courtiers were at a game of hurling on the green, a prince of Connaught slew one of the party in a quarrel, and ran for sanctuary to Columba, who was with King Diarmad, and was willing to grant the right of asylum. But the king ordered the young prince, his hostage at the time, to be dragged away and put to death for having rashly intruded into the royal presence, as if a king were more sacred than a

* "While the vigor of Christianity in Italy and Gaul and Spain was exhausted (?) in a bare struggle for life, Ireland, which remained unscourged by invaders, drew from its conversion an energy such as it has never known since. Christianity had been received there with a burst of popular enthusiasm, and letters and arts sprang up rapidly in its train. The science and Biblical knowledge which fled from the Continent took refuge in famous schools which made Durrow and Armagh the universities of the West." (Green's Hist. England.)

priest. This was such an inhuman outrage that Columba's wrath flamed higher than ever. He barely escaped from the rude court at Tara, went to his own clan, and his story roused the men of Donegal to arms, and in great battle they won the victory.* He and Diarmad made peace; but his conscience accused him of causing so much bloodshed. At a synod in Meath, nearly all the brethren, except Finian, whose love for his pupil returned, agreed that "the man of blood" ought to quit his country, and from the heathen win as many souls as had perished in the strife. This story not unreasonably accounts for the important turn in Columba's life.

In 563 twelve men were rowing a boat northward, not willing to rest until their native Ireland was out of sight. They landed upon the little rocky Iona, three miles long and one mile wide, a barren spot which became an "isle of saints," and the center of wide-reaching missions. There Columba began his work of thirty-four years. The results of the work are better known than the workman. 1. The Picts and Scots of Scotland were converted, at least nominally. Tall, vigorous, athletic, attractive by his joyous face and genial manners, he sped through forests and over mountains, now heartily welcomed by one chief, and again shut out of the cabin of another; now helping some little band of fugitives out of their distresses, and again standing on a rock, preaching and singing to a crowd with a voice that rang among the hills far away, and brought heathen to the door of their huts, wondering whence it came. 2. Whether the reviver or the father of the Culdee system, he made it the prominent feature of the early Scottish Church.

* Far less serious causes often threw the petty kings and jealous clans of Ireland into war. Their feuds make confusion in the history for centuries. It has been said that "the secret of its long anarchy and weakness lies in the fact that it was Christianized without being civilized." It long needed a system of law, municipal institutions, the dissolution of clanship, popular intelligence, and the unity of its people. So did the Germanic peoples elsewhere. But the Celtic tribes never organized a powerful, central, enduring government, not even in Gaul, nor in Wales. The Irish and the Scotch Highlanders retained many of the antagonisms of clanship after they were conquered by a more unifying race, and the Church was thus hindered from producing a better civil life. Nevertheless the people, "who could not read and had no good roads," knew a great deal without reading, and went devoutly to church over bad roads; and the learned few made Ireland so famous that in the darker centuries of Germanic development it enjoyed perhaps the purest spiritual light in Christendom.

He being but a presbyter, no one cared to be much more than that, until later centuries. The monks need not be celibates, though no women were allowed in the monasteries intended for men. The Culdees (*Cuildich*), "the men of the cell," had a passion for building a hut in some wild place, and going thence to teach and preach, or drawing the people there to hear them. The *kil* was often the germ of a convent, or kirk; farms were cleared; then rose such a town as Kilkerran (the Church of Ciaran, an early missionary), or Kirkcudbright (Cuthbert's Church). Culdee monasteries grew thick in the land, and stood even on the Hebrides and Orkney Islands. The Word of God was the supreme authority among them, and they were long quite free from the worst errors that were creeping into the Church of Rome.

"Pure Culdees
Were Albyn's earliest priests of God,
Ere yet an island of the seas
By foot of Saxon monk was trod."

3. In this Culdee system the unity of the early Church in Scotland and Ireland was long preserved. Councils were held. At one of them a dispute between kings was settled; and a complaint against the Celtic bards was warmly discussed, not because many of them were Druids, but because the chiefs of the clans loudly demanded their repression. The bards could sing one hero into disgrace, or lampoon him into the purchase of their good will. They could lift another into great popularity if he paid them well. Columba thought it a serious affair to array law against song. Fond of poetry, a poet and a singer himself, he proposed that the order should be pruned, its satirists restrained, its geniuses encouraged; and thus the profession was saved, for good or ill. That Church was not intolerant. 4. Iona became one of the brightest lights of Europe in an age that was growing darker. Its monastery had a better rule than that of Benedict; for it allowed more liberty, and was more devoted to elevating studies and to missionary work. In other respects they were quite similar. When Dr. Johnson, the literary lion of London, visited the ruins in 1773 he said: "We are now treading that illustrious island which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of

religion. . . . That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona." No one can tell what numbers of missionaries went out from it, and from the many seminaries modeled after it—such as those at Abernethy, St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Lindisfarne. "Each of these institutions was a seat of learning,* a center whence radiated light and refinement. Its members rejoiced in their mission, wearied not in their vocation, sought out the scattered hamlets in the lonely glen or dreary moor, taught them the Gospel of the kingdom, exacted no tithes, and enjoined neither mass nor penance, confession nor purgatory. . . . They claimed no priestly power over the consciences and destiny of men. Their theology was sound." Columba, the presbyter and abbot, had the superintendence over the whole Caledonian Church. He ordained bishops, who appear to have been simply presbyters, and so were their successors until Culdeeism gave way to prelacy in the twelfth century.

In his old age, ceasing from his wide missionary tours, Columba was still boatman, grinder of corn in the handmill, physician, farmer, and student of his Bible. One Saturday in June, 597, he looked at the stores in the barn, the grain in the fields, the little black cattle on the downs, thanking the Lord that the brethren would have their supplies after he was gone; he asked a blessing upon his great monastery, turned into his own wattled hut, and went on transcribing a psalm. He wrote, "They who seek the Lord shall not want any good thing," and then said to a brother monk: "That fills the page, and I'll stop; the next words, 'Come, ye children, hearken unto me,' belong rather to my successor than to myself." He went to vespers, and then to his hut; he heard the bell ring out the hours of prayer through the night; at matins he was kneeling at the altar in the chapel, whence the brothers bore him away speechless, and trying to lift his hand to bless them once more. His eternal day of rest had dawned. They buried his body in the rock, and kings came to think it an honor to be laid to rest by Columba's tomb, until cities contended for

* Iona came to have one of the most famous libraries of Europe, and promoted Greek and Latin, as well as Biblical studies. It drew students from foreign lands. Its earliest rivals were Banchor in Ireland, and Bangor in Wales.

his remains to make holier their cathedrals. He died the very year that Augustine landed in Kent and began his work among the Anglo-Saxons. Their followers worked towards each other, and met in Northern Britain. Will the Culdee system, or the Roman, win the day at Whitby?

The third leader in Celtic missions was Columban (559-615), one of a great troop who blended "the ardor of Christian zeal with a love of traveling and adventure," and struck away from their Culdee cells to preach the Gospel among the heathen tribes of the Continent. Patrick had been scarcely a century in his grave when "Irish Christianity flung itself with a fiery zeal into battle with the mass of heathenism which was rolling in upon the Christian world." To have noble Leinster blood in his veins was nothing to Columban. He preferred the studies of rhetoric, geometry, and Scripture in the convent at Lough Erne, and his work of commenting on the Psalms at the Irish Bangor, until the love of Christ brought into his heart a pity for the wild Germans. In 589, at the age of thirty, he and twelve companions sailed over to the Anglo-Saxons, who gave him only a deaf ear; and we find him in Burgundy, where a grandson of Clovis was more friendly. In the Vosgean forests and mountains, where wolves had howled since Attila's time, and pagan Suevi hunted them, he pitched his tent on the ruins of Annegray, and there reared a monastery of stones which the Romans had cut. Then he built another at Luxeuil, and a third at Fontaines. These were filled with monks and refugees from the wars. Fields were cleared, and the reapers sang as they bound the sheaves of wheat. Preachers were gathering spiritual harvests. By hundreds the people, for leagues around these centers of culture, came to learn the arts of more civilized life, and they were willing to listen to sermons and conversations, or to become members of the fraternity.

The monastic rule of Columban was severer than those of Columba and Benedict. He wished to reform the monks of Gaul by engaging them in farm work, in the copying of manuscripts, and in the minutest acts of the ritual. Hard was the penance for the brother who failed to say grace before meals, or respond with the "Amen," or sign his cup with the cross, or who talked too loud, or coughed, or stared about, during the services. Yet he attracted men, and said to them, "Do

not dig all round the vineyard, and leave it full of brambles. True piety does not reside in the humility of the body, but in that of the heart. Do not merely read and talk of the virtues, but practice them. Let us live in Christ, that Christ may live in us." Often was he in the woods reading the holy Word, and among the growing villages preaching it. In the sermons of his class of men there was no literary finish, no effort to speak finely; the preacher went to the facts. "He feared not repetitions, familiarity, nor even rudeness. He spoke briefly, and began anew each morning. It is not sacred eloquence, it is religious power."

Columban went on in his work, not caring to agree with Roman customs about tonsure and Easter, and "casting the divine fire on all sides without troubling himself about the conflagration." The Frankish clergy sought to bring him to terms. To their synod he wrote, "I came among you as a stranger in the name of our common Lord. I beseech you, for his sake, let me live quietly in these woods beside the graves of my seventeen departed brethren. Let Gaul receive unto her bosom all who, if they deserve it, will meet in one heaven. Choose ye which rule about Easter ye prefer, but let us not quarrel, lest our enemies rejoice in our strifes. We are members of one body."

A worse storm than this blew from the Burgundian court, when he acted the part of John the Baptist against Herod and Herodias. The king, Thierri, had lost the old Teutonic virtues, and become a libertine, and yet he admired the bold Abbot of Luxeuil. On one of his visits there he was sternly rebuked for his licentiousness; he quailed before the saint, and promised to reform by taking a lawful wife as a true queen. So he might have done, but, says the chronicler, "the old serpent glided into the soul of Brunehaut, who was a second Jezebel," and who could not bear to be overshadowed by a new queen. She became violent. Columban came to the palace, tried reason, and then boldly denounced the sins of the court. A sharp contest was begun, in which the Celtic temper and the results were not in harmony with the miracles ascribed to him. He was expelled from Burgundy, but left in it those famous monasteries which were widely imitated in central Europe, and which observed the Celtic rule until the last days of Charlemagne.

We find Columban and Gallus among the fierce tribes of Switzerland, preaching from Basle to Zurich, where no civilization yet was known. Their method was not the gentlest. Gallus set fire to the wooden temples and flung the idols into the lake. The monkish story is that Columban came upon a band of wild Suevi, when about to offer sacrifice, and pour libations to Wodin from a huge vat of beer. He breathed over the vat, it burst, and the soil drank the foaming beverage. Then the heathen rose in wrath, and no miracle saved the missionaries from flight. On the shores of Lake Constance they happily found a priest named Willimar, who could point to the ruins of churches and castles which the new races had destroyed. On one of these they built a monastery. They won back the fields to culture, planted orchards, and thus founded the modern city of Bregentz. They led back to the faith many people who had once been baptized, and converted their pagan masters.

Gallus established the monastery of St. Gall, afterward renowned for its studies, illuminated manuscripts, and fine library. Columban went southward, and built the monastery of Bobbio, where grew up the town so notable in Waldensian history. He was invited back to Luxeuil, but spent his remaining days in literary labors, dying there in 615, and leaving to the north-west of him a broad belt of the Continent, from Iona to Italy, soon to be well planted with Celtic Christianity. For he had helped to set in motion an army of missionary monks, who are found through a century in all the new Europe. They are on the Rhine and in Swabia. One Irish monk cries aloud in the Black Forest. Kilian of Iona preaches in Franconia, and the unlawful wife of a converted chief is the cause of his martyrdom. Columban had kindled a sacred fire in the Gallic Church, and we shall soon see her holy torches in the Frankish missions.

"For a time it seemed as if the course of the world's history was to be changed, as if Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mold the destinies of the Churches of the West. It was, possibly, the progress of the Irish Columban, at her very doors, which roused into new life for a time the energies of Rome, and spurred Gregory to attempt the conversion of the English in Britain."

II. THE ROMAN MISSION IN ENGLAND.

Pope Gregory did not forget the "*non Angli sed Angeli*," whose people were not angels, but Angles, when they drove the old British Church into the Welsh mountains. There she grew in vigor, but she could do nothing with her savage conquerors. The Saxons now had their little kingdoms, but no culture, no national unity. They had kept their paganism through one hundred and forty years. "The new England was a heathen country. The religion of Wodin and Thunder triumphed over the religion of Christ. Elsewhere the Christian priesthood served as mediators between the barbarian and the conquered. Here the rage of the conquerors burnt fiercest against the clergy. River, and homestead, and boundary, the very days of the week, bore the names of the new gods who displaced Christ." Yet the warrior was settling down into a farmer, and the landless churl had his home in the gardens of old Roman villas, whose ruins were yet undisturbed by antiquarians.

There had been some preparation for the return of Christianity. King Ethelbert of Kent was Bretwalda, or the overlord, of the kingdoms south of the Humber. His good wife Bertha was a Frankish princess, and a Christian. She had brought over her chaplain, Luidhard, to whom was granted a little old church outside the walls of Canterbury. The English were not likely to enter it for a Latin service, for Ethelbert went on in the way of his Teuton fathers. In 597 he learned that a band of monks were unlading their boat on the gravel where Hengist is said to have landed. He and his thanes went down to meet them. Their leader was Augustine, sent from Rome by Bishop Gregory.* A Gallic interpreter gave some clear meaning to the first parleyings, and a day was set for a further hearing. To be safe from all spells of magic, the king would meet them in the open air. The conference was a great affair. Under an oak the royal "son of the ash-tree" sat with his wild chiefs about him. Augustine, studious of imposing

* The five great landings in English history are those of Julius Cæsar, B. C. 55, allying Britain to the civilized world: Hengist, A. D. 449, marking the entrance of the original English: Augustine, 597, who brought over the Roman type of Christianity: William the Conqueror, 1066, who established the Norman feudalism: and William Third, 1668, who gave Great Britain a free Constitution.

effect, came with his monks in solemn procession, well robed, bearing a silver cross and a painting of the Savior, and chanting a litany. The stately leader, "head and shoulders taller than any one else," set forth his creed and his intentions. The king, doubtless affected by the grand display, with English fairness made answer thus: "Your words are plausible, and so are your promises: but they are new to me, and doubtful: I can not yet give up the customs of my race. As you are strangers from afar, and seem to be honest, you shall be safe from harm, shall receive our hospitality, and shall be free to make all the converts you can to your faith."

The missionaries were soon marching into Canterbury to the music of Gregory's chant, "Take from this city, O Lord, thy wrath;" and from that hour the chief royal town of Angleland became the first center of Latin Christianity in Britain. Rome had come back, not with her legions, but with her language, her ecclesiasticism, and her prelatic system. "The civilization, art, letters, which had fled before the sword of the English conquest, returned with the Christian faith."

Not a Culdee cell, but a queen's chapel, and a royal court, was the center of operations, and when Ethelbert was baptized* the new faith was made popular. The conversion of Ethelbert ranks with those of Constantine and Clovis, in its vast consequences. The Witan (wise council) voted the nation to be Christian. Augustine went to Arles, met the Frankish prelates, and returned an archbishop. Before his first Saxon Christmas he reported that more than ten thousand Kentish men had been baptized in the river Swale. The English Church was now fairly upon its great career. From one kingdom to another it slowly worked its way, with many reverses, yet many victories. Its advances were largely affected by the overlordship, won successively by different kings.† It was built on the Roman model, and soon had collisions with the Celtic Church of Wales and Scotland. We notice only the general principles, movements, and results.

I. *The principle of Accommodation.* Augustine had been too much of a monk to grow into a practical, wise, independent

* June 1, 597; June 7, 597, Columba died, ending "the noblest missionary career ever accomplished in Britain." (Bright, *Early English Church History*. 1878. pp. 50, 51.)

† Note V.

pastor. He put many questions to Bishop Gregory of Rome, and "some of them," says Bright, "give the notion of a mind cramped by long seclusion, and somewhat helpless when set to act in a wide sphere." Among the weightier matters Gregory advises him to collect a ritual from the best usages of Rome, Gaul, and other Churches, not adhering blindly to the Roman form, "for we ought not to love things for the sake of places, but places for the sake of things;" also to force none to be Christians, for "he who is brought to the font by coercion is likely to relapse;" to banish idolatry, but spare pagan temples, purify them with holy water, deposit in them such relics as had been sent from Rome, and there hold festivals on the old pagan holidays. The effort was to Christianize too many heathen customs; the result was to paganize too many Christian rites. So we find "old heathen spells retained with Christ's name in them, . . . and pagan superstitions linked to Christian holy-tides." Augustine died about 605, leaving the prelatie system firmly established. Thus far the relations of the strictly English Church with Gregory show an origin from the Roman, and not a continuity of the old British Church. To the one she conformed, with the other she failed to secure an early alliance.

II. *The Conference with representatives of the old British Church.* The Welsh seem to have had at least seven bishops of their simple order (superintendent presbyters), and Dinoh, the abbot of Bangor. Between them and the Roman band there was a realm of heathenism to be Christianized. Why not unite Celt and Roman in the work? King Ethelred favored a union of efforts. But how settle differences which then "appeared, even to the strongest and most spiritual minds, far graver than charity can allow them to be in our time."* The Roman Easter was kept on a Sunday later than the Jewish Passover-day; the Celtic on a lunar Sunday, which sometimes fell on the Jewish day; the Roman tonsure was coronal, or circular; the Celtic frontal extending from ear to ear; and there was some now unknown difference in the rite of baptism;

*Goldwin Smith. These differences hardly prove the Greek origin of the old British Church. If Christianity was in the British Isles before the year 250, it went thither before there was much divergence between the Greek and Roman Christians. The Roman Church was virtually Greek for about two centuries.

probably the Celts objected to trine immersion and chrism. Augustine wished the Britons to come under his jurisdiction, but they felt the dignity of their Church as the oldest in Britain. They ventured into the land of the West-Saxon robbers, to confer with the Roman-English bishop, who had to risk being plundered by "the ceaseless fighter, Ceolwolf." The parties met (602-3) near the Severn, on a spot since called Augustine's Oak. The story is that an aged hermit told the Celts, "If Augustine be a man of God, follow him." "How shall we know?" "If he be meek and lowly like Christ; if he rise to meet you when you approach, then hear him; if not, then return upon him his contempt, for you are the more numerous body." Augustine did not rise, and so the conference began with bad temper and ended with ill threats. Augustine said, "If you will not accept peace with brethren you shall have war from enemies; if you will not preach the way of life to the English, you will be punished with death by English hands." Bede says that this prophecy was soon fulfilled when Ethelfrid the Fierce, the king of Northumbria, laid siege to Chester, saw King Brocmail supported by hundreds of praying monks, and fell upon them, so that more than a thousand of them are said to have been killed. The Welsh Church maintained its independence "with a dash of the truest Protestant spirit" for one hundred and fifty years.*

III. *The Mission in Northumbria.* This realm came into the hands of the great Edwin of Deira (617-633), whose northern town still bears his name—Edinburgh. With him began the proverb, "A woman with her babe might walk scatheless from sea to sea in Edwin's day." Southward he was overlord of all the English except the Kentish men, and he sought their alliance by wedding Ethelberga, good Queen Bertha's child. As he was still a pagan, he had to make some special pledges. She gave him her hand on condition that she might retain her faith in her heart and home. On this much was to turn for the

* Bede, near 730, writing of the Welsh Cadwalla, said rather bitterly, "It is to this day the custom of the Britons not to pay any respect to the faith of the English, nor to correspond with them any more than with Pagans." (Eccl. Hist. ii, 20.) As oppression maketh a wise man mad, it was likely to cause the Britons to "cleanse thoroughly the plates and cups from which Saxons fed." Aldhelm ascribes this cleansing not to refinement, but to aversion.

furtherance of the Gospel.* Deira might be free from the "ire of God," as Bishop Gregory had hoped. Paulinus, the majestic monk, was ordained a bishop, and sent with the northern queen. So we have the Kentish history over again, with a change of names and places. Ethelberga has her chapel and chaplain; Edwin has his Wodin and Thor. Like Clovis he permits his first child to be baptized—the little Eanfleda, who will have her part in giving prelacy the triumph over presbytery. The bishop pleads; the king sits often for hours in silence. He is almost persuaded "to bow down before the life-giving cross." He will consult the Witan. It meets at Godmundingham, not far from York (627), and the wise men discuss the new faith. The chief priest, Coifi, frankly admits that his religion is worthless. "If there is a better one let us have it."

"O king," said one of the thanes in his untaught wisdom, "so seems the life of man on earth, compared with the future, like a poor sparrow's flight through the hall when you are sitting at supper in Winter-tide, with the warm fire blazing on the hearth, and the icy rain-storm falling outside. The sparrow darts in at one door, lingers a moment, and flies out at the other, and is gone in the darkness. So is our brief life in this world; what was before it, and what will come after it, we know not. If this strange teacher can tell us, let him be heard."

Paulinus set forth his doctrine. The king avowed his faith. The priest, mounting the king's horse, galloped to the temple, hurled a spear against it, bade others to set it on fire, and the external paganism of that spot went out in flames. The king, the court, and the Witan were baptized, and the national conversion began. Paulinus had his central church at York, and for six years his missionary labors must have been prodigious.† He may have insisted strongly on the temporal advantages of Christianity, but it was some gain to civilization to have a man in that heathendom "whose whole mind was set on bringing the Northumbrians to an avowal of the Christian faith." He went all over the realm preaching, baptizing, catechising, and "instructing the people who flocked to him from all the villages

* From 617 to 685 the supremacy of Northumberland is the spinal column of English history, both civil and ecclesiastical.

† Bede says that when with the king and queen at Yvering, he was thirty-six days, from morn till night, teaching and baptizing the crowds in the river Glen.

and places in the word of Christ's salvation." Edwin's influence reached far down to the South-folk (Suffolk), where King Sigebert restored the church, lately overthrown, supported missionaries from Gaul and Ireland, founded a school, and finally set the bad example of retiring from royal duties into a cell which he had made for himself.

And now came reverses. The wrath of Cadwalla, the Christian king of North Wales, flamed against Northumbria. He did not forget the slaughter of Brocmail's thousand monks. He allied himself with Penda, the Mercian king, who came near to reducing all the English to his desperately pagan rule. From Canterbury to Edinburgh the English Church almost went down in the long wars. Edwin fell (633), and Paulinus fled to Rochester, where he settled as bishop. The Roman form of the Church was suppressed in Northumbria, and we shall now see how the Culdee form was introduced. Oswald, a nephew of Edwin, had been in exile at Iona, where the faith was kept alive in his soul, while his brother renounced it, played king, and fell in battle. He came back to make a heroic stand for his country. He and a small army, "fortified by faith in Christ," knelt by the cross in prayer, then charged upon the stronger forces of Cadwalla, and won the decisive battle of Heaven's field. He took the fallen crown (635), brought order into the realm, and "was to Christians all that Edwin had been, and more;" and was to the Saxon kingdoms a Bretwalda. The way was now clear for resuming missionary work.

IV. *The Culdee missions in England.* Oswald had been kindly housed at Iona. Its presbyters were the men he wanted. He sent thither for a bishop. Corman came, hopelessly failed, and went back reporting that the Saxons were too rude and stubborn for him. "Was it their stubbornness or your severity?" inquired the gentle brother Aidan. "Did you not forget the apostolic rule about milk for babes?" All eyes turned upon Aidan; he was the right man for the mission. It seems that he went as a presbyter. He did not ask the sanction of Rome or Canterbury. An Anglican affirms that Aidan, "much more truly than either Gregory or Augustine, may be called the father of English Christianity."* He did not begin, in the Roman

* J. A. Baxter, *Church History of England*, I, p. 86. If the continuity of the early British or Celtic Church was preserved in the English Church, it was

way, at the capital. He had the Celtic idea of a lonely spot for headquarters. He began at Lindisfarne, near the mouth of the Tweed; made it the Holy Island; had there his cell and training school, and there rose a famous Culdee monastery. Patient Scots taught Saxon lads to preach to their countrymen. Out of this convent poured a host of missionaries into England and Germany. Boisil founded Melrose to cast light into the dale of the Tweed, where one may still trace the paths of Cuthbert, the apostle of the Lowlands. A native of the Lammermoor, Cuthbert's speech was that of the people, whom he drew from the villages and far off hills to hear the peasant preacher. He was but one of a score who did the like things. Some of their names are bright on the pages of Bede, who remembered how the true faith reached his fathers, and who took delight in telling how Aidan lived, prayed, often sat alone on his islet, thought upon texts of Scripture, recited psalms, traveled widely on foot until king Oswald gave him a fine horse, talked with any one he met to win him, if a heathen, or to comfort him if a believer; how the king one day sent his own dinner to the crowd of peasants in the streets, and Aidan laid hold of the royal arm, saying: "May this hand never perish!" and how this man "of the utmost gentleness, piety, and moderation" had the one fault of "not observing Easter at the proper time," but nevertheless his chief theme was "the redemption of mankind through the passion, resurrection, and ascension of the man Christ Jesus." If the king interpreted the sermons of the untiring presbyter-bishop to the rustics of Yorkshire, we do not wonder that the North-country long cherished the name of "Saint Oswald," whose "white hand of charity" was a theme of song.

Nearly two hundred and fifty years before such Christian royalty reappeared in Alfred, his Wessex forefathers had light flung upon their darkness. About 634 Birinus confronted their intense heathenism, and won a royal convert, Cynegils, who must break his league with the furious Penda, and who was asked to give his daughter in marriage to the Northumbrian king. Oswald came for his bride. But her father must avow

through Aidan. But we shall see that his Culdee polity and his genuine successors were thrust out. They did well their work, and then were excluded. The two systems were not welded, nor wedded, nor amalgamated, nor grafted together.

his faith in baptism before he could have a Christian son-in-law. The result was a triple alliance, domestic, political, and religious, and a new turn in the destinies of Wessex, whose coming overlordship was to be so important in English history. Oswald fell in a battle (642) against the heathen Penda, where "Mesa-feld was whitened with the bones of the saints," and the ferocious Mercian gloried in the victories of Thor. Far up at Lindisfarne Aidan looks across on Bamborough, sees the fire and smoke rising, and lifts his prayer: "Behold, Lord, what mischief Penda does!" The wind shifts, the flames drive back the besieger, and he whirls away into Wessex, whose new pagan king must learn the meaning of the Greek rhyme: "Tribulation, education." He learned it, and Celtic teachers helped him to rear schools. Oswy (642-70), the reigning brother of Oswald, fought out the last great battle between the Christian creed and the Saxon mythology. Penda fell, and with him fell organized and military paganism in England. Already his son Penda had sought the hand of Oswy's daughter. "You must first accept the faith of Christ and baptism; you and your people," said Oswy. The young Mercian listened to the Gospel and said: "I will be a Christian whether I win the maiden or not." He was baptized and married, and went home with four missionaries of the Culdee type. Mercia became a nominally Christian realm.

Thus the Culdee Church had extended far down into England. Some of its presbyters there ranked as bishops, but its bishops were hardly prelates of the Roman order. Their presbyterial polity still differed from the prelatic. What if the English Church should conform to Iona rather than to Rome? The event was not impossible. The Celtic preachers and monks probably outnumbered the Roman. They quoted Columba rather than Gregory. Oswy favored them, but his wife, Eanfleda, Edwin's child, had been reared at the Kentish court, and she had the Roman ideas. While he kept Easter she was still in Lent. His feast did not harmonize with her fast. So all the differences between the Celtic and Roman Christians were again at the front. The debates ran through the land. Bishops were not agreed. The real question was then of immense weight, for it meant that Iona,* or Rome, should have the

* "The real metropolitan of the Church as it existed in the north of England was (then) the abbot of Iona." (Green's Short History)

control; Presbytery or Prelacy should thenceforth be the polity in England for centuries. How was it settled?

V. *The Conference at Whitby.* It was held in the new convent of the famous Hilda, 664, on the summons of King Oswy, who pressed the Easter question. Which is the truer, the Celtic or the Roman tradition? The two champions in the debate were eminent men in their time. Colman, abbot of Lindisfarne, was a bishop of Culdee monasteries and missionaries in the North. It was no small advantage to his cause to have the support of the king and the princely abbess, Hilda. The other leader was Wilfrid, who had studied under Aidan, committed the psalter to memory, and won the love of his fellows, but refused the Celtic tonsure. He went to Rome, visited other cities, and returned with the Roman principles, a love of Roman domination, the coronal tonsure, a store of relics, and an enlarged ambition. Culdee monks left him the monastery of Ripon, where as an abbot, not yet a presbyter, he began to organize the Romanizing party. He had on his side the queen, Eanfleda. He looked on the Culdee system as one that "grew up in a corner, apart from all genial and expansive influences." The arguments at Whitby came to this result: the king asked Colman, "Do you admit that Christ gave the keys to St. Peter?" "Certainly." "Did he ever give the like power to Columba?" "Never." "You both admit, then, that to Peter were given the keys of the kingdom of heaven?" They both assented. Then Oswy, with a quiet smile, said: "Peter is the door-keeper whom I do not choose to gainsay, lest haply, when I come to the doors of heaven, there be none to unbar them." Thus a misinterpretation of Holy Scripture decided the question, and Roman prelacy had its long sway over the English Church. Colman, "being worsted," and other Scots, who did not conform to the triumphant system, wandered North, and beyond the Clyde they kept alive their principles. Bright says of the Culdee Church: "It brought religion straight home to men's hearts by the sheer power of love and self-sacrifice; it held up before them, in the unconscious goodness and nobleness of its representatives, the moral evidence of Christianity." Bede saw in his day that England had greatly lost by the departure of men whose anxiety was "not how to serve the world, but how to serve God." They had their faults, but

their victors had a needed lesson in their virtues. Yet Bede took some pleasure in recording that, "in the year 716, . . . Egbert, the man of God, brought the monks of Hi (Iona) to observe the Catholic Easter and ecclesiastical tonsure." This Egbert was one of the monks who had gone North from an Anglo-Saxon realm. He represents an earnest effort to *Anglicize* the Scottish Church by volunteers and refugees. The kings of the Scots and Picts began to esteem Rome as grander than Iona. King Angus gave welcome to the exiled bishop Acca, who brought from Hexham a store of relics and the principles of Wilfrid. This king seems to have placed the bishop and the relics at St. Andrews (736), the future metropolitan Church of Scotland. But far back in those days "the tenacity of the Scots" was manifest. Many of them held fast to their old polity. In 816 they were forbidden to minister in England, not merely as Scots, but as Culdees.

The triumphant Wilfrid is a man to be studied. He was the Cæsar of prelatric Rome, battling for her conquests. He had learning, energy, versatility, heroism, ambition, egotism, and imperiousness. His chief struggles through forty-five years (664-709) mark the degree of papal power then admitted in England. The Witan of Northumbria elected him Bishop of York. Contests rose, and he spent much of his time running to and from Rome, with brilliant episodes of missionary toil. In his romantic life of successes, defeats, exile and return, we find some redeeming qualities. But when he was removed from his chair, and the hard-working Chad placed in it, he set England the bad example of appealing to Rome. On his way he was stranded in Frisia, and was the first of a missionary host to the barbarians there. The pope sustained his appeal, but the English would not submit; and this was their first open resistance to the papal authority. Wilfrid was flung into a prison, whose walls rang with his psalms. When released, he went into Sussex, where the fierce heathen had once tried to kill him. They were now in sore famine and despair, leaping into the sea to end their hunger. His rare versatility did not fail him. He taught them new modes of fishing, won their hearts, baptized their chiefs along with scores of peasants, built a monastery, and for five years this apostle of the South Saxons was their bishop. Fuller says, "As the nightingales sing

sweetest when farthest from their nests, so Wilfrid did the best service for Christianity when farthest from home." At last he was at home, in his episcopal chair (686); but he had too many troubles to keep himself in it, for Rome was not yet so potent over the English Church as in his own mind.

VI. *The unity and nationalization of the English Church.* These were chiefly due to a foreigner. Theodore of Tarsus, "a philosopher and divine of Eastern training," a monk in Rome, learned in Greek, Latin, and natural science, sixty-six years of age, was chosen Archbishop of Canterbury, through the diligence of Oswy, the Bretwalda, who acted for "the Church of the English race." He was consecrated at Rome, and for twenty-five years (668-693) he labored to give that Church more unity, better organization, broader culture, and a more national character. He was more independent of the Roman bishop than Wilfrid first dreamed, and well disposed to carry out the policy of Oswy. The Latin service was unwisely fixed for ages upon that Church. Dioceses and parishes were more wisely arranged. The penitential system was introduced. The clergy were supported by the state. Synods were held. The Council of Hertford (673) was the first of all national gatherings, and through the bishops of the several kingdoms it expressed the ecclesiastical unity; and this was the only visible unity for one hundred and fifty years.* There were some deep plunges into theology, and earnest gropings after the facts of physical science. English students had been sent to the monasteries of the Irish and Scots. Theodore provided for them schools of a high order at home. The school at Canterbury under Hadrian, a foreign scholar, taught more than "ecclesiastical arithmetic" (or the calculation of the Church seasons); for Theodore was one of the lecturers on astronomy, medicine, music, and the classics. It was a model for other schools, in one of which Bede was now acquiring his knowledge, so vast for his time. He tells of men who knew Greek and Latin as well as their mother-tongue.

Culture had its effects. Kings waged war with less burning and butchery; and even in those "killing times" many a thatched wooden chapel gave way to a stone church with glazed windows, decorated walls, and a leaden roof. Wilfrid

* Note VI.

brought from the Continent fine ideas and plans of Church architecture, and he did what he could to make them real. If he did not have Benedict Biscop as a sympathizer in all his troubles, he had him as the noblest co-worker in religious art. Benedict was six times at Rome; he saw the best buildings of Europe; and he brought over Frankish masons and decorators when he reared his monasteries of Wearmouth (674) and Jarrow, near the present Newcastle. Their splendor, comfort, music, statues, and paintings mark the advance in art which had begun in the North, but was soon manifest in all England. Into them he brought the Benedictine rule. He and Archbishop Theodore had the finest libraries yet in the Saxon realms. The busy, studious, benevolent, saintly Biscop, once a thane of Oswy, now an infirm monk at sixty-two, took delight in his last weary days and sleepless nights in hearing the Bible read and Psalms chanted by his spiritual sons. In 690 Bede may have been among those who wept on their way to his grave.

VII. *Christianity gave a literature to the English.* They were the first of the Germanic peoples to give it birth. Its infant life was nourished, not by mythology, but by Holy Scripture. The ballads of the early Saxons, long sung in cottage and in castle, did not pass into literature before a more sacred song was written. It came in an outburst of genius at Whitby. We might almost expect it there, amid the genial and spiritual life promoted by the Abbess Hilda, the Northern Deborah, grand-niece of Edwin, called from a Frankish convent by Aidan about 660, given charge of both monks and nuns at Whitby, and so training the monks that bishops looked to her house for earnest men who would find the lost sheep of Christ and feed the flock with holy truths. The very servants caught the spirit. The story is that Caedmon, the cowherd at the abbey, one evening foddered the little black cattle, followed some minstrels into the hall, left the cheerful company, flung himself on the straw in the barn, grieved that he could not touch the harp and play the gleeman in the rooms of the abbess, and in his hard-won sleep thought some one urged him to sing. "I can not; and that is why I left the party," said he. "But you must sing to me." "What?" "Sing of creation." And so the verses came. The abbess soon found out his gift, and per-

suaded him to become a monk. Into rude alliterative verse and Saxon words he threw many of the grandest chapters of the Bible. By this new minstrelsy heavenly truths reached many a serf and cottager, for whom the Divine Book was not yet translated and sermons had no charm. To them it was the *God-spell*, the good story of God.*

Farther south, in the school at Canterbury, was Aldhelm, a Wessex prince, acquiring nearly all the lore of his time—Greek, Latin, and Hebrew—and then returning to his studies under the Irish Mailduf, about whose cell grew Maildufsburgh, or Malmesbury. There, in 675, Aldhelm became abbot. It was not enough for him to be the first classical scholar in his land, for it was still nobler to evangelize the rude West-Saxons in the woods around him. When they came to hear mass they would not wait for the sermon, being more intent on their marketings, even on holy days. So he went to the bridge and stopped them with his Christian minstrelsy—for all Saxons were fascinated by music—and when he had gathered a crowd he glided from the song into a sermon which they were willing to hear. “His Pauline versatility” made him the needed man for his country. He did most to raise it to the level of Northumbria in the number of its monastic schools and its churches. He helped King Ina in framing a code of laws; contributed to a Saxon version of the Psalms; wrote a few Latin treatises; and brought over some of the Welsh, not quite fairly, into the English Church. When the Witan chose him Bishop of Sherborne he said, “I am too old; I need rest.” The reply was, by acclamation, “The older, the wiser and fitter.” He consented; and at the end of four years (705–709) he rested from his labors and his works followed him.

* A century was full time enough to bring from the Roman teachers an Anglo-Saxon version of the Bible. But not a verse translated by them is known. Archbishop Theodore soon required parents to see that “their children were taught to say the [Apostles’] Creed and the Lord’s Prayer in their native tongue.” Bede urged Egbert, Bishop of York (730), a fine scholar with a famous library, to put this Creed and this Prayer into English, for the use of both clergy and laity, saying that he had already translated them. When Bede translated a part of the Bible he was meeting a demand long felt by his native countrymen. Perhaps versions had already been attempted by Elfrid of Lindisfarne (710), and Guthlac, the first Saxon monk at Croyland. But the demand scarcely existed when the word of a priest took the place of the Word of God. Hence the literature based on Scripture was soon Latinized.

More worthily is Bede (673-735) called the first great English scholar and the Venerable. Born on the lands granted to Benedict Biscop for his monasteries, he was placed, in his eighth year, under the care of their founder, and reared a Benedictine. His "regular discipline" was obedience to the rule of the Nursian. He took his turn in the field, at the mill, in the bakery, and on the sheep-walk. Passing early from Wearmouth into Jarrow, he says: "All my (remaining) life I spent in that monastery, giving my whole attention to the study of the Holy Scriptures; and in the intervals between the hours of regular discipline and the duties of singing in the church I always took pleasure in learning or teaching or writing something." He was always a patriot, loving the national songs, and hating whatever worked ill to his country; a man of warm heart to his neighbors, to whom he sometimes preached (for he became a priest), and especially to his pupils, of whom there were at one time six hundred. He was once, in old age, as far away from Jarrow as York; the story of his visit to Rome is fabulous. Biscop's fine library was for him a world in which to travel. Burke styled him the father of English learning. He certainly was the father of English history. Often too credulous, always eager to get the facts, especially those about the Church, he led the story from the time of the early Britons down to the year 731, "with God's help." This volume gave him fame; it tells us all we really know of the early English Church. But he valued his commentaries* upon large portions of the Bible above all else that he had written, and that was almost a library, or cyclopædia of literature, of physical and theological science, and of biography. Had he written all his many works in Anglo-Saxon, and urged men to learn and teach it, he would have done far more for popular culture, and anticipated Alfred. He and some of his brethren did recommend preaching in their own language; but the effort was not vigorous, and Latin was soon idolized.

Bede's last work was a translation of the Gospel of John—meet work for the John of his time—and as he was dying slowly, day by day, telling his young scribe what to write, until there was only one verse more, he said, "Write it quickly." When

* There is too much *eisegesis* in his attempts at exegesis. He quoted largely from Jerome and Augustine.

told, "It is finished now," he replied, "Yes, all is finished now," turned his face toward the spot where he was wont to pray, and began to chant, "Glory to God." With the close of the song his spirit passed into rest.

One more eminent scholar rose in the next generation—Alcuin, already seen at the court of Charlemagne—and then came the Northmen, with desolation to churches and schools.

III. THE FRANKISH MISSIONS.

The earnest example of Columban had some rousing effect upon the Gallic clergy, whom Pope Gregory severely rebuked for want of missionary enterprise. In 613, two years before Columban's death, they held a synod to devise measures for evangelizing the heathen. Nowhere else have we seen a national or provincial Church acting thus in a body: missionaries have usually gone of their own accord.* They sent Eustasius, Abbot of Luxeuil, with a monk, into Bavaria. Bishop Emmeran resigned his see in Aquitaine, went into the same wide country, and made roads for Bishop Rupert, of Worms, who left an imperishable name on the towns from Ratisbon over into the valley of the Tyrol. A few Christians lingered there in poverty and oppression. At first the wild mountaineers would not listen to Rupert: they said that the God of the Christians was too poor to relieve the wants of his own worshipers, and too jealous to allow any other god. But when he got them to work in the mines and salt wells, or in fields which brought harvests, they grew happier and changed their opinion. Then they cared little when he assailed the strongholds of idolatry. A duke gave him the old ruined town of Juvavium, strewn with the remains of Roman baths and temples, every broken arch telling the wrath of the Heruli. There a church rose, and that swelled into the cathedral of Salzburg. That city became a center of evangelization. Henceforth to the time of the persecuted Salzburgers there was in those valleys a spirit of independence toward Rome.

Bishop Virgil of Salzburg—the Irish Feargil (745)—was the man who seems to have held that there was, below our earth, another world, with sun, moon, and men of its own.

* Augustine and Aidan excepted. The abbots of monasteries doubtless sent out men.

Pope Zacharias condemned such a notion, but Virgil cleared himself of heresy. He was not a Galileo in his theory, nor in his trials. He devoted his energies to rescuing the people of this world from heathenism, and great success is reported.* Not far away from him was Clement, a brother Irishman, who was condemned by a synod under the great missionary Boniface for his opposition to high prelacy and the papacy; for not sufficiently revering the Church Fathers, not even Jerome and Augustine; for denying vows of celibacy, and for some doctrines which were undoubtedly erroneous.

Another representative of the Frankish missionaries was Eligius, or St. Eloy, the wonderful goldsmith, and treasurer of his king, the firm Christian at a profligate court, the redeemer of captives by the ship-load, and the helper of young men who were training to preach to the heathen. To any one seeking his house the reply was, "Wherever you see the largest crowd of paupers, there you may be sure to find Eligius." He was made Bishop of Noyon, then a chief city (641-59). In the eastern part of his diocese and on into Frisia were heathen tribes of the most barbarous kind. He spent his remaining years in civilizing them by means of Christianity; traversing the forests, preaching, building churches and convents, and endeavoring not to baptize paganism along with the pagan. He has been quoted as preaching a mere formalism, and service of rites, and placing human inventions on a level with Gospel precepts. Too much of this may be found in all men of that age, yet he quotes a good amount of home-going Scripture, and among other sound paragraphs he has this: he represents Christ as saying to the unbeliever, "Behold and see! see the mark of the nails that fixed me to the cross! I took upon me thy punishment that I might crown thee with glory. I died that thou mightest live forever. But thou didst despise me and obey a deceiver. My justice, therefore, can not pronounce any other sentence than such as thy works deserve. Thou didst choose thine own way, therefore take thine own wages. Thou

* He refused to rebaptize some men who had been baptized by a priest, with the words, "*Baptizo te in nomine Patrie, Filie, et Spiritu Sancta.*" Pope Zacharias held that the baptism was perfectly valid, as the mistake arose not from heretical pravity, but from mere ignorance of grammar. Boniface, however, thought that such ignorance invalidated the baptism, and not that "faith ought to be blind."

didst love death; depart, then, go to perdition. Thou didst obey the evil one; go, then, with him into eternal punishment." When dying among his weeping monks, he prayed, "Remember me, O Thou who alone art free from sin, Christ the Savior of the world. I know that I deserve not to behold thy face, but thou knowest how my hope was always in thy mercy, and my trust in thy faithfulness." Just nine hundred years later a child of Noyon, John Calvin, was born, but during that interval a sounder Gospel was rarely preached than this of St. Eloy.

Often did the nominally converted people relapse into heathenism. The famous Radbod in furious zeal undid much of Wilfrid's work in Frisia. At last he seemed to yield to the teaching of Wulfram, a Frank who had left his bishopric of Sens, to persuade these savages not to hang human sacrifices upon gibbets, but trust in Him who was crucified for their sins. Radbod permitted one of his children to be baptized, and finally was about to submit to the ordinance. His feet were in the font, when he asked to be told in which of the future worlds his fathers were. Wulfram said they were undoubtedly in perdition. "I would rather be there with my ancestors," replied the king, "than in heaven with a handful of beggars," and stepping out of the font he remained a heathen. The Frankish ruler, Pipin of Heristal, gave welcome to Willibrord of Ripon, and his twelve monks, who landed in Frisia (692), and sent him to Rome to be fully commissioned by Pope Sergius. This pope afterwards made him Archbishop of Utrecht. He and the native convert, Liudger, invaded the holy Isle of Fosite, so named from a god to whom human beings were sacrificed. The temple was destroyed. The sailors began to hear bells ringing from the church spires of Heligoland, and warning them of the breakers. It became a spiritual Pharos. Christianity was planted in the Netherlands, so often since the home of piety, heroism, and liberty.

IV. THE ENGLISH MISSIONS.

The eminent representative of this movement, in which he had many fore-runners and assistants, was Winfrid, or Boniface, "the father of civilization in Germany." Born of noble parents (680), at Crediton, in Wessex, reared in the schools of Aldhelm; under monastic vows at Nutsall; ordained a priest

with an open road to high position; a favorite of King Ina, and well known as a scholar, he was anxious to see his kindred Saxons in the old father-land converted to Christ. With three monks he crossed into Frisia. Radbod was then fighting Charles Martel, devastating the new Frisian churches, and restoring paganism. These two representatives of Christ and Wodin met. There was no compromise possible, and Boniface returned to his convent at Nutsall, refused its abbacy, and bade farewell to England, resolved to work or die on foreign soil. Perhaps the pope could help him. He was soon at Rome. Armed with the commission of Gregory II, and an ample supply of relics, he passed through the melting snows of the Alps, and fell into the track of Rupert, who had gone to Salzburg, and into paths trodden by the imitators of Columban. Wishing to build on no other man's foundation, he pressed on into Saxony. We give a summary of his policy and the results:

1. He strengthened the growing empire of the Franks, and promoted reforms of the Gallic clergy. By aiding Pipin (father of Charlemagne) in eliminating the Celtic preachers, he more fully Germanized the Frankish Church. "He was statesman and scholar, as well as missionary; an able administrator as well as an earnest preacher; and his aim was to civilize as well as to Christianize the heathen of his father-land."

2. He acted as a high prelate. He greatly helped to bring Germany under the jurisdiction of the pope.* He was severe upon that "early Protestantism" which came from the Celtic Church. The Irish and Scots, whose wives were the best of helpers in mission work, were surely not so black in morals as he painted them. He treated the most earnest of them as rivals, had ceaseless controversies with them, and in his zeal to correct their freedom he revived the synodical system, which was one good result, if the synods were not too much under his management. He silenced nearly all opponents by the force of a will that sometimes crossed a papal decree. If he

* "The unity of the kingdom of God upon earth, the fraternization of all mankind gathered beneath the care of one shepherd, the pope and vicar of Christ, was his visionary scheme, and in his enthusiasm he entirely overlooked the diversity of nations and languages, and sought to remedy that difficulty by making the Latin tongue the only one authorized by the Church." (Menzel.) On the use of Latin see Note IV.

did not fully control the European Church while he lived, he certainly excelled all other men in his power. And yet he studied, taught, and circulated the Word of God. He is not unworthily styled "the apostle of the Germans."

3. The oak near Geismar fell. Boniface was advised to argue mildly, and not expose the genealogy of the heathen gods. But he grew impatient, and resorted to arguments which the pagans could understand. They had an oak sacred to Thor, Donar, the thunder-god, and all Hessians seemed to hang their faith upon it. There was their rallying point. He and his monks took axes, cut deeply into it, and a sudden gust of wind brought it to the ground with a deafening crash. The heathen crowd, it is said, at once shouted, "The Lord, he is the God!" and helped Boniface hew the old tree and build a chapel to St. Peter, who probably took the place of Thor in the more ignorant minds.

4. The progress of the work. The Frankish kings had opened the way for civilization in a land where nothing that could be called a city stood as a basis of operations. Even cities must be created. England sent bands of monks for the work. Numbers in Hessa and Thuringia were baptized, heathen temples disappeared, wooden chapels were built where grand cathedrals afterwards rose, forests slowly became fields, daylight was let into marshy thickets where wolves had lurked, and a holier light broke into savage hearts and homes. With all that was superficial, there was much which was permanent. A beginning was made for pastors to settle in towns. About the bishop's house laborers of all grades found residence. Farmers did their best with rude plows, while warriors handled swords more than pruning-hooks. The land-owner became rather more of a gentleman, and his wife the worthier Christian. All the influences of monasteries were felt for good and evil. The Church was the center of the best society. The name of a kindly priest grew sacred, and it was a great day when his classes of children, robed in white, were confirmed by the bishop. "Boniface may be fairly regarded, not merely as a teacher of Christianity in Germany, but as the missionary of a higher civilization, and the founder of cities."

5. The episcopal system was established in Germany. In 745 Boniface became Archbishop of Mayence. Already he

had founded dioceses at various points from Salzburg to Cologne, and thence to the farthest borders of Thuringia. Thus he was completing his centralizing project, by which Rome became powerful in Germany. Soon grew up those bishop's-towns of Erfurt, Worms, Spire, which we associate with Luther, the next mighty man in the history of the German Church. It was Luther who restored that noble spirit which Boniface had crushed—the spirit of independence towards Rome.

6. The mission and martyrdom of Boniface in Frisia. The Saxons of that country still fought the Franks, and thought the Church was an engine for reducing them to order and law. They were the thorns in the side of Boniface all through his thirty years of ceaseless labors. They burnt chapels and convents, and slaughtered the poor folk by hundreds. He gave his minute instructions to bishops and pastors; left most of his books to the library of Fulda; put into his luggage the relics which he always bore, a tract of Ambrose on "The Advantages of Death," and a shroud for himself; and the old man of seventy-four years sailed down the Rhine to the Zuyder Zee to preach to those Frisians who had driven him off in his younger days. All went well for a time with him and his companions. Some of the tribes gave him welcome. He had baptized a multitude, and on the 5th of June, 755, the converts were to meet for confirmation. But that morning he was waked in his tent by the tramp of men and the clang of arms. He stepped forth and said to his brethren, "Lift not a staff against them. Let us not return evil for evil." The heathen murdered the little band, rifled the tent, and hid the book of Gospels in a marsh. It and the remains of its preacher were afterwards placed at Fulda as relics of peculiar worth.

7. The monasteries of Fulda and Utrecht. Fulda, the first in Saxony, took its name from one of the head-streams of the Weser, and its origin from Boniface. It grew out of the cell in the forest to which he and Sturmi often resorted for rest, study, and prayer. Its rule was severer than that of Benedict. It was a center of evangelization, became rich in lands, the home of scholars, and the model for similar establishments. Utrecht rose to eminence through Gregory. The abbess of a nunnery, on the Moselle, employed her nephew Gregory to

read the Scriptures to the company at meal-time. On a visit there, Boniface said to the lad of fifteen, "You read the Latin well, but do you understand it?" This led to a German version of the passage and comments upon it, which so charmed Gregory that he resolved to follow the good monk. "But he is a stranger, and may not be what you think," said his aunt, who at last yielded, and gave him an outfit. He was, thereafter, the spiritual armor-bearer of Boniface, until he became a professor of theology, training young men for the ministry. As abbot he made the monastery of Utrecht a missionary college, and left behind him the reputation of a wise educator.

8. The military methods of Charlemagne. The peaceful measures of Boniface and his followers had not brought all the Saxons to even a nominal Christianity. They hated the Franks, and when conquered, would not remain in subjection. They swept over the country under the bold Witikind, and forced their idolatry once more across the Rhine. In this third terrible war upon them Charlemagne, who regarded them as rebels as well as heathen, took with him both soldiers and preachers. It must be admitted that now the alternative was, "Believe or die." But we should not forget that the terms had been offered, "Be quiet and live." One voice, at least, was loud in protest against these severe measures; it was that of Alcuin, who cited the examples of our Lord and his apostles. "Why impose baptism upon a rude people? Of what use is baptism without faith? The trouble is, the wretched people of Saxony have no faith in their hearts. Augustine says, faith is a matter of free will, and not of compulsion. You may force a man to the font, but not to faith." Yet Charlemagne persisted in his policy. In a former campaign he had marched to the Irmin-Saule (the image of the hero Armin?) which was a headquarters of paganism, and destroyed the immense idol. Sturmi and his four thousand monks had been ordered to cut down idol groves, demolish temples, and preach the faith. But now Fulda had been assailed, and revenge taken by the Saxons on the churches and clergy. Charlemagne was bent on making short work of heathenism. Death was made the penalty for secret idolatry, neglect of baptism and of fasts, the murder of priests, the burning of churches, and the practice of various pagan customs. The chiefs submitted. Even Witikind was at last

baptized, and among his descendants were famous emperors. His race soon lost the memory of the force which subdued them, and cherished the faith which saved them, and produced the Heliand, that glorious song in honor of the Savior, whose Gospel is its poetry and music. It was the first peal of those songs which tell how they regarded themselves as the liegemen of Jesus Christ, owing him fealty, and bound to serve him faithfully till death.

There were two great results. By the subjection of the Saxons they were kept from overrunning the more civilized lands of Europe, and at home they were a bar against the Norse peoples, who could not make land-marches through Germany, and hence they became rovers of the seas. By the conversion of the Saxons they were prepared for Christian missions to the Scandinavians.

V. THE GERMAN MISSIONS.

One of the last plans of Charlemagne was to make Hamburg the seat of an archbishop, and a base of missionary labors in Denmark. Long before he was crowned emperor he had put in his schools a little serf who was now primate Ebbo of Rheims. Other feet had been over the border, but his carried him up to the court of Harold Klak, in 822, and three years later he came down to Mayence with the king, Queen Judith, their family, and a train of Danes, and baptized them with great pomp in the vast cathedral. Ebbo did not easily find a monk heroic enough to return with the party and risk his life among the heathen Danes. But Anskar, who had been devoted by his parents to a monastic life, educated at old Corbey, under Paschasius Radbert,* and sent to build up the new Corbey on the Weser, was willing to leave his thriving school, and the neighbors to whom he preached, and begin that brave life so full of romance, zeal, and true glory. We follow "the Apostle of the North," not in all his personal travels and trials, but in his influence. He began his new work at the age of twenty-five, and was in it nearly forty years (826-865).

1. His labors in Sweden. He soon found a rebellion in

* This missionary movement was contemporary with the controversies on Predestination and Transubstantiation. See next chapter.

Denmark, after Harold destroyed certain heathen temples, and his fair beginnings were arrested. Some Swedes, taught by Christian captives, invited him to their country. He and Witmar set sail on the Baltic. Pirates robbed them of their books, robes, and presents for king Biorn at Sigtuna. Their sad plight touched the royal heart. He allowed them to preach. But the northern Balder was not to him a forerunner of Christ. The Christian captives formed the nucleus of a Church at Birka. A royal counselor, Herigar, built a chapel on his estate, and showed himself no half-hearted believer. To this man Christian Sweden owes a ceaseless debt of gratitude, for when his king was expelled and Anskar was in deepest troubles, when Birka was stormed by Norse pirates and its people were restoring the altars to the gods; when the Church was forsaken and Christ ignored, Herigar rebuked the lapsing citizens, rekindled their faith and led them upon the commons, where they renewed their vows to the Lord God omnipotent and trusted in him for defense. Christianity took root in Sweden, and it grew somewhat despite Norse ravages, lapses from the faith, and the migrations of people.

2. Anskar was made archbishop of Hamburg by papal authority, in 832, and he superintended all the northern missions. His monastery was filled with redeemed captives and refugees from Norse piracy. After it was sacked and burnt he stood in the ashes, with groups of poor boys and monks around him, and said: "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." And when he must flee with his co-workers and see heathenism rampant where he had thought Christianity was almost supreme, he took comfort in the words of the dying Ebbo: "Be assured, brother, that what we attempt to plant for Christ will at last come to fruitage." The clouds seem to break when Herigar gave shield and footing to other missionaries in Sweden. Christian merchants aided them. The Swedish nobles cast pagan lots, and Anskar said the Lord decided for the Christian faith. But even the miracles afterwards ascribed to Anskar did not firmly establish the Church in Scandinavian lands. He did great things with so little self-glorying that he could say: "If I were worthy in the sight of my Lord, I would ask him to grant me one miracle—that he would make me a good man." That it was

granted him was the belief of Rimbert and other disciples who pushed the missions in Sweden. The conversion of Norway was largely due to the later Anglo-Danish influence over all Scandinavia. (Notes I, II, III.)

NOTES.

I. Greek Missions in Europe. 1. From Constantinople Cyril and Methodius went into Bulgaria, Moravia, and Bohemia, about 863. Their mission produced vast results. Cyril formed an alphabet and translated the Bible into the Slavonic language. He thus gave it to the common people, a work which we find no other missionary after Ulfilas doing in the Middle Ages. The Moravians and Bohemians long insisted upon their mother-tongue as the language of their Church. As Methodius used a Slavonic liturgy he was branded as a traitor to the faith by the German missionaries from Salzburg. He justified himself before the pope (880), but this sad conflict wore out his spirit. The Church which he planted left the Greek communion and went over to the Roman. In 983 Adelbert, a learned German, was bishop of Prague, and very zealous against the surviving paganism. There was a long strife to maintain the native liturgy, which was never fully suppressed, and a love for it is seen far down to the days of John Huss. If other nations had clung as tenaciously to their own languages in the Church services, they would have become less Latinized and hence less Romanized. This version of the Bible passed into Russia and to other Slavonic peoples.

2. In 955 the princess Olga, of Russia, visited Constantinople, was baptized, and returned home quite zealous for the faith, though not successful until her grandson, Vladimir, took the throne at Kieff (986). He destroyed idols, built churches, and brought in Greek priests.

II. German Missions among Slavonians. 1. In 966 a Bohemian princess married the Polish Duke Mjesko, and carried with her Cyril's version of the Bible and a love for it. Their violent iconoclasm was resisted. Casimir I was an inmate of a monastery, perhaps Cluny, before he took the throne (1034); he established the Church in Poland on the Roman model. 2. Among the Wends efforts were made in 936. When Gottschalk, educated in Germany, founded the Wendish empire in 1047, he began the work in which he was a martyr, but paganism triumphed. 3. The Hungarians came from Greek under German influence, and the Church was established about 997 in the Latin form. 4. In Pomerania there were no very successful efforts until 1124, when Otho entered it as a zealous missionary and one of great fame. 5. In Prussia (a small province then on the Baltic) missionaries labored from 996 to 1210 without permanently good results. Soon after this the Teutonic Knights (originating in the crusades) were efficient in their efforts with the Gospel backed by the sword and the commission of the popes.

III. *Missions to the Saracens.* Raymond Lull, of Majorca, reckless in youth, converted somewhat as Augustine was, studied for years almost every science (and attempted a universal system of knowledge) to qualify him for preaching to the Mohammedans (1275-1315). After crossing the Mediterranean several times, but being resisted at Tunis and elsewhere, imprisoned and scourged, he tried to work up a new Crusade; lectured with applause in European universities; died a martyr, and left to history one of the splendid failures of genius.

IV. *The universal use of Latin in the Western Church* came through the desire to preserve antiquity, and promote unity and conformity in worship. It was the language of the old empire, whose spell hung long over the nations, and of diplomacy between the new governments. It was in the schools, text-books, and monasteries. It was the language of the civilization which the new nations imitated, of the clergy, of "the mother Church" of the West (as Rome was then regarded), and of the Vulgate, which had won the pre-eminence. Its continued use was not unnatural. The desire for a uniform service has often appeared from that time down to our own. Yet the Liturgies were slowly brought to the Roman model. The fixed religious use of the Latin language among nations of other speech, tended to limit education to the monks and clergy; to reduce their knowledge to a minimum; to make the Church services cold and mechanical; to keep the people ignorant and superstitious, so that they looked upon the sacred offices as powerful charms, and placed their salvation in them; to bring suspicion and ecclesiastical censure upon any devout man who broke over the linguistic bounds and preached to the poor people in their native tongue, and to prevent the circulation of the few translations of the Bible. The Latin service helped to Romanize and papalize the Western Church.

V. *Four centers* from which to study the progress of the early English nation and Church: 1. Canterbury, in Kent (597-620), to which London, in Essex, became subject. 2. York, in Northumbria, which held the chief sway under Edwin (617-633), Oswald, and Oswy, who conquered Penda of Mercia and heathenism (655). 3. Mercia, the middle country, which now rose to supremacy as a Christian realm under Ethelbald (716-757), and the more powerful Offa (757-95), the first to grant Peter's pence to Rome: and Cenwulf (796-819), who lost power when Egbert became king of Wessex. 4. Wessex, where king Ina (688-726) framed laws for Church and state, and Egbert (800-36) as overlord began the work of national unity which Alfred realized.

VI. Previous to 673 each Christianized Saxon kingdom had its distinct or national, Church, with its one diocese: now there was but one national Church, with more dioceses (soon sixteen), and in each a bishop, in such a city as London, York, Dorchester, Litchfield, Hereford, or Worcester. Over all was one archbishop, at Canterbury, for until 735 York was not an actual archbishopric. Theodore helped England to reach the later national unity. The kings met occasionally for alliance, arbitration, or the choice of a primate, but their kingdoms were not united states.

CHAPTER XI.

DEBATES AND CONQUESTS.

WAS there any mental and moral progress in Europe during the Middle Ages? The answer will depend on the point of view. Those who look off the height from which the early Church declined in learning, thought, faith, and life, and who account the long thousand years between Clovis and Luther as ill spent in regaining them, may deny it and slur the history. Those who start from the low level where the Germanic peoples entered the Church—where Celt, Frank, Saxon, and Norse began their new lives—and sympathetically attend them as they work their way out of barbarism and ignorance, into culture and science, will admit the progress, and find an interest in tracing the upward steps. It took ages to make one of them a logician, and centuries more to Christianize his logic. The new pupil had not merely to overcome his barbarism; he was often arrested on his way to school by invasions, wars, conquests of other barbarians. He was stripped of books and left half dead; nor did the monks and missionaries who brought spiritual oil and wine to his wounds always have the best quality at hand.

The political disturbances helped to prolong the intellectual darkness. Hence the wars which broke the empire of Charlemagne, and the Norse invasions, must be considered in ecclesiastical history. The Church was affected by them, for good and evil, as she had been by the more direct persecutions. The darkness was quite in proportion to their violence and extent. It was thickest between the seventh and eleventh centuries. It was not coeval nor equal in all lands. It began to disperse when the Western nations became settled, and had no more barbaric invasions. It was dispelled by light coming mainly from Christian sources: certainly not from Arabic sources alone.

The Christian Nestorians seem to have introduced Aristotle

to the Arabs. The caliphs of Bagdad promoted the study of his writings, and researches into physical science. There was some advance in mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, medicine, philosophy, and literature. Al Raschid, whose empire extended from the Indus to Gibraltar, and rivaled that of his friend Charlemagne, ordered a school to be attached to every mosque, and Nestorian superintendents were preferred, for they opposed image-worship, and Eutychianism. Al Maimon (808-33) had about him Greek and Nestorian scholars; manuscripts were copied, books collected, and libraries established. His was the Augustan age of the Arabs. This culture passed into Spain, and flourished at Cordova (980), and other Mohammedan cities. Thence some torches of it were carried into the convents and lecture-rooms of Christian Europe, and blazed there with some profit. But with the few scientific truths there were many philosophical and religious errors. Those who most glorify the Arabic science, and depreciate the Christian learning of the period, do not really believe much of either. The one was greater in quantity, the other quite as good in quality: neither was free from errors and each had its truths. Arabic astrology was not more civilizing than ecclesiastical saint-worship; alchemy ranks with transubstantiation in absurdity.

The more enlightened Christians of the darker ages drew their knowledge from nature, the trivium and quadrivium, the creed, the Fathers, and the Bible. They were ages of traditionalism rather than investigation and progress. Yet the questions arose, What did the Fathers believe? What did the early councils decree? Hence there were earnest debates in which there flashed out some mental vigor.

I. DEBATES OF THE DARK AGES.*

1. *Image-worship.* Emblems, pictures, mosaics, and statues came gradually into Christian families and churches as ornaments, memorials, and means of popular instruction. They became unduly revered. In 324 the Council of Elvira, in

*The dispute concerning the *Filioque* (i. e., whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *and the Son*) was mainly between the Greek and Latin Churches; the Latins having added the *Filioque* to their creed in the fifth century. The controversies about celibacy, the papacy, and investitures, will be noticed in other chapters.

Spain, decreed that "pictures ought not to be in the churches, lest that which is adored be painted on the walls." But the innovations were multiplied. Objects of art were idolized, especially in the East. Before them lights were placed, incense burnt, prayers said, and votive offerings presented. If these acts were not worship, the pagans might claim that they had not worshiped idols, but had adored God through the image. The Mohammedans cried aloud against the Christians as idolaters. A reaction began. Three parties rose: the image-worshippers, for whom John of Damascus, the ablest theologian of his time (730), made his plea, saying that "pictures are the books of the unlearned;" the image-breakers, or Iconoclasts, led by the Eastern emperor, Leo the Isaurian (729-41), whose persecution of the image-worshippers was intensified by several of his successors; and the image-reverers, or the conservatives, who would neither bow to statues nor break them.

Iconoclasm raged in the East. Insurrections and fierce wars made the empire a prey for the Saracens. The monks, whose predecessors had been so violent against pagan idols, now suffered for their own love of images; even artists, painters, statuaries were at one time banished. Now one party and next the other held the throne. A partisan council at Nice, in 787, favored the invocation (*douleia*), rather than the adoration (*latreia*), of images. But the distinction was idle, and it has ever since been practically useless. For such a shadowy line the multitude cared nothing. The council of Constantinople, in 870, excommunicated the Iconoclasts, who lost their cause.

In the West Pope Gregory I had wished to sanctify art, make it a means of devotion, but not worship its forms. His conservative views were sustained by Charlemagne, and the council of Frankfort (794), which boldly condemned the decree of Nice as a sanction of image-worship. Louis the Pious held a council at Paris, in 824, which allowed the use of pictures and statues, but sternly forbade any worship of them. France and Britain were the last to yield to the idolatry of art.

The most vigorous Iconoclast in the West was Claudius, a native of Spain, a presbyter in 812, and nine years later the bishop of Turin, where he left a bright name for the Waldenses, and for all Christians who admire a careful expositor of Scripture, an earnest reformer, and a shining light in a dark age.

He removed the pictures and images from the churches in his diocese, disapproved of pilgrimages, denied the virtue of sign and form of the cross, questioned the supremacy of the pope, and held that originally bishops and presbyters were of equal rank. In such reforms an active part was taken by bishop Agobard of Lyons (813-40), a Spaniard by birth and a man of rare mental endowments and learning. He opposed superstitions about witchcraft, the notion that gifts to churches would avert diseases and sins, prayers to saints and angels, and all those barbarous ordeals which paganism brought into the courts of justice.

An Augustinian, he stood forward to revive a more truly Christian spirit in the members of the Church. But, after all, the images finally gained the victory in the West, and held their sway until the Zwinglians, Huguenots, and Puritans associated idolized art with popery and became Iconoclasts.

2. *Adoptionism.* The Mohammedans were quite tolerant of the Nestorian view of Christ's person. This may have led two Spanish bishops, Felix of Urgel, and Elipandus of Toledo, to teach that Christ, *as God*, was by nature, and truly, the Son of God; but *as man* he was the Son of God only in name, and by adoption. This was thought to savor of the Nestorian error. Felix recanted under trial, but returned to his heresy. From 785 to 820 the Western synods took pains to condemn the doctrine, and it soon disappeared.

3. *Inspiration.* The nobleman, Fredegis, a learned forerunner of the scholastic theology, maintained that the very words of Holy Scripture were inspired by the Divine Spirit. Probably most of the bishops held to verbal inspiration. Agobard, of Lyons, argued that the Holy Ghost imparted not diction, not "the bodily words upon the lips," but the sense of them, the thoughts or ideas. He also surprised many men by saying that the New Testament contained some inaccuracies of grammar. Nobody arraigned him for heresy. He urged a diligent study of the Bible.

A subtle philosophy was brought into the controversies of the West by John Scotus Erigena (Irishman), the adviser and confidant of the French king, Charles the Bald (869-77), who had some of the tastes of his grandfather, Charlemagne. John was the teacher of the court-school. He was "the enigma and

wonder of his time. He suddenly comes and all at once disappears, so that we know not whence he came nor whither he went. He was undoubtedly the most learned man, and the deepest, boldest, and most independent thinker, of his age, in which he was neither understood nor appreciated, and he was scarcely deemed even worthy of being declared a heretic." The churchmen of Paris rectified the omission in 1209, and burnt some of his books and pantheistic followers. Though he wished to retain some of the essential doctrines of Christianity, his system was one great heterodoxy, based upon Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, and himself. Theology and philosophy were, in his view, merely forms of the same truth. He said: "Authority springs from reason, not reason from authority." He was the Western writer who used logic as a means of discovering truths. His philosophy was rationalistic; his pantheism forerun that of Hegel. The French king directed him into a new field. "It is a startling feature of the times that one, whose theories were so divergent from the teaching of the Church, was called to speak as an authority on two of the most awful topics of the faith. These were the doctrines of Predestination and the Eucharist, which, owing to the great activity of thought engendered in the Carolingian schools, were now discussed with unwonted vehemence." These let us notice.

4. *The Predestinarian Controversy.* Gottschalk, the son of a Saxon count, was early devoted by his parents to the monastic life, and trained at Fulda, partly under the then abbot Rabanus Maurus. He next was in the monastery of Orbais, near Soissons, where he studied Augustine and put forth the doctrine of a twofold predestination, one to salvation, the other to condemnation, each absolute and unconditional, but not fatalistic. Of this doctrine and its correlatives he became a champion. Against him the chief was Rabanus Maurus, of ancient Roman blood, a pupil of Alcuin, a leading theologian of his time, a popular teacher at Fulda, a busy author, and finally archbishop of Mayence (died 856). His doctrine of predestination was Semi-Pelagian, although he quoted largely from Augustine and Prosper. A synod at Mayence condemned Gottschalk, who was handed over to his archbishop, Hincmar, of Rheims, a nobly born, talented, courageous, proud, energetic, violent man of great influence, and very zealous for the Gallican liberties

for which he did noble service against Pope Nicholas. Always in controversy, he was not likely to deal tenderly with the poor Saxon monk. He secured another synodical condemnation of Gottschalk in 849 at Kiersy, and had him excommunicated. In the spirit of the time, Gottschalk offered to test the truth of his doctrines by the ordeal, and after being plunged into caldrons of boiling water, oil, and pitch, to walk through a blazing pile. This challenge was not accepted, but in the presence of King Charles the monk was flogged and made to throw his book into the fire, which he had hardly strength to do. Then he was cast into a monastic prison, where he suffered courageously almost twenty years under the ban of heresy.

Meanwhile the whole Western Church was enlisted in the controversy, and Hincmar was assailed for his extreme harshness. Rabanus Maurus forsook him. New writers threw in their pamphlets. It grew too warm for Hincmar, and he sought the aid of the freethinker John Scotus, who came out with the doctrine of "the Eternal Now," on the basis that all time is *present* with God, and that *strictly* there *can be* no foreordination. Predestination is but the will of God in activity; it is one and can not be twofold. It is positive only in reference to what is good. At length, when synods failed to reconcile parties, Bishop Remi, of Lyons, a friend of the prisoner, moved to refer the subject to a future council, and that special council was never held. Gottschalk appealed to the eminent Pope Nicholas; the pope cited Hincmar to go to Rome, but he refused to obey, and for once he was in the right as a free Gallic bishop. No decree opened the door of liberty to Gottschalk. He died in prison 868, and Hincmar refused him burial in consecrated ground. Meanwhile the same parties were deep in another dispute.

5. *The Eucharistic Controversy.* Paschasius Radbert, once the master of a convent-school, was in 844 the abbot of the French Corbey. He had opposed Gottschalk. His ardent piety and traditionalism led him to draw up for his monks a little service-book on the Lord's Supper. In this he broached the views which finally matured in the doctrine of transubstantiation. He taught "that in the Lord's Supper, after the consecration, there remained only the form and appearance of bread and wine; and that the real body, or the flesh and blood of

Christ, were present." He would not refuse the cup to the laity, as did his later followers. He laid his book before King Charles, who soon found that this theory was a novelty. It excited surprise and alarm. Charles requested Ratram (Bertram) to examine it. This young monk was in the convent with Radbert, and devoted to the writings of Augustine. At Charles's request he had already written in favor of Gottschalk. He now stated that in the Eucharist the elements are not changed as to form or substance, but the change is spiritual and potential; and that in them the body and blood of Christ are presented, not to the bodily senses, but to the faithful soul. He held to a real, but not a corporeal presence. This view was taught by Elfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the next century. The book of Ratram was first printed in England, 1532, and was highly valued by the Calvinistic reformers. It led Bishop Ridley, the martyr, to a right view of the Lord's Supper.

It seems that King Charles sought the opinion of John Scotus, who saw little more in this sacrament than a memorial of the absent body of the Lord, or a remembrancer of those Christian truths which nourish the believer's soul; a view often imputed to the reformer Zwingli. Rabanus Maurus, and the more learned men of that age, generally, opposed the doctrine of Radbert; but as it bore the appearance of reverential piety, and harmonized with the prevailing love of the miraculous, it grew into favor.

In the eleventh century the doctrine of Ratram created surprise when it was revived by Berengar, the master of a thriving cathedral school, at his native Tours, and then Archdeacon of Angers (1040-1088). He had a free mind and was not afraid to read the works of John Scotus, though told that John was a heretic. He took Ambrose and Augustine as solid authorities, and became an able theologian in that "very dark century." His former fellow-student, Adelman, warned him against spreading his opinions, lest he should cause scandal and enmity; but the brave man soon sent forth a book, which was widely circulated by men who had been poor lads, educated at his cost in his school. It was burnt and lost for ages, until Lessing found it in our century. No other monk in that age raised such a commotion as did Berengar. About him we might range kings, bishops, councils, and popes, and even the Norman invasion of

England. For Lanfranc, who went to the chair of Canterbury, and Hildebrand, who became the great pontiff at Rome, were at first his friends. Lanfranc became his earnest opponent.* Now acquitted and again condemned; now in prison and again at Rome to answer charges of heresy; now compromising or even recanting his views, and once more asserting them, poor Berengar grew sick of tribulation, sore with self-reproach for his want of heroism, and retired to an island in the river near Tours, lived as a hermit and died neglected. But he was not forgotten. Down to late times a company of people met once every year at his tomb to honor his name.

II. NORSE INVASIONS.

The Churches of Britain had no active part in the controversies just noticed. Their great conflicts were entirely different. They had to struggle for the right of existence. Bede was scarcely fifty years in his grave when the Northmen turned their thoughts to a long battle for life, and when theology, science, schools, Churches, art, literature, civilization, were arrested in their progress. We must count three hundred years of Norse pillaging and conquest—all in the providence of God—before the Northmen ceased from Vikingism and permanently settled English affairs in their victorious way. Here and there a man like Alfred brought “a little reviving in the bondage;” but he prolonged, rather than shortened, the period of Norse aggression.†

This vast movement—one of the greatest in history—had three stages in England: (1) that of plundering expeditions, from about 787 to 855, when Northmen landed upon every coast, surprised towns, pillaged churches, burnt monasteries,

* Note at the end of this chapter.

† Read the Anglo-Saxon chronicle from the year 787 to 1087, and mark the many times and places of robbery, flame, and conquest. Here are a few samples: 794. The heathens ravaged among the Northumbrians, and plundered Egfert's monastery. 851. The heathen men first wintered in Thanet; three hundred and fifty ships came to the mouth of the Thames. 870. In Mercia the Danes got the victory, slew the king (Edmund), subdued the land, and destroyed all the churches they came to. 871. Nine general battles fought south of the Thames. 910. Danes greatly ravaged along the Severn. 991. Ipswich ravaged; tribute first paid to Danish men on account of great terror which they caused by the sea-coast. 1010. The Danes burnt Thetford and Cambridge. All Northmen, or Scandinavians, were often called Danes.

reveled in crime, loaded their black boats with goods and captives, and sailed away; (2) that of settlement, along with more Viking ravages, through the next one hundred and fifty years, during which Norse colonies expanded, old kingdoms lost their boundaries, Danes carved out provinces for themselves, the conquerors assumed Christianity, and tried to live as Englishmen with the conquered, yet intent upon having their Anglo-Norse bishops, aldermen, and generals; (3) that of royalty, when Danish kings ruled from 1017 to 1042, and, after Edward the Confessor, came William the Norman in 1066, with his feudalism, bishops, and Domesday Book. If there had not been a tenacity and toughness in the English character, we should find no survival of Anglo-Saxon Church, law, language, or civilization.

There were immense losses of property and life, of homes and social bliss. The heathen Dane slew the Christian Saxon, as the heathen Saxon once slaughtered the Christian Briton. Women had griefs which they wished untold. "There was warfare and sorrow all over England." Invasion often became persecution, especially in Ireland, where pagan Danes had early colonies of Ostmen (785), who pressed inland, while sea-rovers desolated the coasts. Irish monks, creeping out of the marshes, handed down the awful story of the ruin of churches, convents, schools, four universities, books, harps, happiness; of poets, teachers, musicians, and priests hiding in the woods; and of Erin's crown on the head of a Norse tyrant at Dublin; all ending in the amalgamation of races, and a lower type of Christianity. The Scots have told their woes with a like monotony. Culdeeism was paralyzed. Iona lost her glory (806), and the very bones of Columba. The isles at the north of it were homes and naval stations of the Vikings. Even the Hebrides paid tribute to a line of Norse kings (870-1266) on the Isle of Man. From Caithness to Lindisfarne the Northmen swept the coasts. Where were they not masters of the North, except in the wild districts so famous for the Highlanders, who there took refuge, kept pure their Celtic blood, and long retained their rudeness, their clanship, and their brave habit of plundering their neighbors?*

* The Anglo-Danish province of Lothian seems to be the basis of the later Scotland.

dim in history? Yet rays of it entered the fierce Norse heart. Vikings met with sad hermits, assumed Christianity, led their crews and subjects to holy altars, and bore some coals of it away to their father-land.

England was long surrounded with lawless Vikingism; and yet her Christianity, law, kingship, courage, were to have the largest part in subduing it, and with it the Norse Paganism. It brought evils; it wrought good. The best effects were these: a stronger union of the Scots and Picts in one Scottish kingdom; political unity of the English under the Wessex crown for two hundred years (802-1002); the erasure of the old heptarchy from the English map; the development of Anglo-Saxon energies; the creation of an English navy, and the rise of foreign commerce; the baptism of the invaders, who built again the churches they had burnt; the solidarity of the two families of the same race; the conversion of Norway, with the final repression of Vikingism; and the rearing of noble men who conserved the English Church, law, and life. These results were largely due to the most eminent West-Saxon kings, and to their wisest Norse successors.

With this light on their position we may understand the men on whom so much depended. In 802 Egbert returned from an exile at the court and palatine school of Charlemagne, and took the crown of Wessex. He won the overlordship of all England, and styled himself "King of the English," as no other man had yet dared to do. At his death, in 839, he might have left to Ethelwulf a firm nationality, had it not been for the Northmen. He mapped his grand scheme on the sand, and the Norse storm washed it out. Every Saxon realm was falling into Norse hands, and three crowned sons of Ethelwulf, with the warlike Bishop Alstane, barely saved Wessex from wreck. Its brave people needed a wiser, more inspiring leader. No one could yet name the remaining son, Alfred, as the hope of state and Church.

Alfred was born at Wantage in 849, just four hundred years after Hengist is said to have landed on the gravel at Ebbsfleet. No human arm then pushed back the Saxon; would any one now drive off the Dane? Could Alfred? Heroism was not his young dream. Not patriotism, but religion, was his early lesson; nor was it the religion that best makes a patriot. It

was that of his father, who was half monk at times, a good fighter alongside of Bishops Alstane and Swithin against the Danes, but more happy on his pilgrimage to Rome. He might there report that he had given large lands for his "own eternal salvation." He there found Pope Leo IV inclosing the Vatican against Moorish pirates, who were helping to imperil Christendom. This pope may have anointed little Alfred, six years old, as future king of the West-Saxons. If the lad came with his aged father to the court of King Charles the Bald, he was scarcely profited by the debates of Gottschalk, Radbert, and Scotus, nor by the wedding which made the clever girl Judith his step-mother. At sixteen she was a widow, and very soon the wife of her step-son, Ethelbald. The scandals of this royal pair justly caused a public horror and loud noise. Alfred was the gainer, if thenceforth he was "left to grow up pretty much as he chose." All this is the most we know about his first outline of religious studies; perhaps his good mother Osberga had led him in diviner ways. If she really gave him a book of Saxon poetry for committing it to memory, he may have grown warm with patriotic songs. In his manhood he had, deep in his soul, the love of country and the love of God.

Not simply in religion, but also in kingship, he had to find the higher wisdom for himself. "Tribulation worketh experience," and hope cometh later. In 871 Egbert's crown pressed his brow, but Egbert's failure grieved his heart. The outlook was dismal. A great famine, plague among men, pest among cattle, were scarcely over; good King Edmund slain in the hot fight with Guthrun and four other heathen Vikings, who so covered East Anglia that Prince Edwold left crown and realm to the pagan church-burners, went into a Dorset monastery, and "there led a hermit's life on bread and water;" more Danes coming, with the Raven fitly on their standards; the Thames full of their black galleys, and Wessex towns on fire by their raiding horsemen; theft, riot, panic every-where; and yet one royal leader who might say, as his brave alderman had shouted at Englefield, "Forward, men, and at them; our captain, Christ, is braver than they." That hero fell; yet the long war went on, Alfred having some triumphs, "for he too relied on the help of God."

Later story-tellers may have lapsed into myths in their rec-

ord of Alfred's experience. Yet they may give us roots of fact when they tell how he yielded to evil impulses; ruled with too hard a hand; laid too heavy service on the yeomanry; was too heedless of the preacher's rebuke and the poor man's cry; drove petitioners from court and camp; hanged men on slight charges, or let justices have too much power; lost popularity; saw nobles and people forsaking him; and then left them to find out his value by suddenly hiding in the marshes of Athelnay, where the neat-herd's wife scolded him for his failure in cake-baking. They tell how "the Righteous Judge willed that his sin should not go unpunished in this world, to the end that he might spare him in the world to come. Therefore King Alfred often fell into such great misery that sometimes none of his subjects knew where he was, or what had become of him." Misery deep and seclusion enough, no doubt; yet he may have been hedged by the Danes in some ravine or swamp—a Saxon Washington wintering painfully at his Valley Forge—and neither office-seekers nor monks were likely to hear of him until he cut his way out.

The certain fact is, that his people finally rallied, and that he was long years in deciding the contest between Christian Saxon and heathen Dane, and so ending it that Christianity was triumphant and English civilization preserved. Guthrun and his folk were granted East Anglia, where they learned Christ as he was best known in those days.* Hasting, who had been treated magnanimously, but had broken every oath made on the shoulder-blade of a horse, was so beaten that he came not again to ravage the coasts. Rollo was sent off to France, there to make Normandy a home for other Vikings; thus sparing England for nearly two hundred years, but rearing men who would bring her a Conquest worth mentioning. These are samples of the policy by which the English nation and Church were relieved for a time. When the Norse storm lulled for a year or two, or passed by to other lands, Alfred came forth in the character which has most impressed the whole Germanic race; for he was a royal patriarch and teacher

* So Theodosius settled the Goths in Thrace, and they reared Alaric and conquerors in the very empire which sheltered them. These Anglo-Danes would yet furnish an Alaric in Sweyn and a Theodoric in Canute, although the men were of foreign birth.

of his people. We find him with his books, his pen, his invented lantern, his harp, his merry children, his artisans and farmers, his schools and lawmakers, his Bible and his prayers. All his life was one of illnesses; and yet he usually had a cheerful heart, hopeful soul, devout spirit, and busy hand. He reminds us of King David in his various trials and activities. Yet he is not understood by comparing him with the brilliant names of antiquity. He stands quite alone in the moral grandeur of his life and aims. He has been described as the first really Christian king, the only English king entitled "the Great." It was no boast for him to say to those who listened for his last golden words, "I have striven to live worthily. I desire to leave to the men who come after me a remembrance of me in good works." That remembrance has come down through the ages. Monarchs have seen what a life of worthiness means. It has been imitated by rulers and yeomen. Far away, children are fired by the story of it. Missionaries tell it, and so its light goes round the world. He saw his own defects, and tried to remedy them. He saw what England needed, and labored to meet the want.

1. In national affairs he sought to rescue, defend, unify, and greatness England. He was an organizer. He created a navy, made good roads, repaired fortresses, brought London up from the ashes, and started it on the way to universal commerce. His long lost and curious jewel bears the words, "Alfred made me." This might almost be said of England. Her realms became one nation. Her zest for exploration was begun. Alfred sent out a Norse shipmaster far up toward the North Pole, perhaps with a kindly message to the Icelanders. Envoys bore his presents to Rome and Jerusalem, and he may have sent alms to the poor Christians of St. Thomas in India, as Charlemagne had sent donations to the suffering Churches of Africa and Palestine.

2. He worked his way out of ignorance, and gave an impetus to popular education and literature. In the face of skepticism we must think that he could read, write, and personally make translations from Latin into his mother-tongue. He kept his note-books, made quotations of all sorts, proverbs of wise men, sentences from Augustine, now a story, then a prayer, with many a good song. His schemes of education

were quite like those of Charlemagne. They were the last vigorous attempts at popular enlightenment during the Middle Ages. The Northumbrian schools and literature had gone down in the Norse deluge. Aldhelm's lights were no longer burning in Wessex. No abbot Hadrian lectured at Canterbury. "When I began to reign," he says, "I can not remember a man south of the Thames who could explain his [Latin] service book in English." To remedy this ignorance he had his court-school for the nobles—even the dignified aldermen—and he superintended it. He imported teachers, such as the monk Asser, of Wales; Plegmund and Werfrith, of Mercia; Grimbald, of France, a fine musician, a priest well versed in Scripture and theology for one in that age; and John (not Scotus but) the Saxon of Corbey. He lamented that the former English scholars had left every thing in Latin, and began to act as translator, editor, and author. He took what he could find; such books as the Pastorals of Pope Gregory, the Consolations of Boethius, Æsop's fables, the histories of Bede and Orosius, and, best of all, the Hebrew Psalms. By rather free paraphrase, he threw into most of his translations what he thought his people ought to know; here explaining his theory of government, and there breaking out against the abuses of power. "The cold providence of Boethius gives way to an enthusiastic acknowledgment of the goodness of God." No doubt, when he went to the church—often far in the night—to pray and hear the solemn chants, he wished the time soon to come when the service might be heard in English, and the people lift their prayers in their mother-tongue to God, and the very peasants read His Word to them in their own language. He was anxious that schools should be founded in which the children should each "abide at his book till he could well understand English writing."

3. His legislation. In it the moral element prevailed. He made the best use of what was at hand. The laws of Offa and Ina were amended and rendered more humane.* The Ten Commandments and part of the Mosaic code were made a part of the law of the land. Labor on Sundays and on the Church

* The Chancellor Swithin had died in 862, but he had "contributed to the consolidation of the States of the Heptarchy into one great kingdom," says Lord Campbell. Alfred had no such chancellor in his reign. The next great chancellor was Alfred's grandson, Turketel, a shorn priest and quite learned man in the reign of Athelstan.

holidays was forbidden. Women of every class, especially nuns, were carefully protected from insult. Monks must not be idle and vicious, they must go to work educating the people in the villages. The clergy might have wives and good homes among their parishioners. Bishops must keep within their dioceses, visit and preach to some purpose. Half of the revenues was devoted to the poor, to public schools, and to the public worship of the Church. The condition of serfs and slaves was mitigated; the cottagers had the sympathies of the king; the poor never forgot their benefactor. The whole government of state and Church must do the greatest good to the greatest number. He had a keen eye for the best men to do any needed work. Judges must be hanged if they caused "the scales of justice to be swayed by bribes." He reviewed their acts and decisions. He seems to have sent some judges to the gibbet for condemning men to death without the consent of the entire jury. He probably did not introduce, but rather modified the trial by jury, as well as certain other modes of legal administration attributed to him. He laid stress on the maxim that "every man is to be considered innocent until he is proved guilty."

One account is, that when he was dying, in 901, he called to him Edward, whom he had carefully reared with all his children in God's fear and love, and said, "My dear son, sit now down beside me, and I will deliver to thee the true counsel. My son, I feel that my hour is near, my face is pale, my days are nearly run. We must soon part, I shall go to another world, and thou shalt be left alone with all my wealth. I pray thee, for thou art my dear child, strive to be a father and a lord to thy people; be the children's father, the widow's friend; comfort the poor, shelter the weak; and with all thy might do thou right whatever is wrong. And, my son, govern thyself by law, then shall the Lord love thee, and God, above all things, shall be thy reward. Call upon him to advise thee in all thy need, and so he shall help thee the better to compass what thou wouldst." And so departed "the Peaceable, the Truth-teller," "England's Darling."

His bones are dust,
His good sword rust,
His soul is with the saints, we trust.

To his successors he left his ideal of life, law, and of a Church quite theocratic, and it was not entirely lost. His daughter, Ethelfleda, was the brilliant Lady of Mercia. Edward pushed his overlordship into Scotland. Athelstan contributed to the conversion of Norway. These kings were busy in fighting down Scots, Danes, and Welsh. Where they won, the English Church must hold her sway. Their successors were overshadowed by Dunstan, a monk who rose to the position of an archbishop, a reformer, a statesman, a dictator, and who was the great English character of his time.

III. THE POLICY OF DUNSTAN.

The Anglo-Saxon had disliked rigid monasticism, and the unpopular system had declined. Celibacy was not congenial to the English. The more free parish priests were honest enough to have wives. Many of the convents became the home of a half monastic, married clergy. About the cathedrals were the houses of the canons, many of whom were married. Among all the clergy were vices which needed correction, and the true reform would have been to take away, not marriage, but monasticism; not their freedom, but their slavery. The wrong method was attempted by the man who did most to complete the supremacy of the West-Saxon realm—not a king, nor warrior, but a priest. “Dunstan stands first in the line of ecclesiastical statesmen, who counted among them Lanfranc and Wolsey, and ended in Laud. He is still more remarkable in himself, in his own vivid personality, after eight centuries of revolution and change.” Born in Glastonbury, of noble parents, in 925, he was there educated by Irish monks in no small amount of secular and sacred learning. He became the wonder of that region in scholarship, in copying manuscripts, in music, architecture, painting, modeling sculptures, and working in metals, and the people thought him a magician. As a monk he made his cell his workshop with its forge. He refused a bishopric, and became abbot of Glastonbury. He ruined the peace of Edwy’s court, and was for some time an exile in France. Under Edgar he returned and became the leading man in Church and state, for he was not only Archbishop of Canterbury (959–988), but royal counselor, when not in exile. No doubt that, in many respects, the prime minister was a wise

statesman, and with a stern hand he secured a higher degree of order and justice. But the zeal that most concerns our history was in the sphere of the Church.

1. There were two sorts of clergy: the *regular* (named from the *regula*, or convent rule) were monks ordained to preach; the *secular* were parish priests, often married, and living in country homes, or houses about the cathedrals. They were called *worldly*, for the idea had come, that to be "religious" was to be monastic. No doubt many, but we hope not most of them, were corrupt in morals and negligent of pastoral duties. Yet domestic life was not the cause of the evils charged upon the clergy. Probably many of the married clergy were tillers of fields, carpenters, and teachers of some sort, in order to earn a living. Their sermons were plain talks, and they made sad work of the Latin liturgy. They were still the best citizens of the towns and on the manors. They lived among the people. Their wives shared in the joys and sorrows of the women around them. Their children, says Charles Knight, went in the troops of young villagers to gather May blossoms, or bring in the Christmas evergreens for the Church; or stood with them when the curate taught his classes the creed and the Lord's prayer, and when the bishop confirmed those who were fourteen years of age. These poor clergymen and their families were the best bonds of society. Their civilizing influence had some good bearing on the public morals. They loved their country and their homes. All this Dunstan would overthrow. He would put in their places the monkish priests who were not at all likely to improve society in any high degree. A reform was needed, but his method was wrong. The effort was to silence the seculars, part them from their dependent families, force them into convents, or drive them out of the land. For a morsel of bread they must renounce their natural and Scriptural liberties. This movement raised an uproar, and almost a civil war. It was the first English battle for Church power. The seculars acted, each according to his bold independence, or his fears, his spirit of self-sacrifice or his cringing obedience, while the wives raised a loud protest. 2. Dunstan restored the Benedictine Order in England, under a modified rule. It had long ago ceased at Jarrow, where the Norse wanted no monks. He hoped to bring the idle and vicious inmates of religious

houses to a life of industry and morality. Bands of married priests and seculars were to be thrust out, and a host of Benedictines was brought from the Continent to invade the convents, churches, and parishes of the land. King and pope aided the reformer, who, after all, was reforming nothing. He dared not begin at home, and make the change of monks and clergy at his own Canterbury. Only a few cathedrals made the change. The English Church would not permit the revolution, not even when a synod declared for it. A reaction came, and the seculars had to be tolerated. But the wide distinction was drawn between the two sorts of clergy, and it will again crop out in Wyclif's time.

Something was done to elevate the Benedictines and the clergy by one of the two Ælfrics (1000), whose name shines out of the mists which long obscured it, and is credited with these attempts at popular instruction, namely: (1) His homilies, intended for the parish priests to read to the people. Preaching had nearly ceased. He compiled sermons from such Fathers as Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, and from the English Bede, and translated them into Anglo-Saxon. The course was for the Sundays of a year. "Be very careful of heresy," said his archbishop, Sigeric, who was not so alarmed about ignorance. These were used for a time in some quarters, but were labeled "old and useless books" in the thirteenth century, when Latin was essential to orthodoxy. (2) He prepared an English grammar; very timely, but new editions were hardly in demand. (3) He translated parts of the Bible, but more was not wanted by the ruling clergy. He did not find therein, nor teach, transubstantiation,* a doctrine which was afterwards carried into England by Lanfranc. But the Church was not aroused; "no ecclesiastical synod, no Church reform, broke the slumbers of the clergy."

Politicians were awake when Sweyn of Denmark contrived to get the mastery of England (1013), and consigned her throne to his son Canute (1017-37), who was the Charlemagne of the North, with Denmark and Norway in his empire. His most devout act was a pilgrimage to Rome. There he secured some benefits to merchants and to other pilgrims, but the pope was hardly willing to lessen his exactions from English bishops.

* Note at the end of this Chapter.

He was such a friend to the Church, at home and abroad, that the old song ran,

"Merrily sang the monks of Ely
When King Canute was sailing by."

IV. THE CONVERSION OF NORWAY.

While the stream of Norse people was breaking over England, there was a counter-current of English Christianity thrown into Scandinavia. Anskar and his disciples could not win the fierce Jarls of Norway. These sons of Wodin, each swearing by Thor in every fight with his neighbor, were first brought under kingship by Harold Harfagr (fair-haired, 860-933), but no wholesale conversion was to be expected through him. His part in the divine plan was to "bring chaos a little nearer to the form of cosmos," reduce the Jarls to an incipient unity which rendered civilization possible, and then, by some whim, send his youngest son over to King Athelstan, in Wessex. This bright lad, Hakon, was there carefully educated, baptized, freighted with some just ideas of kingship, and sent home. At Trondhiem the Free Assembly admitted his right to the crown, "the news of which flew over Norway like fire through dried grass;" and the reign of Eric Blood-ax was suddenly ended.

Thus Hakon the Good (934-61) came to be a royal missionary as well as a wise law-maker, and defender of his realm. English preachers and bishops came over, taught wherever they got hearers, and lamented their slow progress. There were two special outbreaks of opposition. When the zealous king kept Christmas with the converted members of his court, the pagan chiefs held their Yule-tide festival, with sacrifices and revels. They stormfully demanded his presence with them. He yielded so far as to take a cup of Yule-beer, make over it the sign of the cross, and drink it. Another outbreak came from the people. When he announced that they must become Christians, renounce their sacrifices and idols, keep holy Sunday, with thoughtful rest and saintly fast, they muttered their dissent. "What! take from us our old belief and our time for labor! How can the land be tilled, and we get our bread?" So it was then urged, as often since, that Sunday laws fall hard on the poor, who need the full seven days for toil! A Yule-

beer party, and a No-Sunday party, with heathenism as the main principle, are not entirely modern.

They worried Hakon long, and when he fell bravely in battle they buried him in heathen fashion. They held on their way until the reign of Olaf Trygvesson (995-1000), who had been a sea-rover, had met some mournful hermit on an isle near England, received baptism, and talked with Bishop Elfege, who baptized him again, when he honestly promised King Ethelred never to plunder in England any more. Carlyle says: "If soft methods would not serve, then by hard and even hardest he put down a great deal of miscellaneous anarchy in Norway; was especially busy against heathenism (devil-worship and its rites); this, indeed, may be called the focus and heart of his royal endeavor." Many of the peasants soon consented to baptism and Sabbath-keeping. The Yule party were clamorous for him to attend the next great sacrificial feast at Trondhiem. He promised to be there. He took pains to make the occasion splendid. He invited guests from all quarters, gave them a royal banquet of a somewhat Christian kind, and then had eleven chief pagans arrested, saying to them, in effect, "Since I am to be a heathen again, and do sacrifice, I propose to do it in the highest form, that of human sacrifice; and this time not of slaves and malefactors, but of the best men in the country." The eleven saw at once, as never before, the horrible crime of sacrificing human life to the gods, and along with a multitude they accepted baptism, left hostages in the king's hands, went home, and there listened more prudently, if not more heartily, to such missionaries as the king sent, and to him when he visited them.

There was more mildness in the character, if not the measures, of Olaf the Saint (1017-33), who had learned the Christian faith in some of his Viking cruises; perhaps in England. Thence he brought preachers and bishops; one of them was Grimkil, who drew up a code of ecclesiastical law. "Vikingism proper had to cease in Norway; still more, heathenism, under penalties too severe to be borne; death, mutilation of limb, not to mention forfeiture and less rigorous coercion." The king fell in battle and was honored as the patron saint of his country, and his name was given to churches.

Norway passed into the empire of Canute the Great, who

sent thither the first Benedictines known there, and favored the primacy of Canterbury over all the Norse Churches. But the German clergy asserted Anskar's right of pre-emption. Adelbert, the Archbishop of Bremen, pressed forward his bishops and established sees in Norway. The difference was slight. They were all Romanized. On his pilgrimage to Rome, 1026, Canute allied the Danish Church to the papacy.

Ever since 865 Iceland had been a refuge for adventurers, criminals, and families who left Norway to escape the rigors of both pagan and Christian kings. The first royal Olaf sent thither "one Thangbrand, priest from Saxony, of wonderful qualities, military as well as theological," who made a few converts, killed two or three men, and returned saying that the Icelanders were a satirical, stubborn, inconvertible people. A better man, Thormond, was sent, and in the year 1000 the free assembly at Thingvalla enthusiastically voted Christianity to be the religion of their republic—one that still flourishes. They established a Christian colony in Greenland. Probably they often touched our Atlantic Coast, and their Vinland seems to have been in America, somewhere between Martha's Vineyard and Chesapeake Bay. The Icelanders best preserved the traditions of the Norse people. From their Sagas (*says*) come the fullest accounts of their old mythology, and of early Scandinavian history.

V. THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

Viking Rollo had sailed away from his three little Vigten Isles, near the upper coast of Norway, made no very troublesome call on King Alfred, pushed his boats up the Seine to Rouen (911), and treated with Charles the Simple for the lower valley. Thither he drew other sea-rovers, settled them in lands and in towns, and thus helped to cure the immense evil of Norse robbery. Sailors took wonderfully to farming. He married a French princess, was baptized, wore the white robe for seven days, and thought himself a Christian. He distributed good lands to churches and convents as a compensation for his bad deeds while forty years a Viking. Thus Normandy was born among the nations. He became a wise ruler, enterprising, liberal, a kindly old sea-farer, with such morality as he thought expedient. His people laid aside their barbarism, and

became French in their language, their culture, their civilization. At length, in 1027, William was born, "the most terrible, as he was the last outcome of the Norman race." As the hunter of beasts and of men, the builder of cities and the creator of an English epoch, he was the Nimrod of his time. The man who "loved the wild deer as though he had been their father," was never loved by the people as his national children. In him cold human will appears tremendous. His crimes can not be denied, his virtues may too often be repressed—such as his honesty, his hatred of chicanery and simony, his freedom from hypocrisy, his conjugal fidelity, his regard for law—but the eminent trait is his power. The Church was greatly affected by him; it was favored in Normandy, it was revolutionized in England. At home he sought to reform it, and held synods for correcting the faults of the clergy. As a builder, founder, and patron he was justly proud of his cathedrals and monasteries, but of none was he prouder than of the school on the Bec, or the Brook; one well named, for it sent a gladdening stream upon the mental desert.

The knight Herlwin had retired from the wars and revelries of the world, and he was building his monastery in the woods of ash and elm on the Bec. He was making an oven, one day, when he heard a stranger say, "God save you." This man was Lanfranc, who had wandered out of his native Lombardy, where he had been a lawyer at Pavia. He was now in search of a place where he might be a monk, a student, a teacher, if not a theologian. Bec was the place for him, and there he began to make his fame as a shrewd organizer, wise administrator, the reformer of Church discipline, an ecclesiastical lawyer, and a forerunner of the schoolmen. He soon raised his school into rivalry with those which had survived the breakage of Charlemagne's empire. It excelled the new Cluny. It became the most famous school in Christendom for its advanced thought and its development of theology. The best mental activity of the time was there seen in Anselm.

Lanfranc was so obedient to his prior as the vicar of Christ, that he would violate a rule of grammar rather than question the ungrammatical prior's authority, but he took more freedom with dukes and kings. When he became prior his school was visited by Duke William, who came in great pomp and looked

very wise. Boys might be captivated with his earthly grandeur if their own superiority was not evinced. They were examined in dialectics—a mode of tough reasoning, or too often the spinning of thought into invisible threads. The duke was utterly incapable of this fine art, and Lanfranc knew it. He asked William to ravel a skein of tangled logic, probably for a jest. The Norman wrath flamed high at the supposed insult, and also at the agreement of the prior with the pope in opposing his marriage with Matilda of Flanders, a descendant of King Alfred. “Go,” said he; “leave the country!” Lanfranc started on a wretched nag. When the duke overtook him and urged him to move on more rapidly, the self-possessed Lombard replied: “Give me a better horse and I shall go faster.” The duke laughed, and from that hour made the monk his counselor.

William’s greatest achievement was the Norman Conquest of England, for whose throne Dane and Saxon were contending. As the result of a fictitious claim and daring scheme, William raised an army of adventurers, crossed the Channel, landed at Hastings in 1066, near there fought the battle of Senlac in October, saw King Harold slain, put aside the Ethelings, and on Christmas was in London, with the crown on his head and all England at his feet. So the Norse had come again, and the people felt that he was Conqueror. “From that day,” wrote a monk of Peterborough, “every evil has fallen upon our house. May God have mercy upon it!” The fact that Pope Alexander II had sanctioned the invasion, and sent William the banner of the Church, was poor comfort to the monk. By a large view, we may see that England was led into a new development and a broader civilization. But in the fresh conflict of races there were evils almost intolerable. The English people, from baron to peasant, from bishop to monk, were oppressed, and on the side of the oppressors there was power. During nine years of war and famine men had to endure the loss of property, exile, poverty, servitude; the women worse. The Normans became the masters in provinces, cities, castles, abbeys, and churches.

The monk, William of Malmesbury,* writing after the Con-

* Not the first, nor last, of the many English chroniclers from Gildas (550) to Ingulf’s continuator (1486), but, as Freeman says, “the first historian who

quest had struck his fathers, says, "This was a fatal day to England, a melancholy havoc of our dear country, through its change of masters." But he thinks the Church needed to be roused by chastisement. He draws a strong contrast: "The desire after literature and religion had decayed for several years before the arrival of the Normans [from Normandy]. The clergy, contented with a very slight degree of learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments; and a person who understood grammar was an object of wonder. The monks mocked the rule of their order by fine vestments, and the use of every kind of food. The nobles, given up to luxury and wantonness, went not to church in the morning according to the manner of Christians, but merely, in a careless way, heard matins and masses from a hurrying priest in their houses. The common people, left unprotected, were a prey to the most powerful, who amassed fortunes by either seizing their property or by selling their persons into foreign lands. Lust reigned. Drinking in parties was a universal practice; entire nights and days were spent in it. The vices attendant on drunkenness, which enervate the human mind, followed; hence, when they engaged William, with more rashness and blind fury than military skill, they doomed themselves and their country to slavery by one easy victory. . . . I would not ascribe all these bad propensities universally to the English. I know that many of the clergy, at that day, trod the path of sanctity; and many of the laity, of all ranks and conditions, were well-pleasing to God. But the good must sometimes go with the bad into captivity."

Then comes the vivid picture of the Normans—proudly appareled, more temperate in food, hardly able to live without war, fierce in battle, and, where strength fails of success, ready to use strategy and bribes. "They live in large houses with economy; envy their equals; wish to excel their superiors;

critically balances facts." This William was an ardent lover of literature, an eager book-hunter on his travels, the librarian of his Malmesbury Convent, of which he refused to be abbot, and the abridger of Paschasius Radbert's Commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah, into which he dropped tears of his own, to show that Hebrew prophet and Saxon monk had common sorrows in captivity. He ended his Chronicle with the year 1142, still eager for "pure historical truth," though not able to sift out all legends; and soon after he died, in hope of meeting St. Patrick, Aldhelm, and Dunstan, whose lives he had written.

plunder their subjects, though they defend them from others: faithful to their lords, though a slight offense renders them perfidious. They weigh treachery by its chance of success, and change their sentiments with money. Yet they are the kindest of nations, and highly honor strangers. They also intermarry with their vassals. They revived, by their arrival, the observances of religion, which were every-where grown lifeless in England. You might see churches rise in every village, and monasteries in towns and cities, built after a style unknown before [Norman architecture]; you might behold the country flourishing with renovated rites; each wealthy man counted a day lost if he did not signalize it by some grand deed." The English Church was Normanized for a time. Foreigners, even Italians, were preferred for office. "The war of races" went on so long as it was hopeless for an Englishman to aspire to any high office in his native land or Church.

William placed the English Church under the rule of the pope. Never had papal jurisdiction been so fully admitted in Britain. Two cardinals came and presided at a synod, which deposed Archbishop Stigand, nominally for his lack of proper consecration, or for his disregard of strict Romanism, but really for his patriotic spirit as an Englishman. But William was careful to have the office filled by Lanfranc, in 1070, and to resist the absolute power claimed by Rome. No pope, not even Hildebrand, was allowed to send letters and legates into his realm without his permission. He said to the pope: "I pay Peter-pence to you, not as tribute, but as alms. Homage I do not render." No man could be excommunicated, or invested with office, or heard at Rome in an appeal, nor any synod be held, without the king's license. Lanfranc was the champion of transubstantiation, but did not carry so high a hand in reference to clerical celibacy and papal supremacy. His aim, doubtless, was to be politic in reforming abuses, to employ no violent measures of discipline, to provoke no national antipathies, to sacrifice neither the state to the Church nor the Church to the state, to conciliate and to fuse all the people into the desired unity. He did much to keep in apparent harmony those forces which broke out into fierce war after he was gone. The currents of thought which had started at Bec at least moistened the English mind.

The ever-needed lesson of gracefully submitting to the inevitable had to be learned. The new race of historians showed a thorough drilling in it. Those who continued the old Anglo-Saxon Chronicle described King William as "mild to good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure to those who withstood his will." He sought to make an entry of all English lands and property in a register—the Domesday Book. It shows that the native people had homes, cattle, goods; that charities were not forgotten, and that there was wealth belonging to the clergy, monasteries, and churches. William abolished capital punishments. He ended the slave-trade in his dominions. But he won no real love, even from the Normans. "He was a hard man, austere, exacting, oppressive; his heavy hand made the English themselves comprehend their own national unity through a community of suffering." His work was transitional. At last the conquered triumphed, and the English language is a proof of their vitality.

The Norman Conquest affected the Scottish Church. It caused a new migration of Anglo-Saxons into the North. Among the fugitives was one princely group, whose reception by King Malcolm Canmore (1056-93), makes a turning-point in history—Edgar, the legal heir to the English throne, his mother, and his sister Margaret, who soon married the king of the Scots. This queen, the famous Saint Margaret, was zealous in civilizing the people and enlightening the king. She undertook to ornament the Culdee Church by imposing upon it the Roman ritual, and conforming it more fully to the Roman model. To promote her reforms a synod was convened. She very skilfully addressed the native clergy, who could understand only Gaelic, and the king interpreted her English words. She probably then insisted (as she did afterwards) that the oneness of the catholic faith required unity in forms of worship; that the Scots celebrated mass according to a barbarous ritual; that Lent was wrongly computed, and Easter not yet quite rightly observed; and what was more important, the Lord's Day was openly profaned by labor, idleness, or amusements. The clergy seem to have pondered these things with some caution. The nobles had a lesson in courtly manners. They had a habit of rising from her table before grace was said by Chaplain Turgot. To cure this she offered to all the chiefs who would remain

until thanks were offered, a cup of the best wine. This was a persuasive not to be resisted. Every guest became eager to win his "grace-cup," and the usage was extended through the land. So says Turgot, an Anglo-Saxon, who had once been at the court of Olaf the Saint, in Norway, lost wealth in a shipwreck, or some Norse investment, entered Jarrow as a monk, engaged in churchly architecture at Durham, held ecclesiastical offices there, and become confessor to Queen Margaret and her biographer. He wrote thus: "Others may admire the signs of sanctity which miracles afford; I much more admire in Margaret the works of mercy. Such signs are common to the evil and the good; but the works of true piety and charity are peculiar to the good." He did not question the miracles imputed to her; we find her devoutness, liberality, and civilizing influence far more credible. In her schemes she was aided by Lanfranc of Canterbury. Her royal sons, Alexander and David (1153), quite nearly executed them. Important parishes were given to foreign priests; monasteries had foreign abbots. France and Italy were exporting their surplus of monks, and Scotland received a full supply. Turgot was made Bishop of St. Andrew's, and consecrated by a Norman at York. The old Culdees did not see any special need of so many foreigners. They were restless under the innovations. Turgot was not happy. He resigned, and went to die in his old quarters at Durham. But Romanism made advances in Scotland.

NOTE.

Transubstantiation was not the doctrine of the English Church before Lanfranc was its primate. His predecessor, Ælfric (995-1006, or Ælfric, Archbishop of York, 1023-50, or both), maintained a doctrine similar to that of Ratram, whose book he knew. His friend, Bishop Wulfstan, and others, agreed with him, or left no protest. The popes seem not to have given a final statement of their dogma until Innocent III, near his death, held the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which declared that "In virtue of the power conferred on the Church by Christ, bread and wine are transubstantiated into flesh and blood by means of the formula of consecration pronounced by a priest." Bunsen (*God in History*, III, 148) shows the absurd conclusion thus: "Therefore there can be no salvation outside of the Church, for she alone makes that [body] whereby the sacrament saves us." Still many Parisian divines argued for a real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament without any change in the bread and wine, or a consubstantiation.

CHAPTER XII.

REFORMS OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

THERE was an expectation that the year 1000 would be the dawn of the millennium. It prompted some men to think of reformatory measures; others indulged in wild excitement, despairing listlessness, or reckless abuse of time and property. It gave an impetus to pilgrimages. It was followed by a serious question, Was not the Church too warlike? Was she an advocate between the people and God? The good thought went out from Cluny. Synods and rulers acted together in repressing feudal wars, and one result was that "The Peace of God" was proclaimed through France, about 1031, and was hailed by nearly all classes with enthusiasm. Churches must be safe shelters only to men of peace, and not to bands of robbers. Let the sword rust and the plowshare grow bright. But the Church was not able to enforce the rule. Harvests and health came back to the land, and warriors were again in their savage work. If kings fought, vassals might quarrel. The plan of a general peace was modified, and the "Truce of God" was adopted (1041) as more practical. It provided that all fighting, public and private, should be suspended from Wednesday evening of each week to the following Monday morning, thus covering the time which was hallowed by our Lord's passion and resurrection. In this merciful scheme were also included the entire seasons of Advent and Lent, and the great festivals. Offenders against the Truce were subject to heavy punishments, even death. It was never fully enforced, yet never abolished. It was "the most glorious enterprise of the clergy," says Sismondi. "It conducted most to soften manners, develop sentiments of compassion, without injury to the spirit of courage." The curious fact is that some men went to war for the sake of enforcing the Truce. It gave en-

couragement, if not an impetus, to the building of monasteries and churches. Architecture, whose history had always involved that of religion, entered upon its golden period of Germanic development, and probably guilds of monks slowly reared those Gothic cathedrals which stand without a record of their mysterious origin.

"The Reformation of the eleventh century," as it has been called, was an attempt to remove certain evils by means of synods and an increasing papal power. Corruptions had long been accumulating. Agobard, of Lyons, who died in 840, had written of priests who were servants of nobles and high clergymen: "These chaplains are constantly to be found serving the tables, mixing wine, leading out the dogs, managing the ladies' horses, or looking after the lands." Various councils, in the ninth century, took measures to extirpate simony, "this heresy so detestable, this pest so hateful to God;" and still bishops bought and sold civil and ecclesiastical offices. Archbishops became powerful by this sort of brokerage. Nearly every body from the monk to the emperor, from the curate to the pope, engaged in the traffic.

Worse still, writers of their age charged many of the popes with the blackest crimes. If the guilty popes had not asserted that each of them was the vicar of Christ and a holy father to the entire Church, we might apply to them the rule that a system is not justly responsible for all the defects of its adherents; that a good office may be held by bad men. But, according to the papal system, the holy pontiff was not a mere adherent or professor or advocate or fellow-officer with equals; he was the one supreme administrator of God's visible kingdom; he was the chief visible mediator between God and men; he was, in his time, the only one of his rank; the solitary representative of Christ on earth. His official acts and his personal deeds were interwoven. At least ordinary morality was justly to be expected. If he had been simply an emperor we might pass by his private iniquities. It has been said of the papacy that "though its history may be imposing, its biography is infamous." A few samples of the infamy—and these not the vilest—must be frequently exhibited to that public court before which all systems are on trial. In the ninth century there were conspiracies, mutilations, murders, in the

papal palace, and one pope was accused of murdering two ecclesiastics.

In the tenth century the vices there were too gross for even the darkest age—Romanists concede them. Baronius their chief annalist, says: "Then was Christ in a very deep sleep, when the ship was covered with waves; and what seemed worse, when the Lord was thus asleep, there were wanting disciples, who, by their cries, might awaken him, being themselves all fast asleep." The Church then sunk to its very lowest depression. The nations of Europe were never in greater danger of reducing Christianity to the level of Mohammedanism. The miseries of their time kept men from study, thought, and elevating work. The disorder and ignorance were increased by the fact that few of the popes had either culture or morality. Their outrages were possibly viler than those of a Turk in his capital and harem.

Crime was so common in the Lateran palace that Rome expected it of the usurper Sergius III (905–11), who led an abominable life with the prostitutes Theodora and her two daughters. They, their paramours, and their vile-born sons controlled the papacy for nearly sixty years.* Theodora kept John X fourteen years in the papal chair, and he seems to have been warlike enough to prevent the Saracens from capturing Rome; but, in 928, her daughter Marozia caused his death, and advanced her own son, John XI, to the holy office. When he was imprisoned by a brother (for this pontifical family was without natural affection), her grandson was elected, in 956, the twelfth papal John. This youth so filled his palace with court esans that decent women were terrified from pilgrimages to Rome. Christendom was shocked by reports of his lawlessness, and the German clergy would yet bring him to trial.

Germany now comes to the front. Her empire, named from the secular stand-point the German, and from the papal, the Holy Roman Empire, is for centuries the backbone of political history in Europe. It had been formed by separation from France, by union with Italy, and by the enterprise of its founder, Henry the Fowler (919–36), the first great Saxon,

*Baronius admits that many popes were badly controlled by wicked women, but the story of a Pope Joan, about 880, is now generally regarded as fabulous.

and his successors. The strife about investitures was larger than the questions, whether the popes should crown the emperors, and the emperors should nominate, install, and control the German bishops; for it brought forward the claims of the pope to rule both Church and state in Germany, and of the emperor to manage both papacy and kingdom in Italy. Should the empire be chiefly German, or Roman? This question was fought out in long wars.

Otho I, the Great (936-73), imitator of Charlemagne, wise, just, independent, as genuinely Saxon as his father, is worthy to be enrolled among the great civilizers. This mightiest monarch then in Europe had no fixed home. His queen, Edith, sister of King Athelstan, of England, went often with him wherever he went to conquer provinces, sit as a judge of difficult cases, attend festivals, and witness ordeals by fire, the cross, and the duel. He chased back the Northmen and sent missionaries among them. He and his clergy, says Carlyle, were "always longing much for the conversion of the Wends and Huns; which indeed was, as the like still is, the one thing needful to rugged heathens of that kind." He unified and nationalized the Church in the Germanic part of the empire, and at Rome sought to repress papal crimes and the republican spirit. But there was little reform in the old city until it was visited by young Otho III (983-1002), who gave to it his young cousin Bruno, or Gregory V (996-9), the first German pope: an upright man, scholarly, generous to the poor, but greatly troubled by anti-popes, and soon removed by a mysterious death. The expected millennium did not bring Rome to penitence.

To understand "Otho, Wonder of the World," we must know Gerbert, whose science and biting criticisms were signs of daybreak. This notable man was born in Auvergne, reared there in a monastery, and in other French schools, and sent by his abbot into Spain. He learned to speak Arabic with the fluency of a Saracen. Among Arab, or perhaps Christian, teachers at Cordova he was started on his path of physical science. Called to be a professor at Rheims, he flung new light upon the old studies of the trivium and quadrivium. He introduced the decimal notation and Arabic numerals; explained the earth with a globe, and looked through tubes at the stars; invented

clocks, and, perhaps, had an organ played by steam; interpreted Virgil, and wrote books on rhetoric and logic; and for his genius and versatility got the very adhesive name of a magician in days when witchcraft was regarded as satanic.

Gerbert took the side of Hugh Capet, the organizer of the new nationality which turned Gaul into France. As lay abbot of St. Martin of Tours he ranked with churchmen; as a son of the Count of Paris, and owner of the largest central fief, he was the chosen leader of the barons. They helped him thrust aside the Carlovingian line of kings, and crowned him in 987, and he reigned nine years. He fortified his throne by liberal devotion to the Church, whose freedom he stoutly maintained, admitting no supreme mastery at Rome. His son and heir, Robert the Pious, was the studious pupil of Gerbert, and was yet to be tested by a papal decree.

Twice at Rome, Gerbert inspected affairs with eyes like those of Luther, five hundred years later, and wrote, similarly, to a friend: "All Italy appears to me a Rome, and the morals of the Romans are the horror of the world." He would not remain there as abbot of Bobbio. If he wrote a certain speech, he startled one synod by his bold words, when Arnulf, the Archbishop of Rheims, was tried, in 991, by a synod, for treason against Hugh Capet. The papal party defended Arnulf, and wished to have the pope decide the case. Opposed to him was the Bishop of Orleans, who said, in a speech that Gerbert is said to have written: "It is notorious that there is not one at Rome who knows enough of letters to be a door-keeper." As to the recent popes, "are all the priests of God—men of learning and holy lives—to submit to such monsters, full of all infamy, void of all knowledge, human and divine? Is not a pontiff, who refuses to hear the voice of counsel, the Man of Sin, Antichrist, the Mystery of Iniquity? Better seek a decision from the pious bishops of Gaul and Germany, than from the venal and polluted court of Rome." This advice was courageously taken. Arnulf was certain to be condemned by the synod: so he abdicated, and resigned his spiritual authority to the bishops, his temporalities to the king; but was imprisoned as a criminal.

Gerbert was now appointed Archbishop of Rheims. He was soon in trouble because the synod had written to Pope

John XV* apologizing for having acted without his authority; they had waited for his advice, but it had not come. He now sent it and summoned every man of them to Rome for a new trial of the case; ordered them to reinstate Arnulf; and suspended them meanwhile from their episcopal offices. Would these bishops maintain the Gallican liberties? At first they stood firm, and there was danger of a schism between the French and Roman Churches. Hugh Capet wanted a free, national Church in France. But his mind was filled with suspicions, by cunning agents of the pope, against Gerbert, who did not resign his office in 994, when he accepted an invitation from Otho to give scientific instruction at his court. Then the new council in France decided that Arnulf had a right to the see of Rheims, but he was kept in prison until Robert the Pious came to the throne (996-1031), and wanted to use him in obtaining the sanction of Pope Gregory V to his marriage with his cousin Bertha. Robert was more nearly saint than statesman; not like his Saxon ancestor, Robert the Strong, who gallantly resisted the Northmen; but peaceful, generous, fond of writing hymns and of choral music, and devoted to the erection of churches. All these graces went for nothing, since he was not canonically married. Pope Gregory and his council sent forth this decree: "King Robert shall renounce Bertha and do penance for seven years. If he refuse, let him be anathema, and let Bertha be anathema!" The bishops who had sanctioned the union were to be suspended until they should appear at Rome and give satisfaction. Robert had to yield. He sorrowfully parted with faithful Bertha. His new and beautiful wife, as if to put him to penance, ruled him tyrannically, and brought up from her native Aquitaine a pack of courtiers who made more lax the morals of Paris.† Thus Rome triumphed.

We might have seen Gerbert in the train of Otho, when the

* Bad popes had a fondness for this good name. They assumed it probably to indicate that they were of the Italian party.

† Her name was Constantia. She wished him to write a hymn in her honor. He wrote that fine one which was adopted in the Church services, "O Constantia Martyrum," (the constancy of the martyrs). With pride she saw her name in the first line, and inquired no farther. She was applauded for her cruelty to the leaders of some remnant of Gnostics, or Manicheans, at Orleans, where a synod condemned them (1022). They were the first heretics put to death in France after the Priscillianists (385).

Lateran palace was cleansed. We might look in upon him at Ravenna, as archbishop for a year, and quite indulgent to the married clergy. In 999 he was elected pope. He took the name of Sylvester II. The triumph of Otho now seemed complete. He built a new palace on the Aventine, so that emperor and pope might dwell in the same old city. His mistake was in living there too grandly, affecting the style of the Eastern emperors, whom his Greek mother admired, and trying to convince the Germans that their rudeness demanded the Roman fashions. He dreamed of ruling the Western world by the Justinian code. He is to be remembered for his great moral influence upon the papacy, the German Church with her missions, and the infant literature of his father-land. By reforming the papacy the Othos gave it strength, when otherwise it might have gone to wreck.

The new pope, in the whirl of the millennial excitement which threw the pious emperor into mental gloom, is not famous for any great measures, save that much needed one of simple morality.* Since a French council had restored Arnulf to Rheims, he sent him the pallium; but as an act of grace for presumed penitence. One case may suffice to illustrate the extent of papal power then in Germany. A little feminine pride brought on a war of bishops. Sophia, a sister of Otho, was to enter the nunnery of Gandersheim. The Bishop of Hildesheim was not lofty enough to confer the veil upon her: so she applied to Willigis, Archbishop of Mayence. He was the son of a wheelwright; had been court-preacher and tutor of Otho, and the princess admired his good humor, learning, and piety. When jeered by courtiers, who sketched him on public walls with his hand at a wheel, he wrote beneath some caricatures a couplet: "Willigis, remember whence thou camest." As archbishop he emblazoned a wheel on his coat of arms. In him popes were to find a Teutonic independence. He went and veiled the princess; he even held a synod at Gandersheim. Her bishop complained that his diocese was invaded, but his feelings were soothed in a kindly way. His successor, Bern-

*Fulbert, one of Gerbert's pupils, dispensed his learning in the monastic school at Chartres. Still more learned was Burchard, Bishop of Worms, 1006, who devoted many years to the compilation of a work on theology, ethics, and discipline.

ward found himself barred out of Gandersheim by the high-born nuns, and Willigis there again to dedicate a church, and to hold another provincial synod. The pivotal question now was whether Bernward rightfully had any diocesan rule over the community of insolent nuns. It went up to the pope. He and his synod decided that Bernward should have rule, for the present, over the convent, church, village, and lands of Gandersheim; but that the final decision should be rendered by a synod in Germany under the presidency of a papal legate. This synod met in 1001, in a Saxon town, and, as it was likely to go against him, Willigis broke it up in a stormful way, and left as master of the field. The main result was that the German bishops refused to appear in Rome in supple obedience to pope and emperor. Gerbert was foiled, but he was politic. It was soon necessary to elect Otho's successor, and he wanted the powerful influence of Willigis in favor of Henry the Saint (1002-24) whom he crowned the year before his own death. Not a pope, but the emperor calmed the storm, whose first cloud had been seen in the veil of his aunt, Sophia. She was now prioress of the troublesome convent; she made peace with all parties, and Bernward was happy as her recognized bishop. The emperor was a just and Christian ruler, very active in reforming the clergy and rebuilding churches which the Slavonic invaders had destroyed. He lived as a monk with his wife, the Empress Kunigunda, the nun of the palace, who answered a vile slander by resorting to the ordeal, and walking unharmed (it is said) on plates of glowing hot iron. Being childless, they lavished their affections on the German Church in the current spirit of piety.

The next German king and emperor, Conrad II (1024-39), was less rigorous towards the popes, and their vices were again flagrant. One party set up a boy of twelve years, Benedict IX, who brought in the former infamies, resolved to wed his cousin, and sold his office to John Gratian, or Gregory VI, who was aided by the earnest Hildebrand, in attempting some degree of order as the pope of the people. Already another faction of the nobles had their pope. A third came when Benedict failed in love, and resumed the tiara, as the pope of the vicious. A writer of the time calls them "three devils," each holding one of the large churches in Rome. This scandal

roused the emperor, Henry III (1039-56), who was severe, despotic, and more zealous for the Truce of God among the nations, than for papal claims. Encouraged by the general voice of the clergy, he went into Italy and held the council of Sutri (1046), which set aside the three rivals. A zealous reformer was elected, but soon died; another had a shorter life. The emperor nominated his popular cousin, Bruno, Bishop of Toul, well reputed for learning, prudence, piety, charity, love of music, and eloquence in the pulpit. To prove his unfitness he openly confessed his sins. But a large assembly at Worms invested him with the ensigns of the papacy. As Pope Leo IX he was on his way to Rome when a monk met him (it is said) at Besançon, and raised the question whether he was properly consecrated? Could an emperor and his German lords make a pope? The monk was Hildebrand. The force and result of his inquiry will be seen when his work and ideas are understood.

Two Italians were aiming at reforms. One was Peter Damian, born at Ravenna, 1007, left by a poor mother to perish, and saved by the wife of a parish priest—a fact which ought to have checked his zeal against the married clergy. Early an orphan, he was the wretched swineherd of a cruel brother. Rescued by a kindlier brother, he was sent to school. He became famous and rich as a teacher, and then severe as the Bishop of Ostia, cardinal, and the pope's traveling agent. This Dunstan of Italy was honest without discretion, energetic, eloquent, credulous, superstitious, and intolerant. With a rare zest he wrote the life of a hermit named Dominic, the hero of self-torture, flagellation, and penance; who beat himself black for the sins of his life and of other men, at the rate of a hundred lashes for every psalm. Peter found his wit and buffoonery the hardest to whip out of his own nature. He was extravagant in his praises of "the Blessed Virgin." The *Ave Maria* became a part of the Church devotions. His force was strongly directed to uphold celibacy and put down simony. Celibacy was not yet the rule of all the clergy, especially in the districts of Milan; nor was purity of clerical life elsewhere the general practice. In his exposures of clerical sins he made his book as gross as that of the later Peter Dens. He advertised the vices which he aimed to repress,

and threw dishonor on those priests who were wedded as lawfully as the human laws would permit, and who asked God to solemnize marriages for which there was scarcely provision in the civil and ecclesiastical codes.

Archbishop Heribert of Milan (1045) was married. In his diocese unmarried clergymen were regarded with suspicion, and this was general in Lombardy. The Milanese clergy had more learning than was usual in that century; their discipline was strict; their attention to pastoral duties earnest. The proverb was, "Milan for clerks (clergy), Pavia for pleasures, Rome for buildings, Ravenna for churches." Peter Damian admitted that he had never seen a body of clergy equal to the Milanese, and he also praised those of Turin, whose marriage was sanctioned by the Bishop Cunibert.*

A more prudent reformer was Hildebrand, the son of an Etruscan carpenter, born about 1015, and early impressed with the vices around him. Disgusted with the laxity of the Italian monks, he crossed the Alps and entered Cluny, the center of a moral reformation. He studied there with the later Pope Gregory VI, became his chaplain, loved him despite his purchase of the sacred chair, and tried to strengthen him in arresting the tide of wickedness in Rome. He heard him confess at Sutri that "the odious taint of simoniacal heresy" was on him, saw him abdicate, and went with him in the emperor's train to Germany. With these lessons he began his great career. His name has been given to an epoch—the Hildebrandine age—and it fills a large place in modern literature.† He is admired for his genius, real greatness, severe morals, quick perception of the place he might take and the demands which he could meet, self-possession, singleness of aim, intensity of purpose, and absorbing devotion to one object, whether that object was reformation or papacy. Admit him both; if the papacy must exist he was the man to reform it, and to be held responsible for unduly exalting it. He saw the Church under the heavy hand of the secular powers; did he see that it might be independent

* In the opposition to them Ariald and Laudulf became noisy leaders, who roused the people against them, and whose followers were called Paterini. This name came to be applied to all opponents of the priesthood, and to mean dissenters of all classes.

† On him are new lectures, essays, volumes; one *German Life*, seven volumes octavo, with eight thousand pages.

of them, on some modern Protestant basis, and not absolutely their ruler? Protestant eyes were not yet given to men. He aimed to release the papacy from imperial dictation, spiritualize it, and lift it above all earthly thrones.

"Brother Bruno, I can not go with you to Rome," he is reported as saying at Besançon.* "Why not?" asked the robed pontiff. "Because you have not been canonically elected and consecrated; you are going, by a secular appointment, to lay hands on the see of St. Peter." The gentle Bruno saw the vast difference. He laid aside his papal vestments and titles. As a pilgrim, he went with Hildebrand through Italy; entered Rome barefoot; wept at the tomb of Peter; and at the church where clergy and people waited to shout for him, whom they had seen before on pilgrimages, he told them how he had been chosen by the emperor, begged them to make known their will canonically; and heard their will in loud acclamations. Now he felt sure that he was Pope Leo the Ninth. And Hildebrand was papal director.

Impatient to repress simony, Leo's first heavy stroke fell upon France. He promised to assist in the consecration of the splendid Abbey church of St. Remi, at Rheims. But he frightened the bishops by sending them a summons to meet him there in a council (1049). Many of them dreaded an inquiry into their practices. They begged their king, Henry I, to interfere. He tried to have the pope defer his visit, as there was some war on hand. But Leo was not to be diverted from his purpose. He came. The assemblage was immense. The whole realm had its best men there to do honor to the saint who had baptized Clovis. On the eve of the ceremonies the vast crowd pressed at the doors of the church, and hundreds passed the night there in the open air. The streets were brilliantly lighted with tapers. The next day the body of the saint was borne into the church. Many wept, some swooned away; in the rush others were trodden down and killed. The building was consecrated.

At the council there were about twenty bishops (some being away gladly with the royal army) and fifty abbots; some of these were from England. "We are met," said Leo, "for the reformation of disorders in the Church, and the correction

* Or at Worms, if he was there at the election of Bruno.

of morals. The bishops and abbots will come forward and swear their innocence, if they have not been guilty of simony." Three came at once; others wanted time, and had private conferences with the pope. All the bishops but four took the oath. Several abbots confessed their guilt. Grosser sins were proved on some bishops. When they were severely punished, the great question came, "Whether they acknowledged any other primate than the Roman pontiff?" Not a voice of dissent was heard. Thus the pope was master at Rheims.

And so elsewhere. Leo had a system of visitations for reforming vices, and for Romanizing Europe. He and his legate, Hildebrand, entered kingdoms without regard to the will of kings. Their anathemas broke down the loyalty of prelates to national crowns, and forced it to the Roman miter. They won favor by appearing as reformers and deliverers, paternally redressing grievances under which men had long groaned. The good welcomed them; the bad needed their discipline. They made a show of holding synods, or councils, for trying simoniacs and such thinkers as poor Berengar; but these old and legitimate tribunals were turned into courts of inquisition, with judges imported from Rome. If a bishop protested, he was as liable to severe punishment as was he who confessed his crimes.* There was no innocence in king or noble, prelate or monk, who did not come as a meek ox under the yoke. The one lesson for the nations to learn was obedience to the papacy.

The day was coming when popes would need troops to fight less spiritual battles. In a strange way Leo converted invaders into vassals. He knew that the Normans were a mastering race, and that Robert Guiscard (Wiseacre, 1040-1085) had brought his fortune-hunters from Normandy into Southern Italy with a deeper purpose than fighting off Saracens and Greeks. Robert was uniting the Norman colonies already there, and founding a kingdom. Maimed fugitives came into Rome with frightful reports of families slain, priests routed, churches burnt, monasteries sacked, blazing towns, and wretched people hiding and starving among the hills. None of Leo's reputed miracles could now save his palace and city. His human trust was

* Leo IX and Hildebrand deserve some credit for not making clerical crimes easy by letting off the offenders with penances and indulgences, as the popes did in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See Note II.

mainly in some German regiments. When Cardinal Damian saw him leading an army against Robert, with fighting bishops in the ranks, and Hildebrand probably near the front, he indignantly asked, "Would St. Gregory have gone to battle with the Lombards, or St. Ambrose against the Arians?" But Leo pushed on, and was woefully beaten. He was taken prisoner at Civitella (1053), and held there for a year. While pining there, near death, his failure proved better than a victory for the papacy. The victors learned reverence, perhaps through Hildebrand; they cast themselves at the pope's feet, wept, put dust on their heads, and obtained his pardon. A treaty was made. By feudal tenure the Normans were granted lands enough for a strong kingdom in Southern Italy and Sicily. Thus they became the right arm of defense to the papacy through long and weary wars.

Hildebrand was now pope maker and manager for nineteen years. He controlled the election of four successive pontiffs, and shrewdly retired one whom the chafing Italians elected by night. The emperor could not outwit him; nor Roman nobles block his way, for Robert Guiscard was at hand to repress them; nor could the Milanese clergy rush into schism, for Cardinal Damian was sent to quiet them. He might already have been pope, for he was a popular bishop, cardinal, and papal chancellor; but he chose to wait until Europe was well prepared for his supremacy. It was nearly all papalized. He hoped that William the Conqueror would be Rome's new Cæsar, and he said, "My conscience does not trouble me with the bloodshed of the Conquest; for the higher William mounts the more useful he will be to the Church." But he dreaded the willful conqueror. He and Damian invented the scheme by which popes were to be elected by a college of cardinals.* A stiff breeze came from Germany in March, 1073; for Henry IV was dealing severely with certain bishops, and threatening ruin to any one who should carry an appeal to Rome. The chief

* The office of cardinal, or *principal*, was a growth; but one of Damian's reforms was the organization of seven bishops, living near Rome, in a college of cardinals, he being one of them. They took the chief part in the election of popes, who appointed the cardinals. When the members of the college were so increased as to represent various countries, they became the sole electors of the popes.

prelates of Germany were at the doors of Pope Alexander, who died the next April. Hildebrand's time was come.

During the funeral rites of Alexander there was a loud demand for the election of his chancellor. The cardinals had a brief meeting, and then presented Hildebrand to the cheering multitude as the worthy successor of that married apostle whose name had been misapplied to a system of despotism over the affections, faith, and national loyalty of all people. He took the name of Gregory VII, and for nearly thirteen years (1073-85) he lived to establish his principles on the basis of the forged decretals. He claimed for the papal see the sole right of convoking, presiding over, and dissolving councils; of annulling the decisions of any and every tribunal, of deposing both bishops and princes, and of absolving subjects from their oaths of fidelity. The whole world was his diocese; and he maintained the supremacy of the Church over all temporal sovereignties. The pope must be *pontifex orbis* (not *urbis* alone), the vicar of Christ, the viceroy of Almighty God! Would the world submit to this assumption? The question was taken as a kindly invitation by most of the churchmen in Western Europe, and they were long subservient. But it was a challenge to all national rulers who asserted their own right of investiture, and the freedom of kings, courts, and synods within their own dominions.

Germany sent into the field the eminent champion against these high pretensions.* He was Henry IV (1056-1106), who was crowned at the age of six, and reigned fifty years without

* There were other resistants. Philip I, King of France (1060-1108), was censured by Hildebrand, but he took little pains to fulfill his promises of reform. The pope then sought to destroy his people's confidence in him by writing to French bishops, charging him with tyranny, simony, perjury, lust, robbery, and outrages unheard of among pagans, much of which was too true. The anti-papal party was not greatly troubled, for Gregory directed his main force against Henry IV, hoping that a humiliated emperor would be a warning to all lesser monarchs. Solomon, King of Hungary, would not admit that his territories were the property of the Holy Roman Church, nor that he sinned in taking investiture from the king of Germany. "Your reign will not be long," said Gregory, and it was not. His successor Ladislaus, more prudently bowed to Rome. Gregory was careful to strike hardest where his blows might win. By flattery here and curses there, by dissimulation and compromise, by granting charters or crowns, as to William the Conqueror, to the king of Russia, and to a duke of Dalmatia; by stirring up the rebellious (if they were hopefully strong), and by nurturing revolts against national rulers, he gained a large measure of his over-lauded success.

much truce of any sort towards earthly or spiritual powers. Another enormous will was let loose in the world, and it went on into Barbarossa and Frederick II. The Teutonic spirit of revolt against Hildebrandine Rome was tremendous for hundreds of years, and is not yet laid. In terrible ways it contributed to human liberty, Protestantism being one modern result.

Young Henry needed moral restraint. His vices were not excusable by any law of liberty, nor his tyrannies by any uprising of the oppressed Saxons. When he wanted money he sold bishops' chairs as if they were simply elegant furniture. He did not wisely heed the first and gentler counsels of Hildebrand. He grew insolent and was reported to be steeping himself in dissipation, neglecting public affairs, even playing dice all day and sending lies into his antechamber, where stood the worthy delegates of the Saxon convention at Goslar, with petitions for their old liberties. The pope rejoiced with him in his victory over the Saxons "for the peace of the Church," still begged him to mend his ways, saw no improvement, and then began vigorously to mend them for him. He had put the salesmen and buyers of Church offices under ban for simony, and forwarded his severe decrees against all manner of lay investiture. In his view all lay patronage of benefices was simony, for, after a layman or any body else has given his property to God and the Church, he has no right to control it. Therefore his law cut far and deep. Henry had not corrected any abuses. He was now visited by papal legates, and told that if he did not reform, quit his simony, and be respectful, he must appear at Rome at the next Lent synod, 1076, and answer for his misdeeds. He was wrathful; he sent an insolent letter addressed: 'To Hildebrand, now not apostolic pontiff, but false monk,' and demanded that he should leave his chair. Unfortunately for him the guiltiest bishops were his advisers. Even better churchmen met with them at Worms, charged the pope with simony, magic, and worse, but proved nothing so monstrous. They declared the absent pope deposed.

Henry did not go to Rome. There Hildebrand read his contemptuous letters to the Lent synod. With the vote of the bishops he then deposed the emperor from both Church and empire, released all Christians from allegiance to him, and dealt in like manner with the prelates of the council at Worms.

Which of these two champions could enforce his act of deposition upon the other? All Europe looked on to see whether emperor or pope was the stronger man. If the one had not lost the confidence of the German people, the other might have found another Otho, leading his Saxons to the gates of Rome, casting down a pontiff, and electing whom he chose. But Henry must be a victim to papal supremacy before the Germans would rally to his standards. With a sense of national justice, and a love of father-land, rather than a loyalty to the papacy, they were ready to abandon him and elect a new emperor. This revolt was Gregory's hope. He was deep in the intrigues of rivals for the crown.

The German Diet of October, 1076, agreed that various matters of dispute should be left to the pope, who should be invited to the next Diet at Augsburg. Also, that if Henry should obtain from the pontiff a restoration to the Church before the sunset of February 23, 1077, he should resume the imperial crown; if not, then another emperor. Meanwhile he should reside at Spires with the title of emperor, with a bishop to care for his soul, but without a court, an army, and place of public worship.

Henry dreaded to meet the pope at Augsburg, for the Hildebrandine method of controlling a council and humiliating a penitent was excruciating. His request for a more private meeting in Italy was refused by the artful pope. His will rose again. The very Alps and the foes who watched them should not bar his deep intentions. In one of the coldest Winters noble Queen Bertha, with her infant Conrad, was drawn over the snows of St. Bernard on fresh hides, while he climbed and plunged where a chamois hunter would not have risked his life. Even his mother-in-law, Adelaide, demanded a gift of lands for the right of way across her little duchy, and for her valuable company on the route. The clergy and people of Turin and Milan gave him a freer welcome, hoping that he would redress those celibacal grievances. The Lombards were roused to enthusiasm, for they hoped that he was going to depose the detested Hildebrand. He was urged to enlist soldiers along with the bishops and nobles who joined his march. But the lion preferred to go meekly. The Lombards would have plans of their own. He halted and took lodgings in the Tuscan vil-

lage of Canossa, where his kinswoman, the brilliant Countess Matilda, had her favorite castle.

This Italian Zenobia, now thirty years of age, warrior and book collector, patron of the rising art and literature at Florence, with four languages on her lips, and yet to be painted by Cimabue as half-veiled, reining a fiery steed with one hand and carrying a pomegranate flower in the other, was a fascinating diplomatist, and a type of the princesses who are reported to have been as saintly as nuns, and rich in love to the poor and in gifts to the Church. It has been said that, while persuading the clergy to put away their wives, she repudiated both her husbands. Her devotion to the reforms of Hildebrand, and to him, was so intense as to be the idle gossip of censors. She had brought him to her fortress in the hope that "the apostolic pardon" would be as oil on the waves which frightfully tossed the ship of Peter. The deposed German bishops, who had arrived, were put into cells, chilled and fasted sufficiently, and then absolved on condition of helping the emperor down into the required depths of penitence. If the holy father had left the blazing fires in the castle and met his "prodigal son" with the paternal heart of the first Gregory, his phrases about "the grace of absolution" and "the consolation of the apostolic mercy" would not have been mere boasts in his defensive letter to the Germans.

Not so was pardon cheaply tossed
To him who sued for favor lost;
The price of banishing a frown
Was the surrender of a crown.

Every title and badge of royalty must be yielded. Ladies, princes, even the abbot of Cluny, urged that it was hardly Christian thus "to break the reed so bent by the storm." But it was papal! After the terrors of pontifical grace were toned down a little, Henry was admitted, by painful degrees, through the outer walls of the castle. At the third gate he stood without a sign of royalty on him, scantily clad in penitential garb, barefoot in the snow, fasting and pleading through the 25th of January, 1077, and vainly hoping that every hour would end the penance. Night brought some relief in his retirement. Thus he came and stood a second day and a third. Almost insane and about to rush to the Lombards (who were nearer

than he knew) he heard voices of pity. Gregory himself tells us, in his letter to the Germans, how "All those who came to intercede for Henry, with prayers and weeping, were astonished at our unusual rigor, and exclaimed that we showed forth, not the severity of the apostle, but the savage cruelty of the tyrant."

Matilda, Adelaide, the abbot, and others gave written sureties for Henry, who had taken shelter in a convent, and on the fourth day the tall emperor came weeping before the slightly built pope. Even Hildebrand, with those eyes so dreadfully piercing, wept for once, if we may gladly believe his apologists. The absolution was offered on the conditions that Henry would promise to abide by the future judgment of the pope, use no signs of imperial authority, and require no allegiance of his subjects until a German Diet, at which the pope should preside, should find that he had violated no law of the Church; and, if he should regain his crown, he must enforce all papal decrees, and never take revenge for the present humiliation. No real absolution at all! It meant that the pope must reign in Germany. Yet Henry submitted,* and received the usual stripes on his naked shoulders, along with the kneeling bishops.

This was not the end. Next came the celebration of the mass, in which the pope referred to Henry's charge of simony, and said: "Here is the Lord's body; if I am innocent, may this clear me of all suspicions; if I am guilty, may God strike me with sudden death!" Amid the anxious silence of the spectators he took the sacrament, and survived the holy ordeal; they burst into applause. "Now," said he to Henry, "do as you have seen me do. The German princes have charged you

* If Henry had risen in a wrath that flamed till the sun was going down, and had carried off the holy father on the fleetest horses of the countess to the Lombards, or perished in the attempt, I should respect his violence rather than his submission; for his rage would have been more honest than his assumed meekness when in the iron grasp of a heartless bigot. And the service to humanity might have been more valuable than his later violations of the promises wrung from him.

Villemain (*Hist. Gregory VII*) thinks that the pope was not more sincere than the king, and that he said to the Saxon envoys who feared that Henry would return more powerful and implacable than ever: "Be not uneasy; I will send him back more accusable than he was." This admiring historian adds: "A profound and terrible saying that we would willingly rase from the life of a great man." After the absolution Gregory wrote to the Germans: "The whole affair is still in suspense."

with heinous crimes. Take this and prove whether you are innocent." Henry consulted with his friends, and then said that such a test would not satisfy his accusers; it were wiser to wait until the German Diet should decide his case.*

Meanwhile the lords of Lombardy had crept near to Canossa. They and the suspended bishops were now informed that the pope had conditionally absolved them and the emperor. They raised a loud shout of indignation and defiance. They spurned the pardon of Hildebrand. They held in contempt every man who accepted it. They denounced Henry. They denied his authority. They would crown his infant Conrad. But Henry bore calmly the derision which they flung in his face. In a week the tide was turning. The pope was now in alarm. Matilda took care of him, and finally got him safe into Rome. Soon the world was startled and scandalized by her grant of all her States to the papacy. This inflamed the Italians in the north. For Henry their coffers opened and their swords leaped out of their scabbards. All the Lombard and Tuscan cities were in his possession. He was soon over the Alps, sweeping on victoriously, and fighting down rivals. Wars that shook the empire, and synods laboring to save the Church, enter into the doleful history of years. Gregory's missives, temporizing, double-faced, full of shifts and compromises of his own principles, and bearing the prophecy that within a year (1080) Henry would be dead, or utterly powerless, are not evidences of papal infallibility at that time. Outside of Saxony, they were futile among the Germans, who forgave the emperor, as one who had been reared by corrupting churchmen, and they saw in his courtesy, courage, generosity, endurances, triumphs, and in the sacredness of imperial rights, a reason for loyalty to the kaiser.

In 1081 he was in Italy, desolating the provinces of Matilda, hurling stones at Florence, her capital, marching on to Rome, and causing Gregory to remember Canossa. In the castle of St. Angelo, supplied with funds by the countess, the pope bravely endured a siege of three years. He held his synods, talked of the hallowing effect of earthly trials, and faithfully sent forth his anathemas upon Henry, who set up the anti-pope Guibert, and thus made wilder the anarchy in the

* On this ordeal see Note III.

Church. The Romans yielded, and Henry was master of the city. The nobles, clergy, and people besought Gregory to agree with his adversary quickly; but the most that he is said to have offered was this: If Henry would submit, to crown him; if not, to let down from his castle a crown upon him, attended with a curse! The anti-pope bestowed the crown with a blessing.

Robert Guiscard and his Normans got into the city and, after pillage, lust, butchery, and fire, made Gregory the master of Rome. But he was sick of the Romans, and unwilling to trust them. He retired to the castle of Salerno, and, after absolving all on whom his anathemas rested, except Henry and Guibert, he died there, saying, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile."

So the great Gregory thought he had failed because the world was too wicked for him and his universal dominion; perhaps it was too just, too conscious of human rights, too loyal to the omnipotent Author of all liberties. It was sadly iniquitous, but over it he had assumed a provoking authority which would never sanctify it. Admit that he was usually sincere, and often kind; that he sometimes rose above the superstitions of his age; that he reformed gross evils; that he was seconded by very many of the noblest spirits, far and near; that the more learned, truthful, and devout souls were generally on his side—save poor Berengar, whom he sacrificed; that his severities fell chiefly on those who were in most need of discipline; that he raised the papacy to a higher morality; that it attained greater successes under other popes; that he made it a safeguard against political tyrannies; that he was a great saint of the Church, and a grand hero of the empire; and that he left the impress of his gigantic character upon all the later history of Europe; yet his prime error was in making the absolute supremacy of the papacy the hopeful means of liberty to the Church, and the saving health of all nations. The world was not then, nor has it ever been since, willingly, peacefully, prosperously, under a universal spiritual despotism. When Gregory assumed the power of dethroning monarchs, and of releasing their subjects from civil obedience, the spirituality of his power was lost in secularity. He did not remedy secular misrule. He virtually abolished civil law, and men became

lawless. The Church was degraded. His assumptions of national rule proved that he was not the vicar of Christ (Matt. xxii, 21), nor a true successor of Peter and Paul* (1 Peter ii, Rom. xiii); he was not what this world needed, nor what the apostolic Church required. "We read of Gregory with awe, mixed perhaps with admiration, perhaps with aversion; but in no human bosom can his character awaken a feeling of love."

The papal chair had not secured political unity. It had caused the wranglings of the two greatest haters of their day. The cross, even with a lowered power, would league together men whom they had trained. It is noteworthy that the man who struck down Henry's rival, Rudolf, was Godfrey of Boulogne, the noblest crusader; and that the chief of the three successive popes, nominated by the dying Gregory, was Urban II, who enlisted the Christian nations of Europe in the Crusades, the first enterprise that ever united them.

We have seen how the European nations, which made any great history for centuries, were organized, and brought into a new civilization by Christianity. We have traced the advances of the papacy over them. Thus far their political and ecclesiastical history have been almost inseparable. Statesmen and churchmen had one common interest and work. Henceforth the Church and state will move upon lines more distinct from each other, and the papacy will attain no essentially higher position. Therefore, in the coming chapters, political thrones and the papal chair will receive less attention, and our story will be more nearly limited to the national Churches, and to the men, principles, and movements which affected them. The papacy was not the only bond of their unity. Its history is not more important than that of the dissent which it helped greatly to produce, and the liberties which it could not utterly destroy.

NOTES.

I. *Pilgrimages, and opposition to them in Palestine.* In the ninth century measures were taken by councils to restrain the passion for this sort of merit, penance, and curiosity; for many pilgrims took license in sin or

* He called himself the Vicar of St. Peter and St. Paul.

became vagabonds, and bishops were absent for years from their charges. But pilgrimage itself was not condemned, nor checked. Such great men as King Canute and Robert of Normandy gave it the force of their examples. The expectation of the end of the world about the year 1000 caused immense numbers of all classes to rush to the Holy Land. The pilgrims were not molested, nor Europe roused to indignation, until the following events occurred: 1. Hakem, the fierce Sultan of Egypt, and the inventor of the religion of the Druses, ravaged Jerusalem and destroyed many holy buildings in 1010, and levied a tax on pilgrims. 2. Some assaults were made on pilgrims, such as the seven thousand who were led (1064) by Siegfried, Archbishop of Mayence. 3. The holy sepulcher was closed against Christians. 4. In 1076 the barbarous Seljukian Turks took the Holy City, and oppressed all Christians there, foreign and resident. These Mohammedans held Asia Minor, and reports of their savage persecutions were borne into Europe by returning pilgrims who had been outraged. Three popes, Sylvester II, Hildebrand, and Victor II, had proposed a European war upon the "infidels," as all Mohammedans were called. Robert Guiscard had sailed from Southern Italy with thirty thousand men, in 1081, for this purpose; but merely had checked some Turkish operations at sea.

II. "*An indulgence (indulgentia)* is, according to the Roman Catholic Church, a remission by the pope of the temporal punishment due to sin, which a sinner would otherwise be obliged to undergo, either in this world or in purgatory. Originally, it indicated remission, relaxation, or mitigation of some censure, penalty, or penance prescribed by the Church. In process of time, pilgrimages to certain places began to be substituted for the appointed penance. Of 'plenary indulgence'—*i. e.*, remission of all penalties—we have no mention before the Crusades. Towards the close of the eleventh century, plenary indulgences were proclaimed by Urban II, as a recompense to those who went in person upon the Crusades. They were afterwards granted to those who hired a soldier for that purpose, or sent a sum of money, instead of fulfilling the vow they had taken of going on that service themselves. Hence originated the sale of them. The progress of evil is rapid, and it was not long before every sin had its price. The popes undertook to dispense with the penalties imposed by the Church, upon the grounds that the Savior's sufferings were more than sufficient to atone for human iniquity; that the saints have done more than work out their own salvation; and that the superfluous merit accruing from these sources, forming a treasure of the supererogatory merits of Christ and the saints, was placed at the disposal of the Church of Rome, from which she could appropriate to any of her members so much as might serve as a substitute or satisfaction for any punishment deserved."

III. *The sacrament as an ordeal.* The use of the bread, or wafer, or *host*, came to be one of the worst superstitions and ordeals. Baffled priests brought it forward to produce awe, terror, and submission. It is said that when Prince Alfred (grandson of the Great) was charged with an attempt to seize his royal brother Athelstan, about 926, he went to Rome to prove

his innocence before the pope. As he took the holy wafer on his lips he fell, and died two days afterwards. One of the German prelates absolved by Gregory VII was the Bishop of Augsburg. He was with the emperor in 1078, at Ulm, celebrating mass in great pomp, and said, "I shall now take the Holy Eucharist, in proof that the cause of my lord Henry is just, and that of his rival, Rudolf, unjust." He lived after it. The report of this success made a great impression on both parties. Gregory said of it, "I know what will yet come of it; the perjured bishop will not taste the bread of this year's harvest." Even St. Bernard employed this ordeal, in 1135, to bring the Count of Poitiers over to Innocent II, saying to him: "We have entreated you; you have despised us. Behold the host, the Virgin's Son! The Lord of the Church, which you persecute, comes to you. Your Judge is here; into his hands your soul may fall." The count fell paralyzed, and submitted. This superstitious reverence for the holy wafer yielded the extremest absurdities. Stories were told that on the wafer was sometimes seen the face of the infant Jesus. A Jewish usurer got possession of the host, and was accused of throwing it into a caldron of boiling water. The proof was that the infant Jesus was seen swimming on the surface! Crowds beset the house of the usurer; he was burnt, even when he thought that the Talmud would stop the flames; and the Jews of the place (Paris, or Toulouse) were sorely persecuted. These were some effects of Transubstantiation.

PERIOD IV.

FROM THE HEIGHT OF PAPAL LAW TO THE DEPTH OF PAPAL IMMORALITY.

A. D. 1085—1500.

WESTERN EUROPE AWAKENED BY FIVE KINDS OF ENTERPRISE: 1. MILITARY, IN THE CRUSADES AND THE GERMAN AND FRENCH WARS AGAINST ROME. 2. INTELLECTUAL, IN THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY, AND IN THE REVIVAL OF CLASSICAL AND BIBLICAL LEARNING. 3. REFORMATORY, IN PREACHING, TRANSLATING THE BIBLE, EXPOSING THE ERRORS OF THE CHURCH, AND PRODUCING RELIGIOUS LITERATURE. 4. INVENTIVE, IN THE ART OF PRINTING AND MULTIPLYING BOOKS, IN THE PROGRESS OF THE FINE ARTS, AND IN THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA. 5. LIBERATIVE, IN THE DECAY OF FEUDALISM, THE RISING OF THE SERFS, THE FREEDOM OF ITALIAN CITIES, AND THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE.

CHAPTER XIII.

CRUSADERS AND SCHOOLMEN.

1085—1350.

THE Crusades present two phases: that of religious enthusiasm, and that of military enterprise. The Church enlisted in them as the wars of the Cross against the Crescent. The Christians of the West sought at first to vindicate their right to visit the Holy Sepulcher; then to recover the Holy Land from the Mohammedans, who had held it for more than four centuries.* Pilgrims had told what they had seen and endured; three popes had urged a holy war; but a hermit's voice actually

*See Chapter XII, Note I. The real causes of these wars were in the conflict between (1) the two religions, and (2) the political systems; also (3) the Mohammedan conquests and the fear of their extension in Europe, (4) the association of Christ with Jerusalem, (5) the European desire for adventure and pilgrimage.

started the movement which has been called "the first European event." Never before had the Western nations been leagued in one common cause. Peter, a native of Amiens in Picardy, a soldier, a married man, then a monk, and a hermit, ever restless and eager for some new mode of enthusiasm, became a pilgrim, and saw the tyranny of the infidel in the Holy City. He lost his desire for martyrdom when the patriarch, Simeon, told him how his poor brethren were oppressed and put to shame. The blood ran like fire through his veins, and the voice of the Lord seemed to cry from the sacred ruins, "Go, Peter, and tell the tribulations of my people to the Church." He made his vow, went to Rome (1094), told Pope Urban II his story, and was sent out to test the popular sentiment; for Urban's word might not be law when the emperor, Henry IV, was opposing him in Germany, and King Philip of France was threatened with the papal ban. Upon a mule rode the little hermit, crucifix in hand, head and feet bare, preaching the Crusade. At cross-roads and in cathedrals his rude and ready eloquence, his appeals to every passion of valor and pity, drew people of every class by thousands. He read letters from the Greek patriarch, from the Roman pope, and one (as he pretended) which the Lord let fall from heaven. The test was satisfactory.

Urban grew zealous.* His measures secured the Council of Placentia, in Italy, early in 1095, where two hundred bishops, four thousand clergy, and thirty thousand lay people took oath to wage a Crusade. That same year he preached the Crusade as eloquently at the Council of Clermont, in France, to still larger crowds, who shouted, "Deus vult—God wills it." They pressed forward to receive the red cloth badge, in the shape of a cross, and worn on the shoulder. Wealth, arms, troops, lives, were offered. It was understood that death in the Crusade was the certain way to paradise. "The peace of God" was adopted for the nations at home, though not fully kept, especially in Germany, where Henry IV had wars of his own. Bishops went to their dioceses preaching this military Christianity. Women urged husbands and sons to enlist. Monks ordered swords to be made. Shops became empty; fields were

* "Urban determined to make a diversion which should bring him more prominently forward as the head of Christendom." (Van Laun.)

left to weeds. Jewish bankers granted heavy loans on real estate, and the treasurers of convents took rolls of mortgages. Land fell in price; horses rose in the market. Great sinners enlisted to commute their penances; for it was said that "God had instituted a new method of cleansing sins." The robber, the outlaw, the profligate, the debtor, found an amnesty. Europe was now an agitated sea, throwing wave after wave upon Syrian shores. The vast companies that marched may be reduced to two classes:

1. The unorganized bands. There were four or five of them, who knew nothing of military discipline, and cared less, for they seemed to presume upon miracles. In the goat and goose that led them they thought the guiding spirit resided. Chief of these was the horde of monks, peasants, women, children, and a motley rabble of all sorts, led by Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless Knight. At Cologne these incapable leaders took each his train. By different routes, each long marked by a ghastly line of human bones, they reached Constantinople. The Emperor Alexis advised them to wait until the princely generals should come with their armies, but they wanted no advice. The foam of the glory must be theirs, and dashing over into Asia, they nearly all sank out of human sight. A few escaped. We can hardly think that two hundred and fifty thousand of them were killed. Many doubtless became the slaves of Greeks and Saracens. Peter hailed the advance of the wiser warriors, and retired to a convent.

2. The disciplined hosts, under such leaders as Godfrey of Bouillon, the two Roberts of Normandy and Flanders, Raymond of Toulouse, and Tancred, the nephew of Robert Guiscard. They reached Constantinople by different routes. In Bithynia they claimed to have one hundred thousand horsemen, and six hundred thousand footmen: with the latter was a vast company of women and sutlers. They captured Nice, which was then a Sultan's capital. They put Antioch under a most dreadful siege until it fell. Their leaders quarreled, and thousands of their followers died of heat, famine, and plague. Baldwin seized Edessa. His brother Godfrey battered the walls of Jerusalem through forty days. When its gates were forced (1099) the Christian cross was stained with the blood of seventy thousand Turks, who were slaughtered. Godfrey, the

wise, genial, devout, generous warrior, a monk in appearance, "a lamb in his own affairs, a lion in the cause of God," led his men to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and there gave thanks for the ability to redeem their vows. He was elected ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, then founded. He refused to wear a crown of gold where his Savior had worn a crown of thorns, and assumed no higher title than that of Advocate and Baron of the Holy Sepulcher. He lived only one year longer, and left the noblest name of all the early crusaders.

Forty years later Edessa fell to the Saracens. St. Bernard preached the second Crusade (1144) and said that so many people enlisted in it that there were left in many cities scarcely one man to seven women. Seven other crusades followed, besides the foolish attempts of the children, and those against the Albigenses of Toulouse. They reach on into the thirteenth century.* They utterly failed to retain the Holy Land, or plant any permanent colonies in the East. Their greatest effects were not in Asia, but in Europe. The loss of life was immense (nearly two millions of Europeans perished), and yet many of these would doubtless have fallen in those battles which were checked at home. They died in a war which was defensive, in many respects, for had not the crusades rolled back the tide of Saracen conquest we might read of Mohammedan invasions in Europe far more destructive than those of the Crusaders whose work was not altogether one of mad fanaticism.

We notice some of the effects—good and evil, direct and remote. 1. The local and sectional feelings were broadened. Feudalism, the first support of the Crusades, was almost struck down by them. The royal court had been the center of the barons; the baronial castle the center of the land-renters. The monks revolved around their convents. Every class of people had its circle, and in that was its world. When scores of Crusaders first started they knew not how many hundreds of miles it was to Jerusalem, and they died of weariness, or turned back before they had gone one-third of the way. It was some gain to learn geography. Returning warriors and traders told long stories about other lands, peoples, languages, cities, buildings, and productions. In time such travelers as Marco Polo and Sir

* See Note I.

John Mandeville (one of the first writers of modern English speech) roamed widely on other continents. The earth seemed larger to Europeans. 2. International relations were affected. The Greeks grew weary of entertaining armies, and the chasm between them and the West was left wider than ever; the Greek and Latin Churches being hopelessly sundered. The Moham-medans came to be better known. They ceased to be regarded as monsters: they were really human, and some of them humane, especially such men as Saladin; and they had some stores of knowledge worth learning, as well as a politeness worth imitating. Commerce began and created new enterprise in such cities as Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, and these, with their imitators, grew into the Italian republics. Articles of Oriental comfort and luxury were brought from the East. 3. The Western nations, having for the first time one common cause, and acting in concert, came into more unity, with a better knowledge of each other, and with more generous sentiments. Feudal relations were gradually cast aside: men followed the leader whom they preferred. All classes learned more of each other. Great social changes occurred. Despotisms were shaken; the people became more free, more cultured, active, and vigorous. 4. The contemporary intellectual movements received some aid. 5. Chivalry, with its basis of three words—war, woman, and religion—cultivated a high sense of honor, and compassion for the oppressed. “Chivalry became more religious, and religion more chivalrous,” until neither gained by the union. The one Lady who came to be ever recognized was the Virgin Mary, “Notre Dame.” The very word *courtesy* was brought into life. The social manners began to assume a higher refinement. 6. The orders of the Hospitalers and Templars arose, for the care of the sick and wounded. 7. The Church was affected from the papacy to the remotest parish. Its wealth was vastly increased. Estates were left to it by men who fell in the wars. Monasteries bought up mortgages. Endowments were thought to be means of salvation. Older forms of perverted devotion were strengthened: such as the worship of saints, the imagination and pretension of miracles, the tendency to materialize religion, the storing up of merits won for the soul by courage and suffering, and the eagerness for relics. “It was sensuous, turning to the outward; seeking the sepul-

cher of Christ rather than cultivating his spirit; it was, in fact, Christianity externalized." The Jews were more intensely hated, and often put to massacre, even after St. Bernard pleaded for them with his noblest eloquence. Crusading devotion was slow in becoming humane. The popes gained higher power over the men and money of Europe; to resist them was treason and infidelity. The clergy was sadly demoralized. The general morals of the people were injured. But still the minds of men were greatly aroused, the intellect leaped into fuller liberty, and the Crusades did something to prepare an audience for Wyclif, and Tauler, and Luther.

Before the Crusades roused the mind to profitable inquiry, an intellectual movement had quietly begun, among scholars, or had continued on after Berengar, whence the name, Scholasticism. I shall not measure the little rills which came down through dark woods from the schools of Charlemagne, but take them where they meet in a stream broad enough to flow in the sunlight. Imperfect as the system was, it was a great advance of human thought beyond the materializing spirit of the tenth century. It has been "much decried and much exalted, but very little studied." The schoolmen left their ideas in such enormous piles, such huge folios and so many of them, that men gaze on them as they do at the pyramids, and think of them as tombs of ideas that once reigned. Yet they did more than rear "cathedrals of syllogism," and discuss frivolous or valueless questions. They are worthy of study as thinkers in a fighting age, the first philosophers of the Western races, and their most daring explorers in the realm of theology, the founders of an alliance between reason and faith, and theorists whose solutions of metaphysical and ethical problems find respect, if not acceptance, in our day. They did not frame creeds: they built systems.

There are three elements in scholasticism: 1. Logic, or dialectics. 2. Philosophy. These two at first came second-hand, through such compends and translations as those of Cassiodorus and Boethius, the trivium and quadrivium, or the Pseudo-Dionysius. In the degree that men came to know the whole logic and philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, scholasticism rose to its height. Logic was used as a method of proving truth, and even of discovering it. 3. Theology, in the scientific form to

which logic reduced it, and not on the basis of Biblical exegesis. The Bible was quoted, but the purpose was not to find and teach what it contains, so much as to search for the truths which lie in the depths beyond it, and arguments that inspiration has not employed. The attempt seemed to be to scale heaven, and think the thoughts of God. The creeds of the Church were used, but they were often the points of departure into the realms of mystery. This third element came from such men as John of Damascus (754), a Greek scholar, who first put theology into scientific, logical form, in his "Exposition of Faith," quoting largely from the Christian fathers. Hildebert of Tours (died 1135) composed a "Systematic Theology." His method was to establish each doctrine by Scripture, and by quotations from the Fathers, and solve the difficulties by the aid of reason, logic, and philosophy. He warned men against the pursuit of dialectics, or the art of reasoning on theology in the dry logical formulas. He thought it vain and dangerous, preferring to rest in that simple and unquestioning faith which, he said, was not contrary to reason. Faith presumes the want of sight and of perfect knowledge. He said that God chooses neither to be fully comprehended, for thus faith is not deprived of its proper merit; nor to be wholly unknown, and thus there is no excuse for unbelief. St. Bernard called him "a great pillar of the Church." His philosophy was that of Cicero and Seneca. He may be considered a forerunner of the Mystics.

Scholastic philosophy was the child of John Scotus, but it was more fully developed by Abelard. Of the scholastic theology Anselm is called the father. They were blended for a long time. Few of the schoolmen meant to be unscriptural rationalists; most of them aimed to be consistent with Biblical teachings, and they largely quoted the Bible as inspired. They employed philosophy to define and maintain the doctrines of the Church in their time, some of which—*e. g.*, transubstantiation, supererogation, saint-worship—required the subtleties of dialectics, for the evidence of Holy Scripture was wanting. They furnish methods rather than materials of thought. The system had its rise, culmination, and decline; hence three periods. Only representative men and ideas are here noticed.*

I. The period when theology takes form (1060-1200).

*On Realism and on certain Schoolmen, see Notes II, III.

There were theologians before Anselm. Probably his teacher, Lanfranc, at Bec, wrote the "Dialogue embracing the sum of all theology." It sets forth the doctrines of the Church at that time in genuine scholastic style, with the syllogism at every point, and the discussion of proofs and counter-proofs. It raises such questions as whether clothes will be worn in the future life? How will the bodies of the lost be placed in hell? Lanfranc gave to Bec a scholastic method of thought.

There is a charm in the personal life of Anselm. Rarely has a man of gentle spirit, unselfish nature, unambitious aims, child-like faith, and profound thought, so closely touched the historical events of his own time. He was born in 1033, at Aosta,* at the foot of Mount Rosa, in Piedmont. The snow-covered Alps were to the dreaming boy as the great white throne of God. He imagined that there he visited the heavenly king and ate bread at his table. Like Calvin he had a mother who led him to sublime thoughts of God, and when she died he wished to enter a convent. But like Augustine he had a dissipated father (a rich man), who stormed against him until he thought of chivalry as the only other honorable profession for a man in that time. He left his father, who wasted his property, and died a monk. Wandering into France, Anselm came to Bec, not twenty years of age, and under Lanfranc he became student, monk, thinker, teacher, and marvelous manager of boys. When appointed abbot there he showed the tutors the folly of brutally flogging the pupils, and the wisdom of softening bad natures by patience, firmness, and tenderness. Even the terrible conqueror grew gentle with Anselm. To seek a man's spiritual welfare was his first object. Through all his life, in primate's chair or in exile, he knew no spot so delightful as that narrow cell at Bec, where he mused on deep problems till his mind reeled on the verge of the infinite, and yet never endangered his child-like faith. To the last he loved that Norman chapel where he had wept, prayed, and breathed the air of heaven. His errors were those which clung to all men of that time, but his personal virtues were rare, and his intellectual services enduring. He disliked public life. He must have smiled when he wrote, "With my monks about me

* Just about five hundred years before Calvin seems to have thought of settling there.

I am like the owl. When she sits quiet with her little ones in the cave, she is happy, all goes well with the owl; but when she ventures out, and falls among the crows and the rooks, with their beaks and claws it fares ill with the owl."

William Rufus (1087-1100) was now king of England. One who knew him said that "he feared God but little, and men not at all." He was utterly profane, reckless, profligate, making a gain of the Church by keeping many bishoprics and abbacies void, and taking the revenues for his own uses. But during a serious illness he promised to fill the chair at Canterbury, now about four years vacant, and he chose Anselm (1093), who was snared into the office by craft. Anselm's troubles began. He was forced into a hero's career. The king returned to his vices and avarice, but he soon had to face a man whose meek and loving temper rose into firmness and grandeur when it fronted dishonesty and tyranny; all turned upon the right of investiture. Should the king or the pope give him the official pallium? William thought one way, and Anselm another. "The pope should do it," said the archbishop. During the controversy the rapacious king demanded one thousand pounds as the conditions of peace. Anselm offered half that sum. It was refused; he gave it to the poor, and said to the tyrant, "Treat me as a free man, and I am at your service with all I have; but if you treat me as your slave, you shall have neither me nor mine." He went into the cathedral of Canterbury, bade farewell to the canons at the altar, took his pilgrim's staff, wallet, and scallop-shell, and wandered into France. He appealed to the pope, and so revived among English Churchmen the system of inviting the aid of Rome in English affairs. His theory was that a king had no right to install a man in any office of the Church; his error was in asking a pope, and not a council, to do it. In 1100 he heard of the king's death; he wept over that poor soul.

King Henry I (1100-35) invited him back, and when he went his wisdom was needed. The king was to wed Matilda, whose Saxon mother was the famous queen, St. Margaret, of Scotland. But the princess wore the veil of a nun, and how was she to get rid of it? To Anselm she told her story that her aunt had forced it upon her as a safeguard when rude sol-

diery and lawless tramps were every-where, and said Maud, "I was indignant with grief. Whenever I could get out of her sight I flung it down and trampled on it. That was the way I was veiled." Anselm declared that, as her vow was made against her will, she was free from all its bonds, and when he placed the crown upon her brows an English shout went up which Norman bishops and barons might think full of doom, unless it presaged a union of races. For now both a king and a queen, in whom ran the blood of Alfred, shared the throne.* It did help to weld the two peoples. But the investiture came up again with the old difference, and Anselm was soon in exile, a dozen schemers making affairs worse, until Queen "Maud the Good," his correspondent all these years, was delighted to welcome him home. The variances were compromised at a Westminster Council (1107), and if Anselm was victorious he was not haughty in his power. The canons against clerical marriages were now severely enforced, and yet the pope allowed the sons of presbyters to be ordained, saying that almost the greater and better part of the English clergy were of the married class. The Hildebrandine reforms were generally promoted. Three years of episcopal work closed his life, and one of Anselm's last wishes was that his Lord might spare him just long enough to solve a question as to the origin of the soul, for he feared that no else would ever be able to solve it. The Christianity that produced an Anselm had not utterly lost its life.

Anselm was not an orator; the revival of preaching had not begun. To believe, love, think, and teach were his chief aims, and he put faith first as the best means to all the rest. "I believe in order that I may understand," said this new Augustine. Accept the creed, and then search out the reasons for it. Let orthodoxy have the support of philosophy.† "The substance of faith can not be made more certain by means of the knowledge that grows out of it; for it is in itself eternally sure and fixed. But while the believer holds fast to it without doubting,

*In that feudal age it was comforting for an Anglo-Saxon to know that Henry's mother, Matilda, of Flanders, and his wife, Matilda, of Scotland, were both descendants of King Alfred.

†Anselm did not feed on the writings of Aristotle, but Augustine and the Bible.

loves it, and lives for this faith, he may and should search humbly for the grounds of its truth. If to his faith he is able to add intelligence, let him thank God; if not, then let him not turn against his faith, but bow his head and worship. For human wisdom will sooner destroy itself on this rock than move the rock." Reason must serve faith, not control it.

In his *Monologium* and *Proslogium* (Faith in search of Understanding), his reasoning often takes the form of a prayer, or a conversation with his Lord. Once he was passing wakeful hours, fasting, and struggling to reach a great thought and a new mode of proving the existence of God, when the ontological argument broke in upon his mind. In excessive joy he seized his tablet and wrote it: "That which exists *in re* [in reality, objectively] is greater than that which exists only in the mind [subjectively]. That existence than which nothing greater can be conceived in the mind is God." He held that the non-existence of the Divine Being can not even be conceived. The basis of this is realism.*

The *Cur Deus Homo* created an epoch and a school in theology. It is the most spiritual, practical, and popular of all the writings of Anselm. It shows a deep knowledge of Holy Scripture. It proposes the most interesting of all questions for the human soul, Why was God man? It treats of the Incarnation, and of the satisfaction which the nature and law of God demanded as the means of redeeming sinners. "The satisfaction can be made by none save God, and ought to be made by none save man; it is necessary that God-man should make it. . . . The restoration of the human race could not have been accomplished unless man paid the debt which he owed to God for his sin; and this debt was so great that no one could pay it except God; hence the same person who pays it should be man and God. . . . The life of this man (God incarnate) is so exalted and precious that it is able to pay what is owing for the sins of the whole world, and infinitely more. . . . Christ is our salvation, as through our belief in him we have access to the Father."

*The above is the merest summary of his argument. It was opposed by the monk Gaunilo. It did not find favor with the schoolmen generally. It was revived by Descartes (died 1650) and substantially by Dr. Samuel Clarke and Cousin. It is not now usually regarded as valid.

This doctrine swept out the theory, too prevalent for centuries, that Christ paid a ransom to Satan in order to purchase our release. It struck hard upon the current and generally sanctioned ideas of penance, self-chastisement, and human merit purchased by gifts, works, and purgatory. In his "Direction to the Sick" Anselm has this: "Put all thy confidence in this death (of Christ) alone, place thy trust in no other thing; commit thyself wholly to this death, cover thyself with it, and if God would judge thee, say, Lord, I place the death of our Lord Jesus Christ between me and thy judgment. . . . And if he shall say, that thou art a sinner, say, I place the death of Christ between me and my sins. . . . I offer his merits instead of (*pro*) my own, which I ought to have, but have not." This proves that Anselm was not a cold, icy logician. This doctrine runs through four centuries as a stream in the desert, now giving drink to a little band of pilgrims led by Bernard or Wyclif, or Wessel; now almost lost in the sands upon which multitudes do penance, or fall in worship of the saints; and then it bursts forth amid green pastures where Luther and other reformers lead the flock of God. Writers who do not adopt it in all its bearings have said that it is "a profound and original theory of the atonement which, whether accepted or impugned, has molded the character of all Christian doctrine ever since." They pay a large "tribute of admiration and gratitude to the serene wisdom of a thinker who was able, in the midst of cruelty and confusion, to devise a scheme which has helped millions of his fellow-men to interpret the central mystery of suffering and reconcile the ideas of justice and mercy."

Thus by a Norman brook began the European effort to bring Reason into the loyal service of Faith; to reduce the principles of truth, in the world of nature and revelation, to a blessed and logical order; and to present theology as a rounded system of ordered thought. The name of Anselm may remind us that, whatever the failures of the schoolmen, "their work, in its origin, was inspired by a magnanimous and grand thought. The great awakening of the European mind, under the leadership of the Church, suggested to the thinker the idea of a glorious whole, or Kingdom of Truth, pervious to the Reason that is prepared by Faith. . . . The scholastic enterprise was an attempt to set up that kingdom. It failed,

indeed, . . . but ever since then the idea of Theology as a science has been far more powerfully and constantly present to the contemplation of divines."* The march of mind had begun; to arrest it was as impossible as to stop the crusades, or to abolish the papacy. In it there were reactions and counter-movements. Discussion assumed its rights, and it was kept alive and fresh by Roscelin with his nominalism, Abelard with his rationalism, Bernard, the reviver of preaching, and the Victors who brought the heart to aid the intellect.

"Reason, rational insight, must prepare the way for faith," said Abelard, reversing Anselm's maxim, "since without a rational understanding of truth, faith is not sure of its principles." Then one can believe only what one comprehends: mysteries are not objects of faith, until dissected by logic. Faith grows out of argument. The first thing is to doubt, next to dispute, and then to believe whatever is understood. From this point of departure Peter Abelard went with his lance against all the schools. No man appears in history in a greater variety of lights and shadows. Sentimentalists dwell on his great scandal, and immortalize him as the teacher, lover, seducer, and husband of Heloise; he retiring to build up the philosophical monastery of the Paraclete, and leaving it to her and her nuns; and she pitying him in his calamities, and reproving him in her letters for his cold selfishness, almost coarse for age and sorrow. Critics have questioned the power of his brilliant mind. Philosophers have exalted him into a hero and the founder of the system which Descartes exploded. Moralists have been repulsed by his ethics. Churchmen have written him a heretic. Admirers have praised him as one of the few men who could write his own life with bald honesty, in the "Book of my Calamities."

"I sprang," he says, "from Brittany, whose soil is thin, and the temper of its (Celtic) people is light. I had a wonderful facility for acquiring knowledge. My father had some taste for letters before he went to the wars. He wished his boys to be scholars before they became soldiers. He educated me carefully. . . . I preferred dialectical reasoning to all other modes of philosophy. So, traveling through different provinces, wherever I heard that this art of disputation was flourish-

* Rainy, *Develop. of Chr. Doctrine*, page 369.

ing, thither I went, practicing by the way, and became a rival of the peripatetics." He was not twenty (1090) when this knight-errantry made him a champion to be dreaded in the scholastic tilting-matches. He was self-confident, arrogant, "wickedly astute," obstinate, differing from every body, and bent upon victory every-where. He had quite baffled his teacher, Roscelin, whose nominalism led him to say that the three persons of the Trinity were three individual essences, whence the inference that he taught tritheism; but when refuted by Anselm, and arraigned by a council, Roscelin denied this doctrine, went to England and there died.

The Church rather than Abelard brought nominalism into discredit. He verged upon conceptualism. At Paris the young logician went into the crowded school of William of Champeaux, won the affection of the lecturer, then vanquished the popular realist. Poor William lost his students, and became Bishop of Chalons. The master of the field soon went to Laon where another Anselm was teaching theology with good success, perplexed him, ridiculed him, and said, "When this Anselm kindles a fire, he fills the house with smoke. You students have come to a beautiful tree on which there is nothing but leaves." He took the desk; the students laughed, then listened, then admired. One day he was jesting with them, and saying that the theologians were only limping in the track of the fathers, when they bantered him to give them a specimen of his skill in eliciting new truths from Scripture. He boldly mounted the rostrum, opened Ezekiel's prophecy just because it was obscure, and said, "It is my custom to trust, not to experience, but to intuition." The students found that to be true, but were charmed with intuitive comments such as had never been heard of before. Anselm was again amazed at the reckless genius of the man.

Abelard was certainly rousing minds from their sleep, whatever the moral effect was upon them. Logic was let loose to start inquiry. It is easy to account for his success. He spoke in the common language and to the common intellect. Every body got from him a clear idea of some sort. So hungry were the people for intelligible words and ideas, that they did not test their moral quality, or they were glad to hear doctrines which relieved them from penitence and faith. Religion melted

away in his hands. Morality was reduced to humanity, beliefs to mere opinions. The waiting students at Paris, thousands of them, sang his amorous songs in the streets (for he could be a troubadour), and when he came back the ways were thronged, and women gazed at him from curtained windows. The pope sent him hearers. The world was rushing after him. He reigned with the scepter of pretentious logic. His successes made him giddy, and he fell, at the age of thirty, without any faith, or former piety to aid him towards a restoration. After his crime, his secret marriage, his deep disgrace, and no little cruel treatment from others, he entered the convent of St. Denys, a wrecked genius. But he began to reform the monks, and teach a few pupils. More came, and still more, until he had a crowd. "I began to lecture to them," he says, "on theology, as a hook to draw them to the study of philosophy." He published an "Introduction to Theology,"* assumed to be a professor of that science, asserted the dynamistic Trinity, stood a trial for heresy, was condemned, went into the forests near Troyes, built up the Paraclete, and drew crowds again to his philosophic community. Men left castles and cities to sleep on straw, eat herbs and barley bread, and hear new ideas. It was a sign that scores of men were weary of the religion of priests and monks and penances and missals. Not knowing what they really needed, they came to get what stimulus was offered them. Here, then, was a wonderful mental movement. We leave Abelard until we trace another man of a better, but scarcely less popular, kind.

Bernard is here introduced, not as a man of the schools, but of the convent, the pulpit, the reform, and the timely protest against the evils of scholasticism. No private churchman ever held a greater personal influence over an age. A preaching monk reigned by virtues, truths, courage, and eloquence. Born in Burgundy in 1091, of a noble family, his earliest expansion of mind came by means of the rush to the first Crusade, and the teachings of a pious mother who led his thoughts to God. At the age of twenty-two he and five brothers, with twenty-five young friends, entered the monastery of the Cistercians, at Citeaux, where Stephen Harding, an Englishman, was

* His *Sic et Non* (Yes and No) was a compend of theological quotations set against each other, perhaps to be an apple of discord among the Churchmen.

establishing his reforms and founding a new order of monks with a confederation of its religious houses. Bernard was a monk of the most rigorous sort, almost ruining his health by his austerities. He diligently read the Divine Word, and studied God's works, to find what light they threw upon each other, and how the spiritual life of the one might correspond to the natural life of the other. Yet the life of his soul never attained the Christian naturalness which the apostles and the very oaks were teaching him. He said the beeches taught him oratory. "Believe me who have tried: there is more in woods than in books. Rocks will tell you what school-masters never declare." But he did not throw aside his books. If Harding gave law to the new order, Bernard gave it reputation.

With a small colony of monks he went up into Champagne, built huts in the valley of Wormwood, which was infamous as a den of robbers, cleared some of its lands, and established the monastery of Clairvaux (*Clara Vallis*). Thousands flocked to it. There he might have died in his self-punishments, had not William of Champeaux urged him to devote his talents to a nobler cause, and ordained him to preach. Then began "that series of marvelous sermons which won for him the title of the last of the Fathers." They show that he was well versed in Scripture, and that he knew all about ordinary life in farm-houses, villages, remote woods, and gay cities. He spoke to the heart of the people. He was not entirely free from the errors of the Church at that time. But his sermons ring with great truths. He was the restorer of preaching in that age. He had nothing of outward looks to commend him except his love-lit face. A little, stooping man, with frosted red beard, white silken hair shaved close on his crown, thin cheeks, with scarcely a tinge of blood in them, meekly and suddenly stepped before a vast crowd, and he spoke as one sent from another world. He moved them at his will. He excited them so that mothers held fast to their sons, and wives to their husbands, lest they should turn monks. He wrought conversions by the score; and entreated every hearer to remember the wondrous love of God, and the "passive action, the active passion," the crown of thorns, the scourge, the cross, the nails, the dripping blood, the cries, the agonies, the death of their dear Lord Jesus; and never again despise the crucified, nor do despite to the

Spirit of grace. The sermon ended, he was as suddenly gone to his booth in the forest, there comforting himself with the Song of Songs, the Gospel of John, and his almost ceaseless prayers. His charity was equal to his zeal. It was in him as a well of just humanity and the love of Christ. When the Jews were regarded as miscreants and usurers, and crusaders struck them down as guiltier men than Saracens, his soul blazed into a flame of wrath and pity, and he cried loudly against the outrages; "The Jews were not doomed by our Lord to be murdered, but to be dispersed among the nations who ought to seek their conversion."

In his preaching he was a reformer, as well as in his hundreds of letters which went through the world from the north of Ireland to the poor Church in Jerusalem. Their tone was, "Do not ornament your Churches so much with images and carvings and emblematic windows, for these divert the minds of the hearers. I can not longer say that the clergy are as bad as the people, for they have become even worse. And Brother Peter the Venerable, of Cluny, you know that many abbots of your order have sixty horses in their stalls, and wines whose variety is a boast, and all sorts of equipage, finery and furniture." Peter began a reform. Bernard sustained the papal theory of Hildebrand, but his rebukes fell upon some of the popes with scorching severity. Rome was not to him a holy city.

The unsought position of a dictator was freely accorded to him, & that he was the confidant of monarchs, the arbiter between rival popes, the conductor of the most delicate affairs of diplomacy, the censor of public morals, the oracle of his age. He never played courtier, never fawned on the rich and the great. He would write ten lines to an English king about his national affairs, and ten pages to a poor monk who was groping for spiritual light. He was the adviser of the brethren in one hundred and sixty new convents of his order. All Europe was in controversy on the question whether Innocent II had been justly driven out of Rome by Anacletus, the anti-pope. Innocent visited Clairvaux and was delighted with the earthen floor, naked walls, rude tables, scanty fare, and the low chant of psalms, but he perhaps did not understand how this mode of life failed to remedy the insanity of one poor monk who shouted out in the choir, "I am Christ." Bernard

commanded the evil spirit to depart from the man, and the happy result was accounted one of his miracles. Then he took Innocent by the hand, led him through the cities, introduced him to the people who cared less to see a pope than to touch the saint or secure a thread of his gown, and he placed his friend on the papal throne. The opposing powers must submit to it, for the monk and the German emperor had settled the question. He aided the next Innocent against the Albigenses, as we shall see. While he lived his word was almost law to Europe, and for ages after his death he was thought to have had scarcely a fault.

He was not a learned man, and yet his commentaries show good sense. He was Augustinian in theology. It is said that there is not an essential doctrine of the Gospel which he did not embrace with zeal, defend by argument, and adorn by life. If Anselm would join faith to reason, Bernard would connect faith with love and holy living. If one seemed to say, "Believe and think," the other said, "Believe and love. The heart makes the theologian." Both were devout men. But Bernard held that what went to a man's heart and sanctified it was true in theology. Experience was a better test of truth than reason; meditation was better than logic, and love was the best of life.

He has been charged with intolerance towards Abelard. This should be said: He did not begin the attack upon the erring philosopher, nor ever make capital of his great crime. William of St. Thierry wrote to Bernard, laying before him certain heresies, and adding: "God knows how I loved him, and wished to love him. But in a case like this no one shall ever be my friend or neighbor. Nor can this evil be rectified by private means; he has made it public." Bernard replied that "all this was new and strange to him." He did all he could by a personal interview. He could not well refrain from exposing such errors as these: that crime consists not in the act, but in the intention; that we inherit from Adam, not sin, but misfortune; that God's love saves us, and not any supposed merit or satisfaction in Christ's death; that the life and death of Christ were merely intended to create a moral impression on men, and that nothing but penitence is necessary to secure the pardon of sin. Bernard felt that the Church must express itself against Pelagianism, and what has since been called Socinianism.

The council of Sens (1140) began the case. Bernard was there in the lead of the prosecution. Suddenly Abelard appealed to Rome. The bishops went on with it. Sens condemned him undefended; Rome condemned him unheard. But he was already silent. On his way to Rome he had fallen sick, and he found his last great friend in Peter the Venerable, the excellent abbot of Cluny, who nursed both his body and soul, reconciled him to Bernard, and thus entreated Pope Innocent: "Be pleased to let him spend the rest of his days in your Cluny. It will delight us all. He may benefit the brethren with his knowledge. Let him not be driven from that roof to which he has fled as a sparrow." The request was granted. There he lived until near his death, in 1142, and Peter said that his last days were spiritually his best days. He left no school of followers, unless they be found in far later times. But he moved his own age.

The strongest logical opponents of Abelard were the Victorians (monks of St. Victor), Walter, Richard, and Hugh who was a sort of living cyclopædia. The school from which Abelard had driven William came into their hands, and was one of the group which afterwards formed the University of Paris. They sought to unite the views of Anselm and Bernard, and make piety of heart, spirituality, as prominent as faith and reason. They were mystics of the better kind. "By the devotion that proceeds from faith the believer's heart is purified; by purification he reaches higher knowledge and certainty (or conviction of truth and of God); by contemplation he finds God present with him, and, even though a world of miracles should interpose, his heart can not be drawn away from its faith in God and its love to him." These men held that faith acts not simply through the intellect, but through the affections.

In sympathy with them was Robert Pullen, an Englishman at Oxford (whose university was now fairly started), lecturing on Holy Scripture and theology, and preaching to three thousand students, whose numbers, it is rather largely said, increased soon to thirty thousand. He put forth a "Book of Sentences" in theology, and became a cardinal at Rome. John of Salisbury, an Englishman in France, a pupil of Abelard, a bishop of Chartres (1176), was the Erasmus of his day. He is an amusing critic, when he says of the pedants in philosophy: "They live in words. They go about the streets and pester

men more learned than themselves with words, words, words. They make themselves *not* understood, and then reckon themselves philosophers." His writings are still in the market. Giraldus Cambrensis, a Welshman, sat among the students of law at Bologna (a rising university), where the monk, Gratian, (1150), made the famous digest of Canon Law, embodying in it the false decretals. Thus we might trace the steps of many scholars in the rising schools of that age.

The scholastic theology, which had taken form with Lanfranc and Anselm, was solidified by a man from their country, Peter the Lombard. He studied with Abelard, St. Bernard, and the Victorians. He was bishop of Paris (1159-1164), and attained great eminence by his sentences—*Liber Sententiarum*.*

Its statements were not original nor bold, but its neat form, clear method, nicely drawn distinctions, made it the popular hand-book for students, and the base-line for new speculations. It did not exhaust the scholastic genius. "The divines of that day had one eye fixed on the Bible, and the other on Aristotle." Every thing was to be demonstrated, and they spent their lives in the effort.

II. The period in which philosophy reached its height and theology founded two schools (1200-1300). The union of the two systems was the chief intellectual work of the thirteenth century. Plato, the real favorite of the Church, and Aristotle, of the logicians, were then quite fully known. Their writings had come into the West through the Crusaders, and especially the Arabian schools in Spain. The two new orders of monks, or friars,† supplied most of the great thinkers. The Franciscans, or Grey Friars, took their name from St. Francis of Assisi, in Italy, a reformed prodigal, a kindly-hearted, illiterate enthusiast, who grieved over the vices of the clergy, the idle luxury of the rich monks, and the ignorance of the people, to whom no one

* In the sixteenth century Osiander, when opposing the Reformers, made this remarkable estimate: "Peter Lombard is worth one hundred Luthers, two hundred Melancthons, three hundred Bullingers, four hundred Peter Martyrs, and five hundred Calvins. If the whole of them (except Peter) were all pounded together in a mortar, they would not produce one ounce of sacred divinity." Osiander must have known that Lombard was called "the Euclid of the scholastic theology."

† To evade the law of a council which forbade the creation of new orders of monks, they were commissioned as *friars* (brothers, regular clergy).

seemed to think of preaching. To remedy these evils he taught the duty of renouncing all worldly goods, and going to work for the Church. He intensified the rigors of monastic life. In 1207, at the age of twenty-five, he began his labors among the lepers of a hospital. Then he became a wandering beggar, expending his collections in the repair of rural churches. Lest the leathern girdle might seem too rich, he adopted the hempen cord, whence the name of Cordeliers. He had powerful eloquence, and soon had hundreds of followers. Preaching to all classes, especially the neglected poor, was chosen as the business of this new order. The Dominicans were the order of St. Dominic, a Spaniard, who began his chief work at Toulouse in the persecution of the Albigenses, for which he organized the "Militia of Christ." Not content with persuasive preaching, he helped to construct the Inquisition to give a decided effect to his eloquent sermons. Southey asserts that "he is the only saint in whom no solitary speck of goodness can be discovered." But this is too severe upon him. To wear an iron chain around his body, flagellate himself as if he richly deserved every lash, and to sleep on a grave, were among his peculiarities. His followers were the "Black Friars." Their business was to preach in defense of the faith, take care of heretics, and employ the Inquisition. These twin orders, confirmed by the pope in 1216-17, were both mendicant. Save mutual jealousies now and then, they went hand in hand for two centuries in resisting the attacks made upon them. At first they were in many respects reformers. Had they retained their original simplicity and earnestness they might have removed great evils and ignorance from the Church. They grew ambitious and cunning. They thrust themselves into the professors' chairs at the universities, and often eclipsed all other doctors. The intellectual young men of the time were disposed to join one of them.

(1) *Eminent Franciscans.* Alexander of Hales left his native England, came to Paris, and attained a high celebrity as the "Irrefragable Doctor." He was the first known monk who took a university degree; and he wrote his "Sum of Universal Theology," extending the work of Peter Lombard. He was the first scholastic who mastered Aristotle in the original, along with the Arabian commentaries. Under his training rose Bonaventura of Italy, the "Seraphic Doctor," a man of such ami-

ability, piety, purity of life, and eloquence that his teacher said, "In Bonaventura Adam seems not to have sinned!" But this new light built his theology on the doctrine of Original Sin. "The soul exiled from God must return to God." His rap-turous worship of the Virgin Mary is a blemish on his faith. He was like Anselm in his reasoning power, though not so forcible; and like St. Bernard in his practical piety and reformatory spirit. His writings are often mystical. The school-men had raised this question, What is the design of God in creation—his glory, or the good of his creatures? He said, "The highest good is in God, who made the universe to display and communicate his goodness." When he was asked what books he studied, he pointed to the crucifix, and replied. "That is the source of all my knowledge—Christ and he crucified." He said to a friar: "If God should bestow on one only the grace of loving him, that would be a sufficient treasure. A poor old woman may love him more than the most learned doctor of theology." He would have praised the woman who was seen in the Crusade of Louis IX, carrying fire in one hand to burn paradise and water in the other to quench hell, so that men might not serve God from hope of reward or fear of punishment, but solely with a love for what he is in himself; an idea found in the mediæval hymns, and later in one by Francis Xavier (1552).

(2) *Eminent Dominicans.* It was said that God had never before divulged so many hidden truths to any of his creatures as to Albertus Magnus, the "Universal Doctor." Others said, "He has a devil; he is a magician." A Swabian by birth (1193), he represents the awakening of intellect in Germany. He carried the knowledge which he had received at Paris into several German cities, rescued many manuscripts from the dust of monasteries, and became the great teacher at Cologne. He was the first to reproduce the whole philosophy of Aristotle, and adapt it to the theology of the Church. Into his collective mind was gathered almost the entire human science of his day. He was rich in germs of thought. In twenty-one folios he sought to refute all errors, except his own, and expound all truths.*

* He heard the rap of an archbishop at the door of his cell, and answered, loudly, "Albert is not here." The caller said, "True enough; he is not here;"

But Albert was eclipsed by his pupil, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), who came up from the University of Naples with enough of Norse blood in his veins to resist his brothers when they wished to force him into military life. He seemed dull, unsocial, and given to abstraction. His fellow-students called him the dumb ox of Sicily. Albert said, "That dumb ox will make the world resound with his doctrine." One of the first achievements of Thomas was to roll from his order the reproach that it had been foretold by the Abbot Joachim of Calabria as not comparable in virtues to the Franciscan. The prophecies, or "insights," of this strange and gifted visionary had startled kings and popes. By the Babylon at Rome he meant only the secular power; her spiritual power was to triumph, but the monks were to secure and share it, the Dominicans coming in last and receiving the least.* When Thomas lectured at Rome and Paris, there was scarcely any hall large enough for the crowd of hearers. He traveled and preached. In Italy he took pains to preach in the language of the people, so that the poorest and most illiterate might be profited. He said that devotional exercises were the best preparation for theological inquiry. He began every employment with prayer. Albert said, "Thomas has put an end to all labor, even unto the world's end." Among his folios were his "Catena Aurea," or a commentary compiled from the Fathers on the four Gospels; a commentary on Lombard's Sentences; a defense of the faith against the heathen; and his "Summa Theologiæ." This last and greatest work became the standard of orthodoxy in the Dominican order, and it won him the title of the "Angelic Doctor." It made him "the moral master of Christendom for three centuries." Its ethical element still ranks him high among moralists. At the Council of Trent, nearly three hundred years after his death, it was placed on the desk beside the Holy Scriptures, and it really overshadowed them. Thomas was pure scholasticism, clear intellect, and when writing he was passionless, usually cold; "he hates nothing, hardly hates heresy; loves nothing unless it be naked, abstract truth." Yet

and went away weeping over Albert's abstraction. Thomas Aquinas had this absence of mind, even at the dinner-table of Louis IX, the saint of French royalty.

* On Joachim, see Note IV.

there are golden threads of Gospel truth running through this marvelous fabric. He was not a man of ice, nor marble. In public worship his warm piety showed itself in honest tears. When preaching on the love of God and the glory of Christ, he looked up, saying, "More of thee, my Lord, is all I ask." In the severity of his thought and the glow of his devotion he has been compared to Jonathan Edwards. The errors of the one would not have appeared in him had he lived in the times of the other; surely he would not have "gently laid down the doctrine of death to heretics." He was the first eminent supporter of supererogation, the seven virtues, and seven sacraments.* Luther thought him hardly a Christian; but even Puritans have freely acknowledged a debt to him for his Augustinianism. He did not shake off the fetters of the Mediæval Church.

The fame of Thomas and the boast of his order roused the jealousy of the Franciscans. At length their man appeared in John Duns Scotus (1274-1308), whose birthplace is claimed by Scotland, England, and Ireland. At Oxford and Paris he became the "Subtle Doctor," drew a host of disciples, and opposed Thomas with negative criticism. Yet he built up a system. He protested against the authority of Augustine. He was mainly Semi-Pelagian. Thomas had said "God commands what is good because it is good;" Scotus said, "The good is good because God commands it." He is the pleader for the Immaculate Conception, for which he has two hundred arguments. Three, of any value, would be sufficient. If he died at the age of thirty-four, his thirteen folios (his many sermons not included) show us, "perhaps, the most wonderful fact in the intellectual history of our race." He was a logical machine, rolling on and grinding whatever was thrown into it, and giving it back in dry syllogisms and barbarous Latin, without a metaphor or glow of poetry.

Meanwhile strong English sense asserted itself in Roger Bacon (1214-1292), a student at Oxford and Paris, and a Franciscan. He learned no little from the Jewish rabbis, whose people had liberty in England because they were rich, the money-loaners of Europe. On many a cathedral and palace they had a mortgage. Bacon courageously rebuked the slavish

* Note V.

deference to human authority. How could Augustine and Jerome be trusted dictators when they differed so widely? The spell of the Fathers must be shaken off. He ascribed all social evils to ignorance of the Bible. "I hear lectures on Lombard's Sentences; but none on God's Word." He turned from the Vulgate to the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and urged the laity to study them. He said that all truth must come from that central Light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world. "All wisdom is contained in Holy Scripture; but it must be explained by means of law and philosophy." Law was now the absorbing study in the universities, for it led to wealth. He aimed to put philosophy into a form more like the natural sciences of our day. This "Wonderful Doctor" spent his fortune and the best years of his life in trying to restore the Bible to its place, and to make education to consist in a knowledge of facts. He highly valued the old Greek philosophers; but thought that the schoolmen had run wild in mere speculations. "Faith first," thought he, "and then reason; God's Word, and then his works." The more fanatic friars put an end to his lectures, and what they called his "magic." He was imprisoned for a time. Pope Clement IV wished to see his books, but he had yet written nothing. In fifteen months he wrote the three books of his "Opus Majus." The next pope cared less for science; and Bacon lay ten years in a prison, and was free again only the last year of his life. Long before that he had said, "I am unheard, forgotten, buried." It is a noble thing for a man truly to live in advance of his age, and to sow the seeds of measureless harvests for later times. His philosophic spirit reappeared, three hundred and fifty years later, in Lord Francis Bacon (1561-1626), the Chancellor of England until he confessed, "I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defense;" but whose fall did not overthrow his "Instauratio Magna," by which he hoped to inaugurate a new method of studying the sciences, by an induction of facts and principles. "There can scarcely be a reasonable doubt that, by his writings and influence, he has contributed far more than any other philosopher to pave the way for that wonderful 'advancement of the sciences' which forms the peculiar distinction and glory of modern philosophy." The "Opus Majus" of the first

Bacon seems to have been the prototype of the "Novum Organum," written by his namesake.

III. The period of decline in scholasticism. The Thomists and the Scotists, with their two theologies, rule the schools, and indulge in destructive quarrels. William Occam (1270-1347), an Oxford man, a lecturer on the Continent, opposed the Scotists of his own Franciscan order, and the general method of scholastic reasoning. "He was an able and sensible man," said Luther. He taught that the foundation of morality, or right, is not utility, but the will of God. He refuted the theory of papal infallibility. His strong English sense will appear in Grossetete and Bradwardine, the forerunners of Wyclif. By degrees the schoolmen gave way to the scholars. The causes of the decline of scholasticism were, self-exhaustion, the reformatory movements, the restoration of the Bible, and the Renaissance. We are glad that there did come an end to a system which raised so many questions, but answered so few, and stirred so much thought, but contributed so little to faith, spirituality, and scientific progress. It shows what the human mind can attempt, and what it can not do. The old lumbering coach has gone from the highways of mental travel. We think more rapidly, but are in more danger of collisions; and some of the guards and brakes which render us safer came from the scholastic theology and philosophy. It gave us order of thought, terms and definitions, modes of treating errors and stating truths, which are not easily displaced.

NOTES.

I. *The Crusades*. 1st. Already noticed (1095-99). 2d. This was caused by the fall of Edessa, and preached by St. Bernard (1147-49). Three hundred thousand men failed to take Damascus. 3d. Saladin took Jerusalem. The only city left to the European Christians was Tyre. The Crusade was undertaken by Richard I of England, Philip Augustus of France, and Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, who died in Cilicia. Acre was taken. Philip retired. Richard made a favorable peace with Saladin (1189-92). Several crusades were failures, and were directed against other countries. In the fifth Baldwin and other knights took Constantinople, and founded a Latin kingdom, which lasted about fifty-seven years (1204-61). In the sixth, part of Egypt and Palestine were seized—Jerusalem regained (1210-29). The eighth was undertaken by St. Louis IX, of France (1245-50). Louis died in the ninth (1270). The foreign crusading spirit was now exhausted.

II. *Scholastic Terms*. "*Nominalism* (*nomen*, a name) is the doctrine that general notions, such as the notion of a tree, have no realities corresponding to them, and have no existence but as names or words. The doctrine directly opposed to it is *realism*. The intermediate doctrine is *conceptualism*. Realism is the doctrine that *genus* and *species* (universals) are real things;" e. g., humanity, man, virtue. *Fleming*.

III. *Schoolmen*, besides those named in the text. Rupert of Deutz (1135) insisted on Biblical study, and in his commentaries broached the doctrine of consubstantiation. Herveus set forth quite clearly justification by faith (1130). Peter Cantor, in his *Summa*, held that the Bible was the true source of theology. Nicolas de Lyra (1340) was the chief commentator of his age. Of him it was said: "If Lyra had not played the lyre, Luther would not have danced." Gabriel Biel (1495), a noted preacher at Tübingen, is called the last of the Scholastics. Raymund of Sabunde, professor at Toulouse (1430), is called "the founder of natural theology."

IV. *Abbot Joachim* (1200), a modest, pious visionary, grieved over the corruptions of the Church, studied the Apocalypse, and broached wild theories. He persuaded the emperor, Henry VI, to listen to his expositions of Jeremiah, and refrain from his ravages in Italy. His scheme of the Trinity and prophecy included three general states of government: (1) That of the Father, of the Old Testament, of the divine power, of human slavery, and of marriage. (2) That of the Son, the New Testament, the divine wisdom, filial service, and the clergy. (3) That of the Holy Ghost, the spirit of the Old and New Testaments, the divine love, friendship, and freedom, the monks, hermits, and contemplatives. The ages of the Christian Church are those of Peter, or faith; Paul, or knowledge; John, or love. In 1260 the world would greatly change; Antichrist would come. ("He must be pope Clement then," said Richard of England.) Antichrist would come from the Patarini, or opponents of the clergy, in Lombardy; help destroy the evils in the Church, and fall before the purified and victorious papacy. In this new state the Holy Spirit would dispense with the clergy. Joachim was condemned at Rome for tritheism. Dante placed his name in Paradise. This "prophetic spirit" had already been manifested in St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1150), who cried out against clerical vices. The story of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins slain at Cologne rests on her visions. St. Hildegard, of Bingen on the Rhine, was thought to be an inspired nun even by St. Bernard. It was easy for all these fanatics to surmise that the sins of the age would provoke a reaction in the Church, and apply to them some garbled verses of the Apocalypse.

V. *The Seven Sacraments* of the Roman Church are Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Ordination, and Matrimony. Actual sins were divided into *venial*, which do not destroy sanctifying grace, and *mortal*, which destroy it, they being willful and deliberate. "No number of venial sins can make one mortal sin."

VI. *Arnold of Brescia* (1100-55), a preaching monk, a disciple of Abelard, and opponent of St. Bernard in doctrine and of the Hildebrandine

polity, represents the spirit of insurrection in Northern Italy. He employed his eloquence against the papal system of government. He would reduce the clergy to primitive simplicity by having each State confiscate their property, and introduce the voluntary method of support. Even the pope should come to the same level. He helped Brescia to declare itself a republic. This free spirit extended widely. Pope Innocent II secured his banishment. After hovering some years about Zurich, he suddenly appeared at Rome to help it towards republicanism. The senate informed Pope Lucius that it would submit to his spiritual rule, but not to his temporal power. Arnold's republic lasted about eight years, civil war generally prevailing. Hadrian IV (the English Breakspear) and the nobles banished Arnold, and put Rome under interdict, thus depriving it of all religious services. The people repented. Papal religion triumphed over liberty. Arnold was ordered into exile, but Frederic Barbarossa, coming to Rome to be crowned, seized him, secured his excommunication from the Church, and he was put to death (1155) as a heretic and a rebel. His name was not forgotten, and the term "Arnoldists" was applied to lovers of liberty in Italy and northward. Probably the Arnoldists of Cologne were so named from a Catharist leader there; and those among the Albigenses were followers of Arnold Hott.

CHAPTER XIV.

DISSENT FROM ROME.

1085—1380.

WE have seen the Western Church rising towards her highest power in the papacy, in theology, in ritualism, and in the monastic orders. One thing only remained; that was the entire conformity of the people to her papal law, her scholastic theology, her sacraments, her worship, her imposed rites, her mode of government. But this was never fully attained. The effort to enforce the papal authority and dogmas provoked a resistance which was not always socially or politically organized. Hence various forms of dissent appeared. In nearly all Europe there were groups of people who were not in harmony with the Church, and dissenters of a bold type arose. In the formation of these groups four things are doubtless true: (1) That such sects as the Bogomiles and Cathari held many Gnostic and Montanistic errors, and not enough Christianity to warrant the keeping of their names on the Church register. (2) That their names were freely applied to many people who were almost as ignorant, but yet more Christian in their beliefs and lives; and as zealous in opposing the ecclesiasticism of the times. (3) That certain districts, especially the mountainous, became refuges and homes of all sorts of dissenters. (4) That new leaders often left their names upon their followers. The leaders might be wild zealots for error, or excommunicated priests, or honest readers of the Bible who saw more clearly the defects of the Church than the remedy for them, or whose spiritual needs were not met by the Church. The followers might be errorists, freethinkers, malcontents, ignorant rustics, and villagers, who eagerly adopted some of the novel doctrines and produced new combinations of opinion. Thus, before the true reformers, and separate from the Waldenses, appeared numerous sects, old and new, modified and variable, flocks without folds, communities

without creeds, and bands of men in revolt against Church and state. In regard to these sects,* history must have its theories. They were not willing to be the serfs of the Roman Church. We turn to other forms of dissent.

I. THE ALBIGENSES.

We can simply give our own view of them. This name covers, not a sect, but the people of the mountainous district of Albi (now Tarn), in Southern France. But their peculiar religious opinions were rooted in the whole country on both sides of the Pyrenees, from Beziers to Bordeaux, and especially at Toulouse, the old capital of the Arian Goths, where heresy had ever since lingered.† Various small sects, from the better Paulicians to the grossest Cathari, had grown up or gathered in that region. Among the crude beliefs were a few live coals of the Christian faith. When these were fanned and fed by new teachers, more vigorous types of doctrine appeared, in opposition to both high-churchism and Catharism: 1. *The Petrobrussians*, or followers of Peter de Bruys, who had been a priest in Dauphiny and suspended. He went from Arles about 1104, teaching through the valleys as far as the heart of Gascony. There he "no longer whispered in hamlets, but openly preached in the towns." At Toulouse his success was astonishing. He probably assailed the visible Church, as he saw it, and insisted that the Church was in the hearts of believers, and that God did not need the chapels, nor require loud singing and noisy preaching. He used the wooden crosses along the roads to burn at his tent, or make bonfires in the villages. Peter the Venerable, who visited that whole country, urged that mild measures be tried first upon the swarms of heretics. He reported that their leader held these views: (1) That persons ought not to be baptized till they come to the use of reason. (2) That it is not proper to build churches, and that such as are built should be pulled down. (3) That the holy crosses should be destroyed. (4) That the body and blood of Christ are

* Note I.

† "Oh how difficult it is to pluck up a deep-rooted custom! This treacherous city of Toulouse, from its very foundation, as is said, hath seldom or never been clear of this detestable plague, this poison of heretical pravity." (Peter de Vaux Cernay, about A. D. 1215.

not distributed in the sacred supper, but only the signs of them. (5) That the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living do not profit the dead. Perhaps De Bruys denied the validity of baptism by the dominant clergy, whether the subjects were infants or adults, and rebaptized those who avowed a personal faith in Christ. Probably he would have been glad to see churches built, or spared, for the use of himself and his followers. The most that can be inferred from the scanty facts, is that he aimed to set forth the central truth of Christianity, point men to the true cross, and elevate the morals of an ignorant people. In 1124, he was burnt by a mob at St. Gilles, in Languedoc.

2. *The Henricians.* Henry of Lausanne appears to have been a Swiss, a monk at Cluny, and then one of the regular clergy. About 1116 he was an unlearned, ascetic, barefoot, fine-looking, enthusiastic, and immensely popular preacher in the diocese of Le Mans, whose kindly bishop was Hildebert (later of Tours), known to us by his compend of systematic theology. During the bishop's absence at Rome Henry's rude eloquence and spirit of reform were sweeping the whole country. He unmasked the vicious clergy and inflamed the populace against them; denounced all forced or pretended celibacy; reclaimed abandoned women, and induced even young nobles to clothe decently these wretches, and wed some of them, in the face of day; and set at naught the ritualism of the Church. The bishop, on his return, found the clergy in alarm, and heard the people say to him, "We have now a father, bishop, and advocate far above thee in wisdom, worship, and sanctity." In public he asked Henry to recite the morning hymn, or matins. The preacher either could not, or would not, repeat it. He was thus proved to be too ignorant for the guidance of the illiterates who fancied that they represented intelligent audiences. The bishop was too good to burn him, but severe enough to expel him from the diocese.

Henry went south, became an associate, if not a disciple, of Peter de Bruys, and proclaimed similar doctrines, though with less fierceness against crosses, hymns, loud preaching in the woods, and forbidden churches in the towns. The flames of St. Gilles sent him wandering again. Arrested at Arles, he was a prisoner of Innocent II (1130-43), then in exile at Pisa,

but Bernard's pope was content to place him in Bernard's care. He was soon earnestly at work in Languedoc, protected by one of the chief nobles, and the country seemed to be as full of heresy as ever. St. Bernard tried to quiet him, and said, that after Henry was again in his mountain haunts, he drew such crowds to hear his tremendously loud preaching, "which would melt a stone," as to cause the churches to be left without people, the people without priests, the priests without due respect, the Christians without Christ, the sacraments no longer honored, the holy days without solemnities. Pope Eugenius III (1145-53) sent thither Cardinal Alberic, who was insulted at Albi, and five days later came St. Bernard, to whom the pope had written, "Heresy is a foe that can be overthrown only by the conqueror of Abelard." The great monk, fresh from preaching the second crusade, was soon hailed with enthusiasm, for he was a zealous man, almost able to convince people against their will, and disposed to persuade rather than to persecute. The church would not hold the multitude to whom he showed that sectaries were the little foxes that spoil the vines. He may have repeated what he had said concerning the sects at Cologne: "Take the foxes, not with arms but arguments; recall them to the true faith; reconcile them to the Church, if possible; teach them to say, 'Take *us* the foxes that destroy thy vines!'" He is said to have performed some miracles. It is more certain that when he asked all who preferred the Catholic faith to heresy to hold up their hands, every hand in the vast assembly was raised. Henry had taken refuge with the barons, who hated the Church clergy, and many of them ranked with the heretics. He was secured by the cardinal, and given over in chains to the Bishop of Toulouse—Bernard assenting—and he probably died in prison (1148). It is said that at another town Bernard entered the church and began to preach, but the people left it in disgust. He followed after them, preaching through the streets. They shouted verses of Scripture at him, and he turned into the high-road, leaving his anathema upon the town.

3. *The Good-Men (Bons Hommes)* were so numerous in the county of Toulouse, in 1178, that more repressive measures were taken. They would not go to hear the cardinal legate, nor confess their errors to him. They called him an "apostate,

heretic, hypocrite." He secured a list of names, and chief among them was that of Pierre Mauran, a layman and reported leader, aged, highly respected, and wealthy, having two large houses in which the meetings of the dissenters were held by night. One house was in Toulouse, the other in the country. In these he often preached to large audiences. When arraigned, he declared himself a true catholic, using that word in its original and proper sense. At first neither threats nor persuasions moved him. He finally promised to answer, on oath, all questions upon the articles of faith. The inquisitors asked him his belief concerning "the Sacrament of the Altar." He replied, "The bread after consecration still remains bread." This one answer was enough; the penalties were declared. He entreated for pardon. They gave him both pardon and punishment, for they spared his soul and seized all his property; ordered him to leave on a crusade for Jerusalem within forty days; be there for three years, serving the poor: if he then returned, they would give him back his property, except the houses, which were to be razed to the ground, because of the heretical meetings which had been held in them; and further, he must at once be flogged on his naked shoulders, while making penitential visits to the churches of Toulouse, and pay various fines and fictitious damages. This was the papal method of pardon!

In this case, we see an advance of those processes which resulted in the Inquisition, for it was the outgrowth of a policy intended to uphold the faith and the clergy of the Church, rather than the invention of a single mind. Various councils in the twelfth century grew more inquisitorial, and the custom of burning heretics alive was matured.* "In this year (1183) many heretics were burnt alive in Flanders." That same year

* St. Bernard was not quite alone in protesting against it. Eager as Henry II, of England, was to prevent Becket's party from charging him with leniency to heresy, he would not allow the Publicani at Oxford, about 1160, to be put to death. (See Note I, 3.) His dominions included all the west part of the present France, and the sectaries were very numerous in Gascony and Guyenne. "More than a thousand towns full of them," and no king to burn them! The Abbess St. Hildegard, an oracle along the Rhine (1180), urged that heretics be deprived of almost every thing save life, but "do not kill them, as they are God's image." Peter Cantor, of Paris (1190), condemned the execution of heretics, and the use of ordeals for trying them. He was bold enough to publish that the Word of God contains all that is necessary for salvation.

Pope Lucius III gave instructions which foreshadowed the Inquisition. One of the heresies of the time was the republicanism of the Italian cities; it had been kindled in Rome by Arnold of Brescia* (hanged and burnt, 1155), and it drove Lucius from the holy city, a wanderer in towns and refugee in castles, vainly hoping for restoration by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, "the Xerxes of the Middle Ages." The pope relieved his own mind by issuing curses upon all unlicensed preachers, and all who differed from the Roman Church in doctrine or practice. Even the friends of dissenters were put under malediction. "All the abettors of heretics shall be branded with perpetual infamy, and excluded from being advocates or witnesses, and from discharging any public offices." After the Church had done her worst, the heretic and his friend were to be delivered over to the secular arm for complete punishment. The want of an organized agency to do the work of both Church and state, secretly and effectively, was supplied by the Inquisition, which soon found victims among the dissenters at Toulouse.

4. Among the purer Albigenses were the *Arnoldists*, probably named from Arnold Hott. In a public discussion at Montreal, 1206, he maintained doctrines like those of the Henricians.

It was a time when French history is monotonous with immoralities. The reforms of Abbé Suger, the statesman (1122-52), were not lasting. The public morals were not improved by Philip II, nor by the papal interdict laid upon all France, in 1200, for his sins.† The people had no religious privileges for eight months. The entire dissenting movement in Southern France had not the positive elements of a reform; but was there any thing better in papal interdicts? Surely the defects of the Albigenses make a poor excuse for the destruction of that people. Van Laun says that their country "did not escape the general contagion of immorality; but we can at least claim that it was less corrupt than the rest of France. The troubadours refined and attenuated vice; they covered it

*Note VI to Chapter XIII.

†Interdict, a papal mode of excommunicating a town, or even a kingdom, until it should submit to certain terms. While under this ban public worship was suspended, the churches were closed, and often the priests must not officiate at funerals. If marriages were allowed they must be celebrated in a grave-yard. This was one of the terrible engines of the papacy to secure its supremacy.

with a delicate fretwork of etiquette; but they repudiated brutality. . . . The evils of vice, as of war, singed but did not blacken them." Both troubadour and Henrician, so free, so outspoken against all tyranny, so keen in satire of the papalized clergy and monks, found protectors in the nobles. Nearly all the southern barons gave kindly shelter to the gay singers and the bold preachers. A sad doom awaited them all.

Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) represents an epoch in which unusual efforts were made to exterminate dissent, exalt the papacy, and subject the European nations to Rome. One who knew him described him as a man of clear intellect and varied learning; a fine talker among lawyers; "sang songs and psalms well; preserved the mean between prodigality and avarice; liberal to the really needy; severe towards the rebellious and contumacious; brave, magnanimous, and astute; a defender of the faith, an assailant of heresy; in justice rigid, in mercy pious; somewhat quick in anger, but ready in forgiveness." This artificial eulogy is marred by Matthew Paris, who knew England's oppressors, and wrote that Innocent was "beyond all other men ambitious and proud, an insatiable thirster after money, ready and apt to commit any crime for a reward?" Most certainly his zeal against heresy was intense. Bands of dissenters in the remotest corners were sure to be found. Religious persecution assumed new forms. The Age of Innocent was one of terror to all liberty of thought and worship; he lived to assert that the papacy was the sun, and national kingship was the moon, to the whole system of affairs on earth. He was Hildebrand intensified. Outside of Germany the chief planet that did not revolve properly about him was Toulouse, with its secular Count Raymond and his religious subjects, the Albigenses, who were accused of being gross Manicheans. He could enjoy the songs of Raymond's merry troubadours, but the hymns of Albi's heretics must cease. The famous Dominic and his Spanish band were preaching with zeal, and trying to charm people by their signs of poverty, but with slow gains. "Words avail nothing." Bishop Fulco, once a famous troubadour, grew fierce against heresy, when he saw that one count had a Waldensian wife, two sisters of like faith, and nobles to sympathize with him in

his detestation of the clergy. Count Raymond was lax in morals. When he and his nobles read the pope's letter requiring them to persecute the heretics, their reply was, "We have always lived with them, and we know that they are honest neighbors." Peter, of Castelnau, the learned papal legate (1204), labored four years to get all the machinery in order, and excommunicated Raymond for his want of exterminating zeal. The legate was stabbed by a stranger and died, saying, "God forgive thee, as I forgive thee." Raymond was charged (doubtless wrongly) with the murder, and it finally cost him his possessions. It served as a pretext to series of atrocious crusades, extending through thirty years. Heaven was promised to all who should fall in the wars upon the Albigenses. The enterprise was thought to be all the more meritorious, as the heretic Raymond was in worse spiritual condition than the Saracen infidels.*

Simon de Montfort led the crusading army. The poor people—Petrobrussians, Henricians, and Albigensians of all sorts—fled in droves to the stronger towns. The siege of Beziers, in 1209, was one of the most horrible. The walls were broken through, and the soldiers began their work. An officer asked Arnold, the abbot of Citeaux and papal legate, "How shall we know Catholics from heretics?" The reply was, "Slay them all; the Lord knoweth them that are his!" Not a living soul was spared. The bells of the cathedral rang till the massacre of twenty thousand people or more was ended, and the pillage completed. Then the city was reduced to ashes. Thus went on the war. New armies of one hundred thousand men marched into it. King Louis VIII led into it, perhaps, twice that number. "The swarming misbelievers of Provence were almost literally drowned in blood." The younger Count Raymond, forced for a time into the crusade, was reduced to a private citizen, and that by a Lateran Council which made Montfort the sovereign of nearly all the counties he had conquered. This was the way the papal sun gave its light and attraction to France. Both troubadour and heretic should breathe no more in her dominions. The ethics of a synod were, "We are not

* "Innocent III was the soul of this war, Dominic was its apostle, Count Raymond the victim, and Simon, Earl of Montfort, the military chief." (Henault.)

to keep faith with those who do not keep faith with God.* Heresy is the murder of the soul." Those who escaped the crusader were more secretly destroyed by the Inquisition, now quite nearly perfected by St. Dominic. It was permanently established by the Council of Toulouse in 1229, as "the Tribunal for noting and exterminating all kinds of heretical pravity." No legalized institution has ever done more to crush intellectual and religious liberty, or added more to the unspoken miseries of the human race. Every layman daring to possess a Bible, now first forbidden to the laity by this Council, was in peril of the rack, the dungeon, and the stake. The history of the Church in Spain, for six hundred and fifty years, is mainly that of the Inquisition and its destruction of human life.

A more sensible measure against heresy was the founding of the University of Toulouse, 1229, but the pope forbade the students to use the Romance language, for it was identified with heretical opinions. Thus he contributed to the decline of the literature of the troubadours, and the prevention of dissent. Romanism could not trust the native speech of the people.

II. PETER WALDO AND POOR-MEN OF LYONS.

Peter Waldo (de Vaud), a rich merchant of Lyons, saw one of his fellow-citizens fall dead at an entertainment. Under serious impressions he wished to understand the Gospels which he had been accustomed to hear read in the Latin services of the Church. He employed two men to translate portions of the Bible, and extracts from the Fathers, into the popular language (1160), thus forming a little book for the people.

*The rules collected and sanctioned by Pope Gregory XIII (1578), permit all sorts of persons, even the most infamous, to testify against the accused. "Heretics, too, may give evidence, but only against the culprit is it valid, never in his favor. This provision is most prudent, nay most just; for, since the heretic has broken faith towards his God, no one ought to take his word. . . . The criminal must not see the witnesses, nor know who they are." Other rules amount to this: Deceive the accused; make him think that you know all about his errors; draw him into confidential disclosures or utterances prompted by hopes and fears; repeatedly examine him so that he may contradict himself; "when his answers are confused, the doctors agree that you may put him to the torture. This method is almost sure to succeed; and he must be clever indeed who does not fall into the snare. . . . As it is lawful to extort the truth by torture, it must be lawful, *a fortiori*, to do it by dissimulation (*verbis fictis*). . . . All the laws agree that a heretic has no right to appeal."

Copies were made and circulated. He gave much of his wealth to the poor, and himself to the work of his Lord. He began his lay-preaching in the streets of Lyons and in the neighboring villages. He had no aim to separate from the Church, but to revive and restore apostolic purity, piety, genial society, good order, and the rights of the people. Laymen of kindred spirit joined him.* They were the public Bible readers, men and women of that age. They met a popular want among the hungry multitudes, for, after all, the people were better at heart than the priests. They went out two by two, without pilgrim's staff or monk's wallet, and they won the names of Humiliati, Poor-men, Leonists, Sandal-wearers. They drew much people after them. They knew how to impart their Scriptural knowledge, and it grew richer and deeper.

The clergy were angry at the exposures of their own ignorance, idleness, and immorality. They had lost the spirit of Irenæus and Agobard. The archbishop, neither teaching the Bible nor willing that others should do it, excommunicated these new teachers, and expelled them from his diocese. Peter appealed to Rome, and sent two men to lay specimens of their translations before Pope Alexander III (1179), and ask his sanction upon their labors. Walter Mapes, of Oxford, was appointed one of a committee to examine these versions. He says the examiners laughed merrily over the simplicity and the lack of technical terms displayed by men who knew more of Christianity than of scholastic theology, more of true faith and hearty love than of mechanical logic. The pope did not give his sanction, for this would offend the clergy; and yet the Lateran Council, then sitting, did not place these Poor-men of Lyons among the heretics whom they were busily condemning. Five years later Pope Lucius put them under anathema, not so much for heresy as for irregularity as lay-teachers. Waldo was driven forth as a wanderer in France, Italy, and Bohemia, where he died (1197). His followers were widely scattered, northward up the Rhine, westward through France and across the Pyrenees, and eastward as far as Prague. In 1210 Innocent III invited them to reunite with the Church, but they went on independent and earnest in their work. They became allied to the Waldenses, and in certain countries of the South

* Note II.

they had more schools than the Catholics. Their preachers held public debates with the Roman clergy. But their forces were not unified, and they gradually disappeared or were absorbed in other dissenting bodies.

III. THE WALDENSES.

These were at first not a sect, but the Christians of the valleys, the Walds of Piedmont.* They appear as a united body, separate from the general Church, as early as 1198, when James, Bishop of Turin, employed forcible measures against them. Volumes have been written upon their antiquity. Whether or not their "Noble Lesson" carries in one of its lines the date of 1100, they seem to be a distinct people from the Albigenses and from Peter Waldo and his followers. We should be happy to find the clear proofs of "their unbroken succession as an organized Church backwards from the twelfth century to the comparatively purer Church of the early ages;" not for the sake of any theory about ecclesiastical succession, but for the historical facts. Many of their later writers and advocates claim Vigilantius, Ambrose of Milan, and Claudius of Turin, as representing their spiritual fathers. When persecution brought them to the light of the world, they had the Bible, loved it, and studied it; they had lay-teachers, and ordained presbyters; they had no prelatie bishops; they had quite a definite creed expressed in Scriptural terms; they were strongly opposed to the entire system of Rome; they declared the pope to be Antichrist, and the Church ritual to be folly; they refused confession to priests, penances, the abuses connected with the only two divine sacraments, and nearly all the Roman rites; and it is hardly too much to say, "that no candid reader of the creeds, confessions, and other public documents which they have left, can hesitate to conclude that their leading opinions were very nearly the same with those which were afterwards entertained by Luther, Calvin, and other Reformers, so that they fell in very readily with the Church of Geneva in the sixteenth century."

The Reformers found them to be in little need of a reformation. Ten years before Luther's voice was clearly

* Vallis, Val, gives *Vallenses*; its plural Vaux, gives *Vandois*; the German Wald, gives *Waldenses*.

heard, they sent a defense to Ladislaus, King of Bohemia (1508), repelling various calumnies; this one, among others, that they denied infant baptism. "True it is," say they, "that being for some hundreds of years constrained to suffer our children to be baptized by the Roman priests, we deferred the doing of it as long as possible, because we detested the human inventions annexed to the institution of that holy sacrament, which we looked upon as pollutions of it. And by reason that our pastors, whom we call barbes, are often in travels abroad for the service of the Church, we could not have baptism administered to our children by our own ministers; we therefore sometimes kept them long without baptism, upon which delay the priests have charged us with that reproach."

They may have had no versions of the Bible in their Roman language before Peter Waldo's little book appeared, but they kept its truths in their own vernacular. Their barbes (*uncles, pastors*) were trained by committing to memory the Holy Scriptures in times of rest from toil. They had no liberal arts, no classical studies; all they knew came from the Bible and their common sense. Their quiet, modest manners, and their strict morality, drew praise from their enemies. They were zealous teachers. A poor Waldensian used to swim across a river in wintery nights, to reach a Roman Catholic whom he wished to convert. Of course, they sometimes blundered in their interpretation of Scripture, but surely not worse than the priests. They went abroad as peddlers, and employed ingenious methods to introduce their doctrines, or copies of Scriptural books, as the best of jewels. Bands of them seem to have roamed widely through Europe; and, after persecution led some of them to colonize in various lands, it is said that a traveler from Antwerp to Florence could lodge every night with some Waldensian brother or sympathizer.

The first combined force brought against them was in 1209, when they were between the fires of Rome and Germany. But as neither pope nor emperor wanted a desolating crusade so near at hand, to give one an advantage over the other, they were not so inhumanly butchered at once as were the Albigenses. The wars upon them were local, and of long duration; the massacres ran on in woeful monotony; but nowhere was heroism more brilliant, nor patience more saintly. In 1472

Yolande, the sister of Louis XI, began that long warfare upon them waged by the dukes of Savoy. Inquisitors had been at work for two centuries with all their horrid enginery; and still five hundred pastors and elders could hold synods in the Valley of Angrogna. The Vaudois made the best weapons and armor they could. When driven to the heights of San Giovanni, the brave men and their families, behind the rocks, prayed, "O Lord, help us, save us!" They were heard by the Black Mondovi, as he clambered the high Alp, step by step, and he shouted, with a laugh: "My fellows are coming to answer your prayers. You shall be saved with a vengeance." Young Peter Revel let fly an arrow, which sent this new Goliath reeling down the ledge, dead at the feet of his followers. They fled, panic-stricken, and the Waldenses rolled rocks after them, to the utter dismay of the enemy. Their prayer was answered. After similar defeats the duke withdrew his troops, sent home the papal legate, and met representatives of the Vaudois Churches at Pignerol. The duke looked carefully at their children. "Is it possible that these are the children of the heretics?" he exclaimed; for priests had said they were born with black throats and goat's feet. "How charming they are! The prettiest I ever saw!" His heart was mellowed. His treaty of peace closed the first military persecution of the men in that valley. But in 1488 the whole population of Val Louise was slaughtered. Other French valleys were harried for ten years more, when Louis XII came into power. He thought it wise to send commissioners to learn what these people did believe and practice. They visited the hamlets and towns. At an inn one of them said, "Would to God that I were as good a Christian as the worst of these people!" The Bishop of Embrun heard it, and opposed peace, saying, "The commissioners praise the heretics." But Louis gave ear to their report, and said, "They are, indeed, better men than we are." The Waldensians were spared. It was this king who struck the medal, *Perdam Babilonis nomen*—I will destroy Babylon. And Rome has not yet canonized him!

IV. THE BIBLE READERS AT METZ.

It was an age when the Word of God was generally neglected. The men who knew most of it complained that it was

comparatively thrust into the background. It was rarely translated. But wherever parts of it were rendered into popular language we see a people rejoicing in the light. A striking instance is found at Metz, on the Moselle. Some Poor-men of Lyons, or Waldenses, brought there certain books of the Bible in the French language. Men and women eagerly read them. They formed Bible-reading societies; these may be the schools of which more than forty are reported at Metz and other cities on the German side of the Rhine. The priests tried to stop their meetings; but the members said, "God meant his Word for the people of every class. These books teach us far more than you ever do. We can not give them up." The bishop reported them to the pope; but Innocent III was well aware that the study of Holy Scripture by the laity was neither wrong nor injurious. He replied (1199), in substance: "The desire to know the Word of God is praiseworthy, for this Word is the food and medicine of the soul. I am rejoiced, as well as surprised, to learn that the Bible has found its way among the laity, and that it nourishes their piety; provided that the order of the Church is not disturbed. I suppose that few can elevate themselves to this lofty stage; most people must be content with union to Christ by means of visible things, such as the eucharist." To the bishop he wrote: "While you show no tolerance of heresy, be careful not to injure a pious simplicity, lest the simple become heretics. Be extremely cautious lest, in rooting up tares, you destroy the wheat." To the people he said: "It is not proper for you to hold your meetings in private, nor to act as preachers, nor to ridicule the priests. Remember that men must have a special training before they can understand the deep things of Holy Scripture. The priests are trained for this purpose. Listen to them. Respect even the most ignorant of them. Beware of thinking that you alone are correct, and despising those who do not join you." Then he threatened them with severity if they did not heed his paternal advice. Thus he laid down the doctrine which Romanists have ever since taught—It is very well for you to know the Bible, but your priest must teach it to you in what manner and measure he pleases! The priests were in the way of popular knowledge.

The result was that Cistercian abbots were sent to Metz to

suppress this Bible-reading. The truth-seeking laymen, in their "pious simplicity" had found out too many priestly errors for the comfort of the priests. They persisted in holding their meetings. They refused to give up their books, or to obey the pope's orders. They were called Waldensians, as if that were a hard name. Force was applied to them. They were routed; their versions were burnt, so far as possible; their opinions rooted out. The priests of Metz breathed freely again, and went on in their old ways of ignorance, idleness, and vicious selfishness. Like cases seem to have occurred at Auxerre, and various towns in France, until the Council of Toulouse, in 1229, forbade the laity to possess the books of the Old and New Testaments in any language, and even popular versions of the Psalter, the Breviary, and the Hours of the Blessed Mary. Special condemnation was hurled at the Scriptures sent forth by Peter Waldo, in the Romance tongue; these must be burnt. In 1246, at Beziers, the old Albigenian town, laymen were forbidden to have any theological books, even in Latin, while clergy and laity were alike forbidden to have them in their mother-tongue! Nevertheless, some parts of the Bible were newly translated into Italian and Spanish, and a sort of "French Bible," or Compend of Biblical History, by Peter Comestor, was put forth in the time of Charles the Wise (1370), the founder of the royal library at Paris. But no book so charmed the people as the Bible, when it came in some intelligible form; and they made immensely popular the Ormulum, or versified Gospel (1240), and the "Miracle Plays," in which were awkwardly dramatized such Biblical themes as the infancy and the crucifixion of our Lord. The Saxon nun, Roswitha, is famous for this sort of literature. Luther said that they were often better than the sermons of the mediæval clergy. They gave way to the Bible when it was published in every man's mother-tongue.

An Italian deserves mention for his activity and good doctrine. About 1170 Raymond Palmaris, a thriving artisan of Placentia, with a family, studied the Scriptures, and used his knowledge in promoting the salvation of the neglected people. On Sundays and holidays he opened his workshop to his fellow-laborers, and talked to them of practical Christianity. So many came from all quarters to hear him, that he

was urged to preach in the streets and the market-place. "No," said he, "only the priests and the learned should preach so publicly; an uneducated man like myself might easily fall into mistakes." After the death of his wife, he provided for his only remaining child, assumed the garb of a monk, and made a pilgrimage; but in a dream he thought he heard the voice of Christ saying: "Roam no more about the world. Go back to thy native Placentia, where there are so many poor, widowed, sick, and contentious people; act benevolently, heal quarrels, and restore the wandering to the good way." He returned, opened charitable houses for needy men and women, visited prisons, took outcast children in his arms and found them a home, hushed the strife of factions, and appealed to the love of Him who gave his life for the salvation of the lost. Thus laboring for twenty-two years, he cheerfully looked forward to death, testifying that he put no trust in his own merits, but confided solely in the merits of Christ.

V. THE ENGLISH AND IRISH CHURCHES.

After Anselm, the next great churchman in England was Thomas à Becket (1118-70), son of the Mayor of London,* a student of men, the world, and policy rather than books; a gay young man, and the confidant of King Henry II (1154-89), who made him Chancellor of State. "They have but one heart and mind," said primate Theobald. But when Thomas was overloaded with honors and riches, his king made him Archbishop of Canterbury. "You will soon hate me as much as you now love me," said Becket, "for you assume an authority over the Church to which I shall never assent." He threw up the office of chancellor, and that enraged Henry. He trained himself to an outward piety, and was ready for the great coming question. Henry was to represent the civil power, Becket the ecclesiastical, and all Europe to look on the hot strife. Passing over their quarrels about taxes and revenues, I notice: (1) The question of jurisdiction. Some clerics committed notorious crimes. Becket claimed that his ecclesiastical courts, and no

*Lord Campbell, with others, lays stress on Becket's alleged Saxon birth and championship of the Anglo-Saxon interests in the war of races. Freeman asserts that "this is a mere dream," which Thierry made romantic; that Becket was of Norman birth, and that by his time the conflict of races had virtually ceased.

other, must punish them. Henry asserted that they were violators of the civil law, and must be punished by the civil courts. This and other grievances led to (2) the Constitutions of Clarendon, which placed the Church almost entirely under the civil power. (3) Becket saw that this was a revolt against papal ideas, and he went over to the papal side. He appealed to Rome, and was six years in exile. (4) His return was hailed with joy by the English rather than by the Norman element (1170); but he had not labored a year to exercise the power with which the pope had armed him for deposing Henry's bishops, when he was murdered in his own cathedral. He committed his soul and the Church "to God and St. Mary!" In horror of this crime many said that it was the blackest since the crucifixion! Becket's tomb became the rival of the Holy Sepulcher for pilgrimages and supposed miracles. Henry was at last willing to do hard penance there for the murder, and thus secure peace to his conscience, and with the pope.

There is another side to Henry's connection with the papacy. He opposed its supremacy in England, but helped to rivet it upon Ireland. We saw the Irish Church afflicted by the Northmen. The Celtic Church and schools were greatly revived after the battle of Clontarf (1014), where the aged king, Brian Boru, died in the arms of victory. If the Irish had Christianized the defeated Northmen, the independence of their Church might have been longer preserved. But the Norse settlers received missionaries from the lands of their kindred. Glad to see the Normans in England, they sent their bishops to be consecrated at Canterbury. They had three bishops in their chief cities, Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. Thus they were on the way to Rome, with no speedy following by the native Irish. About 1084 Gregory VII sent a letter to the king, clergy, and laity of Ireland, inviting them to acknowledge his supremacy over them, but it seems to have had no effect. Nor did they adopt clerical celibacy, nor reduce the number of their bishops—one for nearly every church and convent—nor modify their old presbyterial, or synodical, polity, at the earnest request of Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury. It seems that Anselm induced the pope to commission the first papal legate ever known in Ireland. This was Gilbert, perhaps an Ostman reared at Bangor, a pupil or friend of Anselm at Bec, and now the

active bishop of Limerick. By this time Irish pilgrims had seen wonders in Rome: had admired pictures, statues, Gregorian chants, splendid churches, and the Lateran palace, whose abominations were shrewdly concealed from their uncultured eyes; and they had nurtured a desire for the alliance of their Church with "the center of unity." The legate was favorably received. He presided at the Synod of Rathbreasail, 1110, where sat King O'Brien and his southern nobles, with nearly sixty bishops, three hundred priests, and monks uncounted. The north half of Ireland seems to have had but one representative. The result was that Ireland was to be laid out into prelatic dioceses, and the worship conformed to the Roman model. This synod marks the transition of the Irish Church from presbyterial to diocesan episcopacy. "What was worse," says Killen, "the Irish were placed under the dominion of the pope, who quickly taught them to know the bitterness of an iron despotism."

The Romanizing policy met with no little opposition. It was rendered more popular by one of the most remarkable men in the history of Ireland—Malachy, the son of a married clergyman and theological lecturer in the monastery at Armagh. He was born about 1095, and well educated. Often at Clairvaux, he charmed St. Bernard, who wrote his life, saying that this genial Celt was no more injured by the barbarism of his island than fishes are by the salt of the sea. At first he felt that he was preaching, not to men but to beasts, so shameless were they in manners, savage in their clan-fights, and unwilling to obey laws or Gospel. But as he went about, on foot, "distributing even to the ungrateful the measure of heavenly wheat, their barbarism was stilled, their hardness ceased; the Roman laws were introduced, the customs of the Church every-where received, churches built, and clergy ordained in them." The picture is overdrawn, but Malachy was, doubtless, a civilizer. As Archbishop of Armagh he toiled to bring the old parish bishops under the prelatic system. Bernard's order of monks soon flourished in the green Isle. Culdeism went out, and had this compliment from Bernard, that before his Cistercians entered, Ireland had never seen a monk!*

*One might think Ireland had not yet become enthusiastic for Mary, if Petrie and O'Donovan correctly infer "that there is not a single church to be found in Ireland dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, of an earlier age than the twelfth century."

And still the ancient Isle of Saints was not sufficiently conformed to Rome. Its schools had once drawn princes from other lands. It had sent scores of missionaries and not a few literary men and philosophers over Europe. But now Hadrian IV—Breakspeare, the only Englishman ever raised to the papal chair—describes it as a land of darkness, “nurseries of vice,” and in need of the crusading type of missions. Perhaps he wished to find some excuse for granting to Henry II and his then chancellor, Becket, a charter for the invasion of Ireland. This was one of Henry’s earliest schemes, and for the virtual purchase of the papal sanction he offered to pay from each Irish house a yearly tribute of one penny (then about sixty cents of our money) to St. Peter. In his bull, 1155, this English pope approved of the “pious and laudable design,” and held it to be good “for extending the borders of the Church.” So the English king was papally commissioned “to reduce the people to obedience to laws, and extirpate the nurseries of vice;” to bring Ireland under “the jurisdiction of St. Peter,” and “teach the Christian faith to the ignorant and rude.” And thus “you may be entitled to the fullness of eternal reward in God, and obtain a glorious renown on earth throughout all ages.”*

Young Henry waited nearly sixteen years for this “glorious renown,” for the English barons manfully opposed the infamous crusade, and vexing affairs pressed on him. The fact that Dermot, a worthless, savage, deposed and exiled King of Leinster, paid homage to him and asked help to put down some Irish clans, opened the gate for some English adventurers to win, by their swords and by marriages, large domains in Ireland. In 1171 Henry went over with a strong army. Resistance was hopeless; one chief after another hastened to do him homage. The clergy regarded the conquest as a judgment for the sins of the people, especially for their old habits of piracy and enslaving persons of English birth. It seems that the prelates consigned and chartered the kingdom to Henry and his heirs forever. They doubtless knew of Hadrian’s bull, and

*“No wonder that Roman Catholic authors are ashamed of this document,” says Killen (*Eccl. Hist. Ireland*, I, 212), who has cited abundant proofs of its genuineness. Malone says, “Hadrian IV, who authorized the invasion of Henry II, *was choked*” (he died of quinsy). The schoolman, John of Salisbury, obtained the bull, and recorded the fact in his *Metalogicus*.

certainly read it in 1175, when it was published with the confirmation of Pope Alexander III, who wished the king and the Irish to believe that "the Roman Church has, by right, authority over islands different from what she possesses over the main-land of the Continent." Thus the Isle and the Church of St. Patrick began their long submission to English kings and Roman popes. Both politically and ecclesiastically she was "like a man badly wounded by an enemy, and then left to linger out a wretched existence." Native chieftains in the center and west still ruled their clans by the old Brehon law. The eastern coast became "the English Pale," and even there the colonists were *Erinized*. In the long run of anarchy, the only real conqueror was Rome, whose prelates were more intent upon thorough work than the English viceroy. If Ireland had been left more free, or had come more fully under English rule, there might have been two blissful results: a more unified nation, and a less papalized Church. Yet we shall hear the voice of an Irish primate, Richard Fitzralph, ringing at Oxford, where John Wyclif will hear it and take courage.

VI. ENGLISH REFORMERS BEFORE WYCLIF.

If the chivalrous crusader, Richard I (1189-99), were less in romance he might be greater in history. The moral of his public life is, that brilliant service far away can never atone for the neglect of duties at home. England would have been the gainer if he had been less a wonder to Christendom, and more of a statesman to his people; saved them from the taxation which always kindles thought in the tax-payer; and tried hard to instill into the rank soul of his brother John some notion of moral character. Men and women, who had been proud of the lion-hearted Richard, were filled with shame by the lusts of King John. Yet his reign of nearly seventeen years (1199-1216) is marked by flashes of his own abilities, and by a great victory of churchmen and barons.

By misrule John lost Normandy, and this loss was a real gain to England. Her races fused more readily, her old language rang out more clearly, her nationality was pruned, her Church was less trammelled by Continental ties. But suddenly John threw both nation and Church into the hands of Innocent III, and his king-craft was no match for the diplomacy of this

greatest of popes. In 1206 John put his counselor, John de Grey, into the primacy of Canterbury. The bishops and monks were angry about it, for they were not allowed the right of election. They appealed to Rome. The pope took his time, willing that the contending parties should worry each other into obedience to him. The next year he decided, what required no slow infallibility, that the clergy and monks were the proper electors. Their proctors were at Rome, and he urged them to elect their countrymen, Cardinal Stephen Langton, thus doing England a nobler service than he intended. They chose him, and the pope assumed to consecrate him archbishop. John was asked by the holy father to admit him. But John was furious; he raved, blustered, refused all new entreaties, and declared that he would make his realm independent of "the center of unity." He fell upon the monks of Canterbury, took away their lands, drove them off to foreign convents. He was coolly told by the pope that an interdict was coming if he did not listen to the bishops who were sent to admonish him. He burst into another rage, turned them out of doors, and uttered threats against all messengers from the Roman court.

During the Lent of 1208 an interdict was declared. Religious services, even the mass and the ritual over the dead,* must cease in England, until Langton should be received as archbishop. John resisted it with something of his father's energy. He banished the higher clergy, who cared less for the people than for the pope; one bishop remained, not bravely to minister truth and sacraments, but servilely to attend the king and plot mischief. The Cistercians went to the poor with the consolations of religion until the pope compelled them to refrain. It was not possible to enforce the interdict in all its rigor, for the nobles protected some of the lower clergy and monks in their religious services. When excommunicated and even deposed by the pope, John would not let the bishops enter England to pronounce the anathema. In 1210 Innocent absolved all English subjects from obedience to their king, and it is said that John sought an alliance with the Mohammedans of Africa to demolish the papacy. Two years later the pope invited King

* "As for preaching of sermons, the laziness and ignorance of those times had long before interdicted them." (Fuller.) Scotland was under an interdict in 1217-18, thus sharing in the papal oppression over nearly all Western Europe.

Philip of France, whom an interdict had brought into submission, to make a crusade upon England. Preparations were made for it, but John's vast army and fleet warded off the danger. We have some gauges of the papal mastery in the strange facts, that the powerful Philip resisted an interdict but seven months, while "the pusillanimous and unpopular John," with the western nations against him, held out against a like pressure for nearly six years.

At length diplomacy did its work. John won to him the barons of Poitou, gained the Count of Flanders, enlisted his nephew, Otho, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, now under papal ban, and dreamed of a vast confederation which would teach Philip the logic of a crusade. To conquer he must have peace with Innocent. He met the Roman legate near Dover. He let Pandulf lift and then replace his crown. He swore fealty to the pope. He would be the pope's vassal. He gave to Langton the chair at Canterbury. He restored the exiled bishops and monks to their places and properties. He seemed mighty in his own eyes, but mean in the sight of his people, who murmured, "He has become the pope's man; the free king takes the level of a serf."

Thus the papacy reached its climax in England. What brought it down to a far lower step? John's army and allies were defeated in Flanders.* He was beaten in Poitou. His grand league was dissolved. He returned home to find the barons, who would not serve in his foreign campaign, openly demanding a constitution with guaranties of liberty and law. And the clergy, seeing his dangerous power, forsook the crown and went over to the baronial party. The Church and the Nobles were now united against the king. At their head was Stephen Langton, whom Innocent himself had long battled to place over them, not dreaming of the grand result. Never did pontiff more completely outwit himself. The pope had said, "He is an Englishman, honest, very wise, fine-looking, faultless in morals, every way fit to govern the English Church." As

* "It is to the victory of Bouvines that England owes her great charter. From the hour of his submission to the papacy John's vengeance on the barons had only been delayed till he should return a conqueror from the fields of France. A sense of their danger nerved the nobles to resistance." (Green, Short Hist. Eng. People.)

chancellor of Paris he knew good law; as cardinal he could fathom the papal designs; as archbishop he saw what the Anglican Church needed; as an admirer of Becket he was not afraid of a king; with Anselm as his model he hoped to maintain the power of "the bishop of bishops" within ecclesiastical limits; and as a patriot he had the Saxon love of freedom, along with the Norman culture and tact. He was the clear-headed champion of national rights. Churchmen as he was, he sought to break John's vassalage to the pope. As a statesman he wished to save the king, but bring him to terms, so that true royalty might deserve true loyalty. He spoke for the barons in their conferences with the king, and one good day's work—June 15, 1215—at Runnymede, resulted in the *Magna Charta*, to which patriots and churchmen have since looked as the first clearly announced basis of English liberty. It set forth that "the Church of England shall be free, and shall have her rights entire and her liberties uninjured." It restored, so far as words could do it, the old Saxon habit of national self-government.

Innocent urged "our dearest son in Christ, the illustrious King John," to stop all this, but John had already exclaimed, in his wrath at defeats, that since his reconciliation with God and the pope every thing had gone ill with him. "They have given me four-and-twenty over-kings," said he, and he raved on till death. Innocent, swearing by St. Peter, pelted the barons with anathemas, which were "a fright to few, a mock to many, and a hurt to none." He sent out a bull to annul the great charter; released all men from it; suspended Langton and censured the bold man, when he appeared at Rome, for not heeding the suspension; laid an interdict upon London, but soon died (1216), without the sight of English vassalage to him.

For twelve more years Langton gave to the Church and Charter his public energies.* He with the civil ministry stopped the granting of English benefices to foreigners. But when he was gone the battle for liberty went hard. During the long and

* Among his writings are some commentaries. He is credited with the division of the Bible into chapters, which he made simply as marks of his reading on his journeys. This is also attributed to Cardinal Hugo St. Claro (1260), who edited the Vulgate and made a Concordance of its words; the first concordance having been attempted by Antony of Padua (1230), so famous for preaching to the fishes at Rimini. The fishes are said to have spoken and nodded assent to his sermons, and by this miracle many heretics were converted.

stormy reign of Henry III (1216-73), the learning of Roger Bacon ought to have had freer course; the patriotism of the devout primate, Edmund Rich, a man of the Anselmic type, deserved a better success; the royal oaths to Charter and Church ought to have barred England against papal legates and swarms of foreign priests and monks; and a clamorous people ought to have been heard in the cry for their rights. Good men were sent from the helm of state; the crew seemed wilder than the winds; yet beneath the waves the heavy groundswell was carrying the ship to the headlands, where such deliverers as Grossetete, Simon Montfort, and the royal Edwards would save her from wreck. Public disorders could not stay the advance of a party in learning, reforms, independence, constitutional law, and theology.

This powerful movement began as early as 1224, when the English Church was so debased that the Gray Friars of Francis, and the Black Friars of Dominic, came as actual reformers. It is touching to read of their landing at Dover, getting lost in the woods on their way to London and Oxford, being taken for jugglers at a convent and turned away, lodging under a tree and seeking cheap places to live in the towns. The older monks had begun in the country; the friars wisely began in the towns and cities. They were then the friends of the people. None else cared so much for the poor. They lodged in hovels, garrets, decayed synagogues, butcher-shops, and huddled together in Winter to keep warm. Many of them had been trained in the universities of France and Italy. They began their work in lazar-houses and pestilential alleys; they pushed it into the universities, got into professors' chairs, and ranked among the schoolmen. Soon there were (1) friars of both orders, (2) regular clergy of Dunstan's kind, and (3) secular clergy, some of them married, all in jealousy of each other, and struggling for pre-eminence.

The Gray Friars not only began to teach at Oxford in a little room, but they were eager to learn. They requested Robert Grossetete, the finest of scholars, to lecture to them, and teach them "the subtleties suitable for preaching." He struck away from the dry "Sentences" of Peter Lombard into Holy Scripture. Their provincial-general went in to see how things were progressing. He was astounded to find them dis-

cussing, "Whether there is a God?" and he exclaimed, "Alas, simple brethren are penetrating the heavens, and the learned dispute whether God exists!" It was well for them to know the reality of that truth and preach it from conviction. They were in the hands of "the holy Bishop Robert," perhaps the brightest character, and the best theologian in England; the man who began life as a peasant's son, caused men to wonder at him as the great-head (*grossetete*), became a friar, and persuaded Roger Bacon to be a Franciscan, for thus weight might be given to his projected reforms. If these friars could reverse the decayed style of monasticism, restore preaching, and tell the herds of ignorant people the way of personal salvation, they would help to purify the Church, and benefit all society, for they came as spiritual and physical sanitarians. This Franciscan school of Grossetete at Oxford grew famous, and educated professors for Lyons, Cologne, and Paris.

The influence of Robert Grossetete (1175-1253) is seen in personal piety, sterling worth, high scholarship, knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, various writings, pastoral care, patriotism, and measures for the good of the nation and the Church. He was long quoted as an oracle. As a reformer he had the ideas of his time, and not fully those of the sixteenth century. The University of Oxford was elevated in its moral and literary tone. It stood out against papal exactions. The friars made it more practical and popular. In 1235 Robert became Bishop of Lincoln, then a large and influential diocese, and somewhat reformed by bishop "Hugh the Great," the uncompromising foe of immorality and the laziness of the monks. England had no other prelate so zealous for reform, even so long as he favored the papal side of English affairs. He greatly repressed the secular clergy, because they were corrupt, ignorant, selfish, gamblers at taverns rather than exemplary pastors. His error, and that of other bishops, was in giving too broad range to the friars, who did not always wait for episcopal sanction. They invaded parishes. They raised a laugh at the secular clergy. They showed the license from the pope. They held short, lively, more attractive services; they preached, administered sacraments, directed consciences, took gifts, got legacies from the dying. They were not slow in degenerating. The fine horses and fashion-

able boots of some mendicants, were soon equal to those of the fox-hunting clergy. Others had a more refined ambition. They were skillful teachers. They sat learnedly in the chairs of the universities. Their lectures were fresher than the platitudes of the scholastics. Grossetete lived to regret the change that came over the preaching friars.

The good bishop saw two enormities: The export of tithes, now *demandé* (not requested as formerly) by the pope; and the importation of monks and priests from the lounging places of Italy. With all his might he resisted these evils, and well defended his diocese from them.* The barons said, "These Italians draw from our Church sixty thousand marks annually, a sum greater than the ordinary revenues of the crown, and immense sums are sent by us to Rome." The good bishop grew warm and prophetic, saying, substantially, in a sermon, "To follow a pope who rebels against the will of Christ is to separate from Christ; it is schism! If the time shall come when men follow an erring pontiff, then will be the great apostasy. . Then will true Christians refuse to obey Rome." The pope, Innocent IV, nominated his nephew, a mere child, to a high office in the cathedral of Lincoln. This roused the bishop to reply, "Your orders are destitute of piety. Every faithful Christian should oppose them with all his might." He refused to yield, when the pope suspended him. "Who is this old dotard that dares to judge my actions?" was the papal question. "If my generosity did not restrain me, I would order him to be thrown into prison." A cardinal said, "Better not; he is a holy man, holier than we are; what he says is too true. Too many people know it." But the pope excommunicated him. The aged hero did not regard the sen-

* "In 1231, the Roman exactions produced public tumults, and led to the quarrel which ruined Hubert de Burgh (the eminent patriot). In 1237, the king invited Cardinal Otho to reform the Church. He stayed till 1241, visited Oxford and put the university under interdict; visited Scotland [in face of blunt threats] in 1239, and in 1240 exacted enormous sums for the benefit of the pope, besides forbidding the king to bestow preferment on Englishmen until three hundred Italians were provided for [Grossetete highly roused thereby]. In 1244 Innocent IV sent a still more intolerable representative, Master Martin, who within a year was obliged to fly; but neither king nor Parliament ventured to refuse money. . . . There was, too, a constant succession of appeals to Rome, as the episcopal elections were disputed." (Professor Stubbs, *Early Plantag.*, 185-6.)

tence more than to appeal to the tribunal of Christ. He was immovable. He died in the quiet possession of his office. On his death-bed he insisted that many of the friars were powdered hypocrites, and the pope was antichrist. Disowned at Rome, the pretended center of unity, he was honored and sustained by the best of Englishmen. Sewal, the Archbishop of York, had imitated him, and "the more the pope cursed, the more the people blessed."

As the chief exponent of public disorders,* Grossetete had helped to rear a party and strengthen Earl Simon de Montfort, the son of that Montfort who fought the Albigenses, but a very notable Englishman, whose wife was sister of the king. The bishop instructed his sons, and is said to have told him that the English Church could not be saved from the king and the papal system except by the warrior's sword. In 1265, "Simon the Righteous" virtually created the House of Commons, by summoning the farmer and the merchant to sit with the knight, the baron, and the bishop, in the Councils of State. Thenceforth the English yeoman, the third estate, had a voice and a vote in the legislature. The nation began to be termed the Commonwealth, for all classes had a common weal to promote.

King Edward I (1274-1307), the conqueror of Simon, and brilliant crusader, "the greatest of all the Plantagenets," aimed to make England a mighty power in Christendom. He subdued Wales. He overcame Wallace, and thus intensified the long and fierce strifes between the Scots and the English. His motto, *Pactum Serva*, indicated his intent to maintain the Great Charter and keep good faith with his people. He won the title of the English Justinian. He checked the undue powers of the barons and clergy; he fostered the growth of the middle classes; he denied that the pope was his superior, or even his equal, in the government of his realm; he brought order out of chaos; he left society more united by law, and the nation more powerful for peace and war; and, after his death in 1307, men called him "Edward the Good."

England struggled on for more civil and religious liberty,

* King Henry III usually got his supplies by seizing them. "Can not I send and seize your corn and thresh it?" he proudly asked his Earl Marshal. "And can not I send you the heads of the threshers?" was the spirited reply. Church property was little more sacredly spared by many of the kings.

losing rather than gaining, until Edward III gave it a lift. As king, 1327-77, he was of great political service to Wyclif. It was the age of mighty battles — Bannockburn, Calais, Crecy, Poitiers* — and the literary achievements of Dante and Chaucer. The blaze of genius evinced an awakening of the human intellect. The schemes of Providence were most wonderful. The ground was clearing for the plowshares of reform, education, and higher freedom. We have less to do with Edward's wars than his laws, which show the increasing aversion of Englishmen to the jurisdiction of the Church, and especially of the pope. Three laws were either restored or enacted: (1) *Mortmain*, to prevent dying persons from being unduly persuaded to give their wealth to priests and the Church; or property, not disposed of by wills, from going to the Church. The intention was to prevent churches and convents, and especially Rome, from getting more and more lands. The greater part of the best lands were already in the hands of the Church. (2) *Provisors*, which made null and void all ecclesiastical appointments that were contrary to the rights of the king or the churches and parishes interested. The pope must not be able to foist his tools and surplus of monks into English benefices. (3) *Præmunire*, (re-enacted in 1389), to fortify the king and kingdom against papal interference. It forbade appeals to Rome, and the enforcement of papal excommunications. England would judge and discipline her own subjects in her own courts.

Edward refused to pay the long withheld tithe to Rome. Pope Urban V summoned him—the renowned conqueror at Crecy—to acknowledge the pope as the lawful and absolute sovereign of England! The king called on God to avenge the insult. From Oxford came the avenger. The ignorance and sins of the clergy, at that time, were scarcely more boldly exposed by Wyclif than by

“That renowned Poet

Dan Chaucer, well of English undefyled,

On Fame's eternal beadroll worthy to be fyled.”

And while preacher and poet were laying bare the corruptions of the Church, “The Good Parliament” was thus protesting, “The brokers of the sinful city of Rome promote for money unlearned and unworthy caitiffs to benefices of the value

* Note III.

of a thousand marks, while the poor and learned hardly obtain of twenty. So decays sound learning. They present aliens [foreigners] who neither see nor care to see their parishioners, despise God's services, convey away the treasure of the realm, and are worse than Jews or Saracens. The pope's revenue from England alone is larger than that of any prince in Christendom. God gave his sheep to be pastured, not to be shaven and shorn." Grossetete had said bravely to Pope Innocent IV, "Oh, money, money! How great is thy power, particularly in this court of Rome." Soon afterwards St. Bridget, a Swedish princess and nun devoted to the Virgin Mary, said that Rome had condensed the ten commandments into two words—"Give gold!"

VII. THE PAPACY DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF.

In Germany the political dissent against Rome was a means of dividing the papacy, and thus working good for civil and religious freedom. But it did not unify and organize the German people into a great nation. Liberty seized her grand opportunity and some of the results are seen in freer German States and in the Italian and Swiss Republics. The Church was a sufferer in the wars of the Emperor Frederic II (1212-50) upon the popes; he being supported by the Ghibelines and they by the Guelphs.* The popes had become military rather than moral rulers. The control of the papacy was transferred from Germany to France, and one memorial of the change was the revengeful massacre of all the French in Sicily during the "Sicilian Vespers" (1282).

Papal absolutism was still asserted by Boniface VIII (1294-1303), who introduced or revived the centennial jubilee, promising the fullest forgiveness of sins to all pilgrims to Rome in the year 1300, and so great was the financial success of the scheme that a jubilee was held every fiftieth, and then every twenty-fifth year. Boniface raised papal arrogance to its giddiest height, and provoked a recoil, from which Rome has never recovered.

* In 1140 the Imperialists and the Papalists were at war as usual. The Hohenstaufers shouted for Waiblingen, which the Italians shaped into Ghibeline, and the Bavarians for Welf, or Guelph. These became the war-cries, the one for the emperor, the other for the pope, as they long battled for supremacy in the Holy Roman Empire.

The contest between Boniface and Philip IV, King of France (1285-1314), is one of the turning-points of modern history. The king levied a tax on the French clergy; the pope forbade it to be collected. Other interests were drawn into the long struggle. The papal bull "Unam Sanctam," in 1303, asserted the most extreme powers of the pope, but so utterly failed to maintain them that it marks the decline of the papacy. "It was Philip the Fair who struck the first successful blow against the towering fabric of the papal dominion: it was he who overthrew the mighty system founded by Hildebrand. From this date the popes may be said to have ceased to be formidable to the social states of Europe."* The popes became the creatures of the political powers. That their supremacy was broken is shown by two events.

1. The papacy was controlled by the French for seventy years (1308-78), while the popes had their "Babylonish Captivity" at Avignon. The Germans and Italians set up rival popes. The dissoluteness of the age was startled when the citizens of Rome revolted against the nobles, and formed a republic under the leadership of Rienzi, whose dream of restoring the old Roman grandeur has been the dream of almost every great Italian, from Dante to Mazzini. This self-appointed tribune brought in "the Good Estate," and ruled by the force of his will, oratory, and fanaticism for a brief time (1347), in which there were better morals externally in Rome, and fewer brigands in the neighborhood. When he was arrested and condemned, the poet Petrarch saved his life. Innocent VI restored him to power, 1354, but the nobles defied him, and a mob ferociously took his life. In his day politics were bad, and actual religion worse.†

2. The papal power was lessened by the Great Schism

* Philip was sustained by the Parliament of Paris, now the chief of all the parliaments of other cities; and by the new organization of the States General, composed of the nobles, higher clergy, and the Tiers Etat, or representatives of the people. France seemed to be more advanced than England in resistance to papal supremacy. But Philip, by a disgraceful bargain, secured the election of the next pope, Clement V (1305-14), managed him, and they joined in the terrible, murderous work of destroying the Templars. These knights had become vicious, rich, and oppressive to society. Many of them were burnt as heretics. None of them probably deserved a Christian name. They were an outcome of the Crusades.

† Superstition was powerful. Gregory XI was induced to try a residence at

(1378-1429)—not its first, but at least its twenty-second schism—which began when Urban VI sat at Rome as the choice of England, Ireland, Italy, and most countries east of the Rhine: while Clement VII sat at Avignon, supported by France, Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus. The whole Western Church was rent in twain by the secularized papacy, which never recovered its former power. But Romish theologians say that the faithful, thus divided in their views of a fact, were not at variance on the principle of a united and infallible primacy: that “this fatal division should not be called a schism, because the number of obediences did not impair the principle of unity, since all the Churches equally believed in but one Roman Church and one only sovereign pontiff,” and that St. Peter was represented in the ideal papacy itself, according to some abstract realism. Then we infer that *visible* unity and verifiable succession are not absolutely essential even to the Church of St. Peter! Still the logic of the University of Paris could not thus unify the hatreds of rival popes, and its eminent divines sought the principle of unity in reformatory councils.

The logic of the Turks was more effective. They had conquered Asia Minor. They were gazing wishfully upon Europe. In 1352 the Greek emperor used twelve thousand of them to put down the Bulgarians, and paid them from the treasuries of the churches and monasteries of his capital. In 1354 the walls of several cities in Thrace were thrown down by earthquakes, and the Turkish warrior, Suliman, filled the abandoned houses of Callipolis with Turkish families. Thus began the settlement of the Ottomans in Europe. From that time they advanced, taking towns and provinces, until Constantinople was nearly surrounded by them. They did it largely by an army of Christians by birth. Orkan (1326-60), the organizer of the Ottoman Empire, required a tribute of children from his Christian sub-

Rome, in 1376, relying on the influence and attendance of Catherine of Siena, a dyer's daughter, a charitable nun and visionary, who pretended that her diamond ring had been given her by the Savior as her special bridegroom (as He had been of the legendary Catherine of Alexandria, 307), and that on her body were the five wounds (*stigmata*) of Christ miraculously received. In the great schism she took the part of Urban VI, who appointed her his agent at the court of Joanna II, of Naples, though she had not strength to go. Such fanatics were not rare in that age. Most of them, by their reputed miracles and saintliness, won canonization by admiring popes.

jects. These were trained so as to lose all affection for home, kindred, and early faith. They became as obedient to the sultans as the Jesuits have since been to the popes. They won renown as soldiers, and then some young Turks were enrolled in their body. For almost five hundred years (1330 to 1826) these oft-recruited Janizaries represented the ceaseless out-
 rage of Turkish Mohammedanism upon Christian families, faith, and country. When this new, barbarous infidel power was getting strong in Europe, there was danger to the papal chair, the Western nations, and the Latin Church. In the union against the common foe, the double-headed papacy must cease. It was more unified. Once the Mohammedans helped to make Rome a center of unity by assailing the Western nations. They did it again when "the Turks were the saviors of the papacy." Strangely enough we shall find them aiding early Protestantism by drawing off its enemies.

NOTES.

I. *Various sects.* 1. *Paulicians*, named probably from a high regard for the Apostle Paul, and started by one Constantine, in Armenia (660). Probably somewhat Gnostic; opposed the formalism of the Greek Church and the prelatie system: rejected images, crosses, relics, fasts, monasticism, priesthood, outward observance of the two sacraments and saint worship; broke into parties; were severely persecuted; many scattered through all Southern Europe, and received various new names. 2. *Bogomiles* (*friends of God*), similar to the Paulicians, if not more Manichæan; enemies of all learning, all marriage, all churchism, and nearly all decency; spread from Thrace. 3. *Cathari*, who assumed to be the Pure, the Good (*Bonshommes*), but were Gnostic and Montanistic. They mingled with the Paulicians, and among the new combinations seem to have been the *Publicani*, *Bulgari*, the *Piphles* (poor people) of Flanders, the *Tisserands* (weavers) of Southern France. Some of them professed a high regard for the New Testament, and held that prayer, abstinence, and the baptism of the Spirit were sufficient to salvation. Bands of dissenters were found at Orleans, 1022; Cambray, 1025; Turin, 1030; Goslar, Germany, 1052; Cologne, Rheims, Paris, Treves, Strasburg, and elsewhere. Gerard and thirty German Publicani were at Oxford about 1160: they converted one woman, who recanted; were branded, flogged, and driven out of town. Hungary was full of dissent. Innocent III called upon twelve Italian cities to cast out the multiplying sectaries, especially the Paterini. 4. *The Sect of the Free Spirit* probably grew out of the pantheism of John Scotus (Erigena). Its leaders were Amalric of Paris, Simon of Tournay, and David of Dinanto (1205). A synod con-

demned them, and burnt the writings of Scotus, if not some members of the sect. 5. *The Apostolic Brethren*, in Italy, led by Dolcino, whose two thousand followers fortified themselves on a mountain for two years. Certain crusaders reduced them. Dolcino was burnt in 1307. 6. *The Stedingers* near Bremen (1190) opposed tithes and tribute. Charges of heresy against them were dropped. 7. *The Flagellants* (1260), in Italy and Germany: they said that self-scourging was equal to the sacraments in virtue; that it would secure salvation, even if Christ had not died, and that this was the true baptism of blood. Many of them were burnt during the fifteenth century. *The Dancers* were less severe. 8. *The Beghards* (men) and *Beguines* (women)—probably named from *beggen*, to *pray*—appeared in the Lower Rhine countries about 1180. Devoted themselves to the care of the sick and strangers; provided hospitals; two thousand of them at Cologne in 1250; the popes dealt hard with them. Not heretical. Beguinages still exist in Belgium. 9. *The Lollards* (probably from *lollen*, *lull*, to sing) were also devoted to works of benevolence; sang at funerals; very active in times of pestilence; often suspected by the Inquisitors. They scattered forth from the Rhine countries. Many of them s^b nearly agreed with certain views of Wyclif that their name was applied to his followers in England.

II. In addition to the spirit of dissent, there was a symptom of coming reform in "the laical spirit; becoming alive to the rights and interests of civil society; developing in the towns a body of citizens bold to confront clerical authority, and with their practical understanding sharpened and invigorated by diversified industry and by commerce; a laical spirit which manifested itself, also, in the lower classes, in satires aimed at the vices of the clergy; which likewise gave rise to a more intense feeling of patriotism, a new sense of the national bond, a new vigor in national Churches." (Fisher.)

III. In the Hundred Years' War with France, 1336-1451, England lost her Continental possessions, except Calais. By losing empire, she gained strength as a kingdom. The Scots did much to draw her away from the fate of excessive dominion, by those border wars in the rear. In all that southern fighting and desolation the heroism of the Black Prince (son of Edward III, with his new motto of *Ich Dien, I serve*) was not more brilliant than that of Jeanne d'Arc. This Maid of Orleans is a witness to the credulity and barbarity of her age. There was a wild belief in her visions, voices, inspirations, and prophecies. Her wonderful part in the French victory over the English at Orleans, 1429, was enough to rouse Charles VII and his nation to rescue the poor girl from the Burgundians. They basely sold her to the Duke of Bedford, whose English soldiers could tell how she had relieved them when weltering in their wounds. Her three implacable foes were the English, the Inquisition, and the Sorbonne, or theological faculty at Paris; if King Charles was not the guiltiest of all, for he owed to her his very crown and realm. Perhaps an insane asylum (were there any) was the fittest place for her. She was charged with heresy, sorcery, blasphemy, imposture, league with Satan, opposition to the Church and pope, and more; and burnt at Rouen, 1431. As if conscious that England were under the ban of Providence, the secretary of Henry VI exclaimed, "We are lost! We have burnt a saint."

CHAPTER XV.

REFORMS ON FOUR BASES.

1350-1500.

THE spirit of dissent was not always truly reformatory. During the one hundred and fifty years now before us (1350-1500), reforms were attempted on four different bases: 1. Scripture and popular teaching, by Wyclif in England, and Huss in Bohemia. 2. General councils and episcopal power, by Gerson and his colleagues at Paris. 3. Pietism, or personal spirituality, by the Societies of the Common Life in the Lower Rhine-lands. 4. Scripture, popular preaching, and theocratic republicanism, by Savonarola at Florence. The first of these movements had two centers, in the Universities of Oxford and Prague. In each center there was a vigorous spirit of reform, original and independent of the other, before the voice of Wyclif was heard. But Wyclif enlightened it, gave it new direction and energy, and then the influence of Oxford upon Prague was manifest.

Walter de Merton had founded his college at Oxford in the interest of liberty and sound learning. Duns Scotus had flung upon it the shadow of Pelagianism. This reproach was rolled off by Thomas Bradwardine, the genius, the pride of science, the Baconian in philosophy. Nature and mathematics kept him from the true cross until he heard, one day in the church, these words of St. Paul read: "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." They struck him: he hated them; but in his wrestling their truth won its spiritual victory. "The profound doctor" became the deep thinker, and sent out his book for "The Cause of God against Pelagius." His aim was to revive the philosophy and theology of Augustine, a nobler service than to ride, as the chaplain of King Edward, into the battle of Crecy. In 1348 the monks of Canterbury elected him archbishop. At Avignon the cardinals laughed at the meek man when he received his pall, for they

may have known that he had helped his king to frame laws against papal interference. The next year he died. The Black Death, which seems to have removed him, had just brought one attentive hearer of his lectures at Oxford, John Wyclif, to begin that life-long prayer, "O Lord, save me *gratis*."

I. JOHN WYCLIF AND THE LOLLARDS.

John had come down from "a village caulled Wiclif," probably in Yorkshire, where he was born about 1324, and entered the college where culture was the most liberal and opinion likely to be the most free. The English wars in France had lowered the fame of Paris, but had built up Oxford. It was the very place for a reformer to be trained, and thence to send out a powerful light into English homes. There he was mastering the dry scholastic science of his time, his mind wearying itself on the logical treadmill, and finding the liveliest thought in Bradwardine, as the gentle lecturer warmed in his argument against Pelagius. Would he be merely the ninth of the schoolmen whom Oxford had produced? He outstripped all others in that field of study, and was named the "Evangelic Doctor." As a philosopher of realism he made an impression upon Europe.

Before he recognized the wise providence that brought him there, and the divine grace that qualified him for his work, the Black Death (that terrible pestilence which seemed to be destroying half the human race, 1348) swept through England. Neighbors shunned each other; wives forsook their husbands, and mothers their children. All physicians were baffled. Fear and sadness invited the strange disease. Thousands of people grew hardened. Vice became a moral plague in Europe. The plague may have solved many social problems for the good of the surviving poor. Wyclif was in terror of death. Almost sleepless in his cell, he prayed that God would show him the path of life. He found that path in the Word of God. Sin appeared to him as a disease, as well as a demerit; and the prayer for justification took this form: "Heal us, O Lord, for nought; that is, for no merit of ours, but for thy mercy!" In theology he, in the main, followed Augustine. He gradually reached those practical views which his age needed.

"The personal charm which ever accompanies real greatness only deepened the influence he derived from the spotless purity

of his life. As yet, indeed, even Wyclif himself can hardly have suspected the immense range of his intellectual power. It was only the struggle that lay before him which revealed in the dry and subtle schoolman the founder of our later English prose [as Chaucer is of poetry], a master of popular invective, of irony, of persuasion, a dexterous politician, an audacious partisan, the organizer of a religious order, the unsparing assailant of abuses, the boldest and most indefatigable of controversialists, the first Reformer who dared, when deserted and alone, to question and deny the creed of the Christendom around him, to break through the tradition of the past, and with his last breath to assert the freedom of religious thought against the dogmas of the papacy. The attack of Wyclif began precisely at the moment when the Church of the Middle Ages had sunk to its lowest point of spiritual decay."* We know not how he alone, of all the thousand priests around him, who slumbered over their breviaries, came to be so roused as to find himself in the front rank of preachers, the champion of God's truth, the censor of man's inventions, and the leader whom all England's common people wished to see and hear. He seems to have had no connection with Waldensian teachers. He highly valued Grossetete. We shall meet him battling with those friars, each of whom Chaucer satirizes:

"His wallet is before him on his lap,
Brimful of pardons come from Rome, all hot."†

1. *Wyclif against the mendicant friars.* They had degenerated. What they had been to the monks he would be against them. Once the friends, they were now the opponents, of the people. They held the best places in the colleges, towns, and parishes. They had reared fine convents, and the students were drawn into them. It was the fashion to assume the gray or the black dress, and be a Scotist or a Thomist.

They opposed the university system. The number of students had fallen to about five thousand; the number of friar-monks had increased. Wyclif struck at the root of the evil. He denounced mendicancy itself. "Our Lord Christ was no

* Green; Short History of the English People.

† "The greater part of literature in the Middle Ages, at least from the twelfth century, may be considered as artillery leveled against the clergy." (Hallam.)

mendicant." He exposed "the indolent, impudent beggars, roaming from house to house, taking advantage of the piety and simplicity of the people, and snatching the morsel of charity from the famishing mouths of the aged and infirm; their vows of poverty just amounting to this, that whosoever should be hungry, they should be fed at the expense of the community, and riot on the earnings of industrious poverty."* The days when monasteries were workshops, almshouses, and asylums had passed. In contrast with the quackery of these friars he commends "the clean religion of Jesus Christ."

In 1365 Wyclif was master, or warden, of Canterbury Hall. The primate, Sudbury, thrust him out of the office. He appealed to the pope, and lost his case; the monks were delighted, and their champions hoped to write him down. Some of them visited him when he was in sickness, begging him to withdraw the charges against their order, before he should die. Raising himself up, and fixing his keen eyes upon them, he said, "I shall not die, but live and declare the evil works of the friars." And he did it, by voice and pen, more elegantly, but scarcely more sharply, than the rustic poet, William Langland, in his "Vision of Piers Plowman," when he wrote, "And now is religion a rider, a roamer about, a leader of love-days, and a land-buyer." Wyclif was supported by friends, many of whose gifts came from unseen hands. King Edward III made him a royal chaplain, and Rector of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, while he still taught at Oxford.

2. *Wyclif against the papacy.* The old papal demand for tithe and tribute had come up again. He took the side of the

* In similar terms the friars were exposed by Richard Fitzralph, student, and then Chancellor of Oxford, and in 1347 Primate of Ireland. He said that in his diocese of Armagh there were about two thousand persons excommunicated for such crimes as robbery and murder, and the friars absolved them and admitted them to the sacraments. The friars declared that he was heterodox, and caused him to appear before the pope at Avignon, where his eloquence and zeal in preaching were unabated. His trial lasted three years. English friends, Wyclif says some bishops, aided him with funds. His opinions were condemned. He died in 1361, not without a suspicion that the monks poisoned him. His saintly character and reputed miracles almost won him canonization, and actually this apology, "That he sinned rather by an exuberance of intellect than from perversity of will." He and others charged the friars with buying up useful books and hiding them away from the clergy. In 1363 Nicolas Orem boldly exposed the evils in the Church in a sermon before Pope Urban V.

barons. He was sent as one of the commissioners to meet the pope's envoys at Bruges (1375). They settled nothing permanently; but his eyes were opened to certain enormous evils.* He returned to write on "The Kingdom of God," and put forth some curious feudal ideas on that subject. God being the Suzerain of the universe, he deals out his rule in fief to rulers on terms of obedience to himself. All authority is founded in grace. (Some charged that he also applied this doctrine to property.) But no man on earth has it all. "The king is as truly God's vicar as is the pope. The royal power is as sacred as the ecclesiastical; one being over the state, the other in the Church over spiritual affairs. The throne of God is the tribunal of personal appeal." He was now in collision with the Churchmen. Parties grew warm. The clergy upheld the pope, saying that if the tithes were not paid England would forfeit her right to govern herself, and the king would forfeit the allegiance of the people. The pope would loose all the national bonds. His interdict might fall on them! But England was too far advanced to dread interdicts. The king denied that he was the pope's vassal and liegeman. The barons said: "Hold the pope to his spiritual duties; we deny his civil power." Wyclif was with them, and this made him immensely popular as a patriot. He was now regarded by high-churchmen as a progressive heretic.

3. *Wyclif on trial.* The Romanizers had their charges. Courtenay, the fiery Bishop of London, in 1378, cited him to appear in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and answer to the

*Such as these: 1. The iniquities which spread from the papal court at Avignon. 2. The desire of the French popes to keep up the wars between France and England, so long as there was hope that the English would lose their possessions on the Continent. 3. Papal encroachments on the English statutes of Provisors and Præmunire. 4. The employment of Churchmen in high offices of state—a system which Wyclif opposed, even when it was represented by so good a man as William of Wykeham, the chancellor, and the munificent founder of New College, at Oxford, and another at Winchester. His pupil, Archbishop Chichele, an ardent opponent of Wyclif, was the generous founder of All Souls College, at Oxford (1437). "Amidst a sea of discord and disorder the colleges rose, one after another, like islands of peace. . . . From them came, in the Lancastrian reigns, the secular [un-monastic] clergy, who represented the old stubborn English antagonism to papal abuses and Lollard excesses." The time came when "no monk or friar could obtain admission." (Burrows; Worthies of All Souls, p. 7.) But this time would have come sooner if Oxford had not expelled Wyclif.

charge of having taught that the Church of Rome was no more the head of the universal Church than any other Church; that St. Peter had no greater authority given him than the rest of the apostles; that bishop and presbyter, in the apostolic Church, were the same; that the pope had no more jurisdiction in the exercise of the keys than any other priest; that if the Church misbehaved it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to dispossess her of her temporalities; that the Gospel was sufficient to direct a Christian in the conduct of his life; and that neither the pope nor any other prelate ought to have prisons for the punishing of offenders against the discipline of the Church.

Wyclif did not stand alone. "I am charged as well as you, and I accept the challenge," said that famous man, not much to be admired, King Edward's fourth son, "John of Gaunt, time-honored Lancaster," the father of the Red Roses, and other lines of kings, and the largest land-holder in England.* He was bent on leveling the high clergy, and having laymen hold such state offices as chancellor and treasurer. He, with a strong array of barons, stood by Wyclif's side in the cathedral, and the trial did not proceed. The bishop and the nobles had some fierce words. "Yes, my lord bishop; and I'll drag you out of this church by the hair of your head," is one saying reported of Duke John. The Londoners enlisted in the quarrel, some rushing in to protect their bishop, and others aiding John to rescue Wyclif. The affair was not conducted ecclesiastically; and at last the bishop, in another attempt, could do no more than dismiss the heretic with a *reprimand*. It was no real gain to a good cause; and yet it was a tribute to the real importance of Wyclif, who went on in his work in behalf of popular learning and liberty.

4. *The insurrection of the peasants* under Wat Tyler was wrongly associated with the Reformer. Its coarse but popular preacher was John Ball, a ranting leveler, who caught up and perverted some of Wyclif's utterances, and pressed the inquiry,

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?"

He wished to abolish gentlemen altogether. The friars may have been busy in it. These men raged against the lawyers,

* Richard II had just come to the throne. He was deposed in 1399.

judges, and chancellors. They enlisted perhaps one hundred thousand men, encamped at Blackheath, and aimed to destroy courts and tax-rolls,* rather than convents and churches. Their success was amazing for a time. They hated John of Gaunt, the patron of Wyclif, and burnt his splendid palace in London. They murdered Sudbury, not as archbishop, but as chancellor. The strong arm of the law finally repressed them (1381). One result of this peasant-war was that Wyclif was again assailed, and his cause seriously injured.

5. *Wyclif abandoned by the aristocratic party and the Churchmen.* The cause was not merely the unjust suspicion that he was "a sower of strife," and that some of his co-workers brought odium upon him, but he had attacked some of the doctrines of the Church. If there was one doctrine in which the Church system of the Middle Ages centered, it was that of Transubstantiation. In the "miracle of the mass" the lowliest priest did what no king could do—he changed the bread into the very body of Christ. That was the theory, and Wyclif had denied it, saying, "What we see on the altar is neither Christ nor any part of him, but only an effective sign of him." By this time he must have preached against nearly all the popular superstitions, holding that there was no purgatory, but an intermediate state. No masses could benefit the dead. He still considered himself an obedient son of the Church, and the teacher of nothing which the Fathers and the early councils had condemned. The defect in his reform was in its negative character; it needed more stress laid on justification by faith. Thus it would have had a positive, vivifying, centralizing principle.

The grand thing is, that the more he was deserted, the more independent he became; the lonelier, the bolder. The nobles stood aloof. Duke John, whose motives were political, advised him to be silent, but admired his protest closing with the words, "I believe that in the end the truth will conquer."

* As in Jack Cade's rebellion (1450):

"*Dick*—The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers.

Cade—Nay, that I mean to do. . . . It is for liberty.

We will not leave one lord, one gentleman.

Spare none but such as go in clouted shoon;

For they are thrifty, honest men."

(Shakespeare; Henry VI, Part ii, Act iv, sc. ii.)

The university disowned her greatest son. One day in 1381 the chancellor entered his class-room, and told the students that the teaching of the evangelic doctor was heretical, for he denied the body and blood of the Lord! He was startled; but it was useless to stand there and dispute. That would be the weakest policy; he knew a wiser method. And when he stepped out of Oxford the university seemed for one century to be doomed. Its triumph was its punishment. If his courage lifted a few scholars to a higher plane of thought and life, the majority still crept after fossils in the exhausted quarries of scholasticism. Already he had sought a wider sphere than the schools, a larger audience than the learned; he would try old England's heart.

6. *The appeal to the people*, not because they were ignorant, but because they were honest, and hungry for the truth which the Church denied them. We know they had little knowledge of books; they were rude, uncultured, most of them unable to read, or to recite the Ten Commandments. If a common man could write his name, he spelled it in half a dozen different ways (the more learned did that, even in Sir Walter Raleigh's time). But we do not know what power of thought they had, nor what vigorous thinking they did, except by this fact, that many of them proved themselves able to understand Wyclif, and hold on to his truths for one hundred and fifty years more firmly than the learned classes. Peter Waldo, Wyclif, and Luther proved the capacity of an illiterate people to lay hold of divine truth. To the people at large Wyclif appealed. England's laymen had stood by him while five papal bulls were wasted on him, and therefore the Romanizers had not dared to slay him; for they feared the people. Let even the nobles join hands with the Churchmen, he would now spend all his time at Lutterworth, where two or three rows of thatched cabins on the slope above the Swift held those cottagers who had been five years listening to his Sunday sermons, but never dreaming that the good man would come and live among them as a country parson. There he continued to translate the New Testament. He flung aside the dry, scholastic Latin of the lecture-room, and rapidly sent out his tracts in the rough, strong, clear speech of the trader and the plowman. The schoolman became a pamphleteer.

Already had he regarded the papal schism of 1378 as a call to promote a reformation at home. One pope was too much for England; but two were a shame to the Church. If the Pharisees of his time would not listen to him, he would get the ear and heart of the people. He had organized a band of Bible-readers and preachers, laymen and simple priests, and said: "Go, teach; it is the sublimest work. But do not imitate those priests whom we see, after the service, sitting in ale-houses, or at the gambling-tables, or hasting off with their hounds. After sermon, visit the sick, the aged, the poor, the little children, and help them as you can." These men went out barefoot, staff in hand, to live on the hospitality of the lay-folk—and they had it—and to gather the people in cottages, fields, and woods, and tell them of "Him who went about teaching in Galilee." They were his missionaries and colporteurs. When he was an example to them at Lutterworth, he enlarged this agency, intent upon having the glad tidings borne into the remotest hamlets and lowliest homes.

The clergy, who had driven his reform from the high places of the nation, were alarmed lest it should work up from the lower strata of society and reach the ruling classes. Woe to them if it did. They secured a letter from King Richard ordering every royal officer to arrest the preachers and their hearers. But this did not check the work. It extended to the monks, the citizens, the nobles. The fiery Courtenay, now archbishop, had his doctrine arraigned on twenty-four propositions drawn from Wyclif's writings, to show that they were full of heresy, sacrilege, impiety, and rebellion. His synod met in the house of the Black Friars in London (1382), but they had no Dominican machinery for torturing heretics. England would not yet allow it. An earthquake shook the city. The prelates were terrified, except Courtenay, who held them together by a stroke of wit, saying, "The earth is throwing off its noxious vapors to teach us to expel all ill humors from the Church." The doctrines were condemned, Wyclif not being present, for he probably had received his first attack of palsy. When he heard the result of this "earthquake council," what most pained him were the severe measures against his preachers, and the new union between the bishops and the friars, who had been at war since Grossetete's time. "Pilate and Herod are made friends

to-day," said he, bitterly. "As they have made a heretic of Christ, they can easily infer that simple Christians are heretics."

7. *Wyclif's Bible was the first English version of the entire volume.* The Latin Vulgate was translated; the Old Testament mainly by his co-laborer, Nicholas Hereford, and most, if not all, of the New Testament by Wyclif. The learned Lollard, John Purvey, either retouched this version or made a new one. The first effort to repress Wyclif's Bible failed. The young queen, Anne of Bohemia, was praised by Archbishop Arundel for reading the Gospels in English, while he insisted that all versions must be submitted to the bishops for approval. The chronicler, Knighton, tells how the clergy generally felt. "Christ gave the Gospel to the clergy and doctors of the Church that they might administer it gently to laymen and weaker persons, according to their needs; but this Master John Wylif has translated it into the Anglic—not angelic—tongue, and made it vulgar and more open to the laity and to women than it usually is to the lettered clerks; and so the jewel is made the sport of the people." What sort of sport was it for the people to prize it, read it, believe it, hide it when their houses were searched, and be willing to die for it when arrested? After the year 1400 they were in peril, for the first fruit of the revolution which placed Henry IV, of Lancaster, on the throne (1399–1413) was the law for burning heretics, and for two hundred years it disgraced the English code. When Arundel and his council forbade any one on his own authority to make versions of the Bible or read them, on pain of excommunication, John of Gaunt was roused to say: "Are we then the very dregs of humanity, that we can not have the laws of our religion in our own tongue?" In the face of prohibitions numberless copies of Wyclif's Bible were made, widely circulated, and handed down by the Lollards.

8. *Wyclif's last word to the pope.* English prelates urged, and Urban VI ordered, him to appear before the papal court at Rome. He was too ill to go, but there was no palsy of his irony when he replied: "I am always glad to explain my faith to any one, and, above all, to the Bishop of Rome; for I take it for granted that if it be orthodox he will confirm it; if erroneous, he will correct it. I assume too that, as chief vicar of Christ upon earth, he is of all mortal men most bound to the

law of Christ's Gospel, for among the disciples of Christ a majority is not reckoned by simply counting heads in the fashion of this world, but according to the imitation of Christ on either side. Now Christ, during his life upon earth, was of all men the poorest, casting from him all worldly authority. I infer, then, that the pope should surrender all temporal authority to the civil power, and advise the clergy to do the same.' One fact shows that the bold doctor had not formally left the Roman Church; in 1384 he was celebrating mass (in some modified form) in his parish church, when paralysis returned, and the next day he quietly went to his eternal rest.

We left some of his preachers in the hands of Courtenay at "the earthquake council." He grew fierce upon Oxford as the fount and center of the new heresies. Its chancellor sought to protect such men as Nicholas Hereford and Repington so long as John of Gaunt was their supporter. But John was afraid of Lollardism. Some of them recanted, others fled to remoter corners. The result was that "within Oxford itself the suppression of Lollardism was complete, but with the death of religious freedom all trace of intellectual life suddenly disappeared. The century which followed the triumphs of Courtenay is the most barren in its annals, nor was the sleep of the university broken till the advent of the new learning restored to it some of the life and liberty which the primate had so roughly trodden out." The friars were again in power.

But the followers of "Wyclif's learning" sprang up almost every-where. Among them were a few monks at some old convent reading, "How Antichrist and his clerks [clergy] travail to destroy Holy Writ," and whispering that Wyclif did well to write it; the sturdy leather-clad rustic walking into town to get the "Poor Caitiff" which was written for simple folk; and such a knight as Sir John Oldcastle, whom Shakespeare first misunderstood and caricatured as others had done, in his plays. The good-humored poet repaired the error by putting Sir John Falstaff in the drama, and saying that "Oldcastle died a martyr." He also seems to have written of Oldcastle:

"It is no pampered glutton we present,
Nor aged councilor to youthful sin;
But one whose virtue shone above the rest,
A valiant martyr and a virtuous peer."

To explain how such a change came in literature would involve nearly the entire history of Lollardism from Wyclif to Latimer. It was the religion not of the Churches, but of the home, the cottage, the castle, the conventicle, the hearts of numberless people. "They every-where filled the kingdom," says a chronicler, "so that if you met two men on the road you might be sure that one of them was a Wyclifite." They were denounced in synods, they were ridiculed on the stage, they were burnt at the stake, as was William Sawtre (1401) the first, though not the staunchest, of modern English martyrs. That same year the shoemaker, John Badby, showed a more heroic faith in his death. The priest, William Thorpe, wrote out his excellent confession, which reads well to-day, and died for it. Among the unnamed crowd of Lollard martyrs was one who suffered, "because that he said God's body might not be ground in a mill, and kept counsel in huyding of Lollard's boks." The mass was the test. It was the one theme of the priests who were stirred up to do more preaching in their ignorant way. Some yeoman would say to them: "John Bates of Bristol has as much power and authority to make the like body of Christ as any of you have." An uncultured man was burnt for saying: "If every consecrated host be the Lord's body there are twenty thousand gods in England." If men spoke thus irreverently the mass-priests were to blame. The Lollards were doubtless largely Saxon, and the Saxon mode of argument made short work of scholastic logic.

At Cowling Castle, near Rochester, Sir John Oldcastle, "the good Lord Cobham," had pored over Wyclif's writings (for they had won him to a sober life), and he was widely known as "a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the ordinances of the Church." For this offense all his services to society and the state must be forgotten, and he must be falsely charged with treason, and justly with heresy, if it was heresy to reject the mass, and to say to his inquisitors, when they asked him what he thought of the pope, "He and ye together make up the great antichrist; he the head, ye the body, and the friars the tail;" or to say, "I wot well that our salvation came, not by that wooden cross which ye press me to worship, but by Him alone who died thereon." It appears that he had copies

made of Wyclif's writings, and sent them, with other books—two hundred volumes—to John Huss, at Prague. After the council of Constance had burnt Huss, it was refreshed with the news that the good Lord Cobham, once the bosom friend of his king, had been hung in chains and roasted alive on Christmas day, 1417, as a sacrifice to the bigotry of the Church. It had already denounced Wyclif and ordered his bones to be dug up and burnt. Bishop Fleming, once an ardent Wyclifite, and now the successor of Grossetete, performed the inhuman act, and threw the ashes into the Swift, which falls into the Avon. Strong as was the resurge of opinion, men came to find in that deed a symbol of final triumph:

The Avon to the Severn runs,
The Severn to the sea;
And far as ocean throws her waves
On lands of chapels and of graves
Shall Wyclif's doctrine be.*

Archbishop Chichele could promote learning by founding All Souls' College at Oxford, and, in 1416, enjoin upon the clergy a thorough search in every parish twice a year, for all persons that "hold any either heresies or errors, or have any suspected books in the English tongue," or harbor any heretics. From the terrors of such inquisitions the civil War of the Roses (1450-85),† was a relief to the Lollards "for the storm was their shelter." The amiable but unheroic bishop, Reginald Pecocke, insisted that reasonable argument and Holy Scripture would secure more unity of belief than "fire, sword, and hangment." He was deposed in 1457; three manuscript folios and four quartos of his writings were burnt instead of the bishop, and he was confined for life in Thornton Abbey, for being suspected of loving his Bible more than his Church. The more peaceful times allowed Henry VII to attend to the Lollards with excessive cruelty. An aged priest abjured all heresy, and yet was burnt. Joan Boughton, eighty years old, was burnt at

*It is said that the earliest Polish poem extant (except a hymn to the Virgin) is one in praise of Wyclif, closing thus: "O Christ, for the sake of thy wounds, send us such priests as may guide us towards the truth."—On the Lollards in Scotland see Note I.

† Red Rose, Lancaster, had kings, Henry IV, 1399-1413; V, 1422; VI, 1471. White Rose, York, had kings, Edward IV, 1471-84; and Richard III, 1484-5. House of Tudor, Henry VII, 1485-1509.

Smithfield (1498), and the faithful collected her ashes by night as sacred memorials of her faith. The only daughter of Tylsworth was compelled to kindle the flames at the stake to which her father was bound for martyrdom, and sixty persons were degraded or branded at the same time. However much Wyclif's following decreased, so-called heresies kept the Lollard's Tower, the jails and the fires in demand until the great Reformation brought relief.

II. JOHN HUSS AND UNITAS FRATRUM.

There were great and good men in Bohemia and Moravia before John Huss. The Church in that whole country had not become so entirely Latinized as in the West. There had long been people who did not think that the nation should have one language and the Church another; that the parishioner who used his mother-tongue in telling the priest how common life went with him at home, must be told in Latin how eternal life might be secured in heaven. They cherished the Slavonic Bible which Cyril had left to their race, and seem to have revised it. They won two victories over Latinism in the Church and Germanism in the state, when they gained an archbishop at Prague, and civil judges in the country who would speak and favor their mother-tongue. They learned good doctrine from the Waldensians who settled in their towns. They sang popular hymns. They saw their University of Prague, founded in 1348, holding fair rivalry with Paris and Oxford.

The reformatory movement in Bohemia began before Wyclif struck a light in England or Huss drew water from the wells of salvation. When Huss was standing by the graves of his predecessors in Biblical knowledge and reform he thankfully recalled the names of "Adelbert, the flowing orator; Colin, the devoted patriot; John Steikna, the noble preacher, whose voice was like the blast of a trumpet; Peter Stupna, the sweetest singer and most glowing preacher;" and the layman Thomas Stitny, a knight in patriotism, a true philosopher, an author, and translator, who gave many a good book to his countrymen. Nor were these alone. Three other reformers are famous.

Conrad Waldhauser, a preacher at Vienna, was in Rome the year of the Black Death (1348), when a million pilgrims are

said to have been there seeking salvation through indulgences, donations, and papal machinery. He saw and heard and opened his eyes. He went back a preacher of repentance, traveling through all Austria, and lingering at Prague, where the churches were overcrowded, and immense audiences gathered in the market-place to hear him scathe the prevalent vices, and warn the people of the wrath to come. Many Jews listened to his sermons. A social change was working. In 1364, the Dominicans and Franciscans accused him of disturbing the public peace. "So Christ was accused," said he, and he had his Bible in hand to prove it. They framed twenty-nine charges against him, but on the day of trial not a man dared to prosecute them.

A still more effective reformer was John Milicz, a Moravian, who studied at Prague and Paris, and became well versed in theology, canon law, and history. He was struck with the fact that the ancient Church of his native land had few of the modern innovations. She was now burdened and blind. He began his work. He was cathedral preacher at Prague, but his soul and tongue were not free. He gave up the rich place, and went on as the Lord led him, through many a struggle and with many a triumph for the Word of God. Too much of a monk for us, he was a holy example to the friars of his time. He preached in the different churches twice every Sunday, and often four or five times on other days to the students in Latin and German, and to the public in their own language, "with a mighty and powerful voice." A sermon two or three hours in length was all the better. He was the forerunner of city missionaries. He led twenty abandoned women to reform their vile manners, secured a house for them, enlisted the devout women in behalf of their class, and hundreds were reclaimed. "Little Venice" was so purified that it was called "Little Jerusalem." The whole city bore the face of a transformation. He went to Rome to see the pope, but Urban VI was absent. He posted on the door of St. Peter's these words, "The Antichrist is come; he has his seat in the church." The Franciscans threw him into prison. There he wrote his famous book on "Antichrist," which popes might wisely read. When free again he founded a theological school at Prague. He taught more than two hundred young men,

helped them to copy good books, and sent them out to preach and use the liturgy compiled for them. He became the pastor at Teyn, where Conrad had last labored and died, and there he ended his useful life (1374). Among their followers was Matthias of Janow, who exceeded them in scholarship and radical ideas of reform. No other man of his day saw more clearly what Christendom needed, or more fully knew the divine Word and illustrated its spirit. "Unless the crucified Jesus had come to my rescue, as my most faithful and loving Savior, my soul would have perished." In one of his tracts he says, "The Antichrist has come. He is neither Jew, pagan, Saracen, nor worldly tyrant, but the man who opposes Christian truth and the Christian life, assuming the highest station in the Church, and arrogating dominion over all ecclesiastics and laymen." In his view "a secularized hierarchy was Antichrist embodied." The wonder is that he was not severely persecuted. His writings had a great influence upon Huss, and copies were burnt along with those of Wyclif.

John Huss, of Hussnitz, began life about 1370, as the son of poor peasants, who were careful to rear him in the best knowledge of the Christian home and the village schools. "Meanly born, but of no mean spirit," said his later enemies who had watched his whole course in the University of Prague, "he was more acute than eloquent; his modesty, self denial, austerity, pale and thin face, sweet temper, gentleness to all, even the humblest, were of more force than words." At the age of thirty he began to find honors and duties crowding upon him. He was lecturer in philosophy, confessor to the queen, court-preacher, and very soon dean of the theological faculty at Prague, where students gathered by the thousand. We shall notice what is most peculiar in his life.

1. *The conflict of opinions.* Their sources were in the Church of his time, the examples and writings of his reformatory predecessors, the Holy Scriptures, which he closely studied, the Fathers, and the writings of John Wyclif. What is truth? was the pressing question. He read Augustine. He quoted Robert Grossetete. He accepted what was vital in Matthias of Janow. But what of Wyclif's writings? Ever since the Bohemian attendants of Queen Anne of England had returned, his books had been circulating in quiet corners.

It was the custom for students and scholars to wander from one university to another, and thus ventilate ideas. Among these literary knights-errant was Jerome of Prague, older than Huss, and as zealous for knowledge. Returning from Oxford, in 1398, he opened his packages of new books, and in his enthusiastic way showed one of them to Master Huss, who looked into it and said, "Unsound, heretical, burn it, or fling it into the Moldau, lest it fall into the hands of some freethinker." Jerome was not the man to burn or drown a volume which he had taken the pains to copy. More books came; more readers eagerly caught them up. The Bohemians liked their realism; the Germans wanted nothing but nominalism;* and so the debates began. In 1403 the faculties and scholars of the university gravely condemned the books, and forbade them to be read by all who had not taken the degree of Master of Arts. Huss was almost alone in opposing this sentence. He, as a master, could read them. He declares, "I often allow myself to be set right by my own scholars," and we may hope well of him.

2. As court-preacher Huss ministered in the Bethlehem chapel, which had been built as a model of architecture, and a means of popular instruction. It was a monument to the labors of Conrad and Milicz. Sermons and prayers, but not the mass and confessional, were the main things there. On rites, ceremonies, and sacraments the preacher need not commit himself. That pulpit was the fortress and tower of Huss for twelve years. There he uttered the doctrines into which he grew. More and more boldly he declared what he understood to be the teachings of the Bible. He spoke in the language of the people and to their hearts. The large room was crowded by those who came to be "refreshed by the bread of holy preaching." At length he said to some friends: "I am drawn to Wyclif by the reputation he enjoys with the *good*, not the *bad*, priests at Oxford, and generally with the people. Covetous, pomp-loving, dissipated prelates and priests do not like him. I am attracted to his writings, for all his efforts are to lead men back to the law of Christ."

A public test was made of Huss in a curious way. Two Englishmen, James and Conrad, appeared in the University of

* The Realists and Nominalists were quarreling in all the universities, and the war of words seemed likely to be one of swords.

Prague, discussing the timely questions about the pope and the mass. They were silenced, but they retained their wits. On the inner walls of their lodging-house, in the suburbs, they painted two pictures; one representing our Lord and his bare-foot disciples entering Jerusalem in all humility; the other, the pope riding a splendid horse covered with jeweled trappings, and followed by gorgeously robed cardinals and soldiers, all parading in Rome to the beat of drums and the wonder of ragged children. People crowded to see this pictured sermon, and wished to know what preacher Huss thought of it. He commended it from his pulpit as showing the contrast between Christ and Antichrist.

3. *A Bohemian victory.* The Germans had control of the university, for their three "nations," or nationalities represented, had each a vote. The Bohemian nation had but one vote. The Germans opposed the Wyclifite doctrines; the Bohemians cared less for Wyclif than for their realism and for their right to control a university in their own country. It was a long and complicated strife, and evoked all the patriotism of the land. The pope, Gregory, and the bishops said that no one should teach or hold the doctrines of Wyclif in the university, and the Germans were happy. But King Wenzel, who cared more for a wine-cask than for the papacy, said: "Gregory is not our pope; we recognize Alexander."* He declared that the Germans should have but one vote. The crisis came, when a new rector was to be chosen. Every Bohemian voice and vote went for Huss, who had heroically shown his patriotism in the contest. The Germans withdrew—probably five thousand of them—and in 1409 founded the University of Leipsic. They must have left an equal number in Prague.

4. *The opposition to Huss.* Archbishop Sbynco had found his own power waning. He complained to the king of certain scathing rebukes that fell upon the clergy. Wenzel was amused and replied: "So long as Master Huss preached against us of the laity you were much pleased; your turn has now come and you had better keep quiet and bear it." An old chronicler says: "While Huss rebuked the vices of the laity he was only praised. Men said the spirit of God moved him. But when he assailed the vices of the pope and clergy, exposing their

* They were rivals for the chair at Rome, which caused a small schism.

avarice and simony, the whole priesthood rose up declaring: 'He is an incarnate devil—a heretic!'” The archbishop at first failed to have a general book-burning, but his efforts brought to Prague a papal bull to thrust Huss out of Bethlehem Chapel. He did not heed it. Another papal bull excommunicated him, but he went on preaching. Then the city was declared to be under an interdict. No priest should perform any religious services until Huss was expelled. But he remained, and Sbyncó left heart-broken and hopeless, soon dying at Presburg. He had been too ignorant for a theologian, too vacillating for an inquisitor, too contemptible for a bishop. Next came from Pope John XXIII, one of the worst of a bad class, a bull whose tender mercies were these: “None shall harbor John Huss nor give him food and drink nor talk with him. Every city, village, or castle where he shall be is put under interdict.” Huss was to be seized and Bethlehem chapel leveled to the ground. King Wenzel was marvelously cool and shrewd. His order was: “All priests who do not go on and fulfill their duties shall forfeit their salaries!” This counterworked the papal decrees, and the interdict was a failure. But when the victory was gained Huss retired into the country. He preached in woods, in fields, at cross-roads, and then in towns and cities, to crowds of people. The Gospel was planted in numberless hearts and homes. His name was stamped upon the popular mind never to be effaced. In some of his retreats he wrote some of his best books. They show that he was Augustinian in theology, and mainly Scriptural in the essentials of faith, except in his views of the eucharist, priestly confession, and some sort of purgatory. His treatise on the Church drew more sharply the lines between parties. His enemies became more bold.

5. *The Council of Constance* (1414-18). It was the century of reformatory councils which reformed nothing. The Emperor Sigismund forced John XXIII to unite with him in calling this council, which charged this pope with the most infamous crimes and deposed him. It asserted the French doctrine that councils were superior to popes. It cited John Huss to appear before it. When Jerome saw him ready to go he expressed the love and courage of his honest heart by saying: “Dear master, be firm. Maintain all you have written. If I hear that you are in perils I will fly to your relief.” Huss had evidence

all along his route that the people were generally eager for a reformation. At Constance his liberty was gradually taken away, until he found himself in the hands of the Dominicans. An advocate was denied him. His friends, the noble Knight John of Chlum in the lead, found him ill, a mere skeleton, on a wretched couch in a monastery, and a slip of paper lying near on which were these words: "If you still love me, entreat the emperor to allow his people to provide for me, or permit me to secure food for myself." He was literally starving. The bearded warriors stayed their tears by grasping their swords and threatening to avenge this outrage. Jerome had come; he was soon in Dominican hands. The trial of these men was but a form and farce. Under pressure Sigismund annulled the safe-conduct. One would expect to hear a plea for them from Jean Gerson, that "venerable and most Christian doctor," whom we shall presently see at Paris, but he seemed to forget that he too was a reformer, if not a heretic.* At the final hearing, when it was useless for Huss to reply to such absurd charges as a denial of the Trinity, he said: "I came hither relying on the public faith and safe-conduct of the emperor, not to be tried, but to give a reason for my faith." He fixed his eyes on the emperor, and Sigismund blushed! That historic blush we shall find remembered for Luther's good at the Diet of Worms, but it was red with imperial infamy. On his birthday, July 6, 1415, Huss calmly heard his sentence. He prayed for the pardon of his enemies. The bishops appointed by the council stripped him of his priestly garments, and put a miter of paper on his head, on which devils were painted, with this inscription: *A Ringleader of Heretics*. His books were burnt at the gate of the church, and he was led to the suburbs, to be burnt alive. Prior to his execution he made a solemn, public appeal to God, from the judgment of the pope and council.

* When too late Gerson said: "If John Huss had had an advocate he never would have been convicted." Gerson found himself charged with heresies similar to those of Wyclif, and if he had not been his own advocate, free to speak in the council, the ablest man in France would probably have followed Huss in martyrdom. Years later he said: "I would rather have Jews and pagans for judges in matters of faith than the deputies of the council." If he had stood with Huss on the ground of Scripture and the right of private judgment, if he had thus got back of all councils and rested on the sole authority of God, he would have acknowledged one of the distinctive principles of Protestantism.

When burning amid the fagots he sang a popular hymn, with so loud and cheerful a voice, that he was distinctly heard through all the noise of the flames and of the multitude. At length he uttered: "Jesus Christ, thou Son of the living God, have mercy on me!" and he was consumed; after which his ashes were carefully collected and thrown into the Rhine. But the people of his native land have never forgotten him, though most of them now reject his creed. They overlook his heresy; they remember his patriotism. Jerome was at first so panic-stricken by the fate of Huss that he abjured the doctrines charged against him, but he recovered his hold upon them and endured trial and martyrdom so heroically that his enemies praised his eloquence and courage.

All Prague seemed now to be full of indignant Hussites. Had they been united and faithful to their principles Sigismund would never have mastered Bohemia. They might have resisted the pope. But many of them were politicians rather than churchmen. A war of thirteen years threw them into more and worse confusion. They divided into two parties. The *Calixtines*, led by Jacobel of Myra, insisted that the cup (calix, chalice) should be given to the laity. When certain concessions were made most of them finally went back into the Church of Rome. The *Taborites* were more radical. They wished all Roman rites to be abolished, and to have a Scriptural Church. The famous General Ziska, afterwards the blind warrior, led them to the neighboring Mount Tabor, which he so fortified that later ages took lessons from him in the arts of defensive war. But his followers needed discipline. They and the Calixtines fell to fighting. When conquered many of them took refuge in the mountains on the borders of Moravia. They formed the *Unitas Fratrum*, and have ever since existed as the United Brethren or Moravians, an independent Church, famous for their system, their purity, and their missionary zeal in all lands. The later Reformers highly honored them. John Wesley took lessons from them, and Methodism has acknowledged the debt due to the noblest followers of John Huss.

III. GERSON AND REFORM BY COUNCILS.

A reform on the basis of Holy Scripture and the individual conscience was the idea of Wyclif and Huss. A reform on the

basis of councils was urged by a strong party, especially by leaders in the University of Paris. The Cardinal Peter D'Ailly, its chancellor (1396-1425), said that the Bible was the source and test of theology. Nicholas of Clemangis (1400-40), the Cicero of the colleges, was eloquent against the abuses in the Church. He, too, recognized the Word of God as the true rule of faith and practice. But towering above them all was John Charlier, of Gerson, whom Mosheim calls "the most illustrious ornament of his age; a man of extensive influence and authority, whom the Council of Constance looked upon as its oracle, the lovers of liberty as their patron, and whose memory is yet precious to such among the French as are at all zealous to maintain their privileges against papal despotism." He was chancellor of the University (1425-29), and he often appealed to the Divine Word as the only source and rule of Christian faith. He wrote, "The Roman court, once spiritual, has become secular, devilish, tyrannical, worse in manners than any other court." The watchword of these men was, "A reform in the head and the members of the Church." But they would prune the tree rather than renew its life. They held firmly the doctrine of the priesthood, and the dogmatic system, with most of its traditional theories. In this was their main difference from Wyclif and Huss. They thought that the Church was sick rather than fettered; they would give it medicine rather than strike off its shackles. They wished to secure a reform of manners, morals, and modes of administration; not so much a reform of doctrine and sacraments. They would distribute, not destroy, the priestly power by having councils supreme over popes. Their theory was that episcopal power is justly greater than papal.

The papacy surely needed reforming when it was double-headed, and the Church was divided during fifty years (1378-1429) in its reverences to the popes at Avignon and those at Rome. For a time the University of Paris led the party of the Neutrals, and labored to secure unity and reform through councils. But the three Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle were little more than great failures.* If they had unanimously sent forth decrees and commands they must have failed, for

* "If any thing could be done by means of councils, those of the fifteenth century, favored as they were by the weakness of the papacy, might have done it. But they were of no use, for they confined themselves to combating the

the people can not be reformed in masses, nor the clergy in a body. The reforming power must reach the individual heart and conscience. France gained almost the only lasting benefit. Her Gallican liberties were confirmed by the renewed "Pragmatic Sanction" (1438), the drift of which was that general councils are supreme above popes: and that popes should not send their priests into French benefices, nor exact tithes at their own will. It assumed that there was a National Church in France. To this Gerson contributed, though he saw not the result. He had assailed the mendicant friars, "the light infantry of the papal army," and the great man, with his noble heart and gigantic intellect, his mystical piety and honesty, became an exile and a poor school-master. At Lyons he daily taught little children their catechism, asking only this reward, "When you stand at my grave, pray that God will have mercy on poor Jean Gerson."

Still this demand for a purifying council rose louder, and popes used every method to hush and evade it. Cardinal Andrew was sent to Rome by the German Emperor, on an embassy. He was astonished to find no papal sanctity about Sixtus IV and his court, but only avarice, luxury, crime, utter abomination. He was simple enough to remonstrate and hint something about the Gospel. He was mocked and persecuted. In 1482 he, as an archbishop and cardinal, proclaimed a call for a new council at Basle. He wished to rouse the prelates to take the matter of reform in their own hands. But this was rebellion in papal eyes. He was cast into a prison and there died. Yet his inquisitor, Henry Institoris, was not blind, and he said, "All the world cries out for a council. But there is no human power in a council to reform the Church. The Most High will find other means, now unknown to us, though perhaps they are at our very doors, to bring back the Church to her pristine condition." This word was a star of the morning, shining over the very cradle of Luther.

IV. BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE.

Meanwhile another type of the reformatory spirit had been manifesting itself in the Rhine-lands. The individual soul, not

symptoms of evil; they reduced reform to a question of power as between the pope and a universal council; at the very most, they labored for the improvement of clerical and papal morals." (Dorner, *Hist. Prot. Theology*, I, 79.)

the public council, was the factor in it. The mystic piety of St. Bernard—the theology of the heart, the preference of intuition to logic, the quest of self-knowledge, the seeking after God by the light of the feelings and experience—had developed in various forms. One of its forerunners was Berthold Lech, born about 1225, and the pupil of David of Augsburg, who was elated with the successes of the young preacher when he traveled with him through Bavaria, Bohemia, and Thuringia. Brother Berthold, a Franciscan, exposed the folly of trusting in ceremonies, pilgrimages, and indulgences, for salvation. His clearness, vivid pictures of nature and common life, practical spirit, and sympathy for the poor, brought to him immense audiences. He often led them from closed or over-crowded churches to the fields and hill-sides. Monk as he was, he asserted that the world was made to be a home for good and happy people, and that all the evils in it arose from an abuse of human liberty. As a remedy for social wrongs and sufferings he favored a distribution of property, though he knew nothing of modern communism as a theory. He did not dream of such a follower as John of Leyden, when he said, "The gifts of Providence ought to be fairly shared; if you have not enough of meat, bread, wine, beer, fish, and fowl, it is because some one has robbed you of your proper share. The rich must distribute them." Such teachings grew bolder for two hundred years. They were one cause of the later Peasant Wars,* and of the Anabaptist communities, which might have turned the Reformation into a social revolution, had not wise men directed the movement. From the most popular preacher we turn to the highest speculative thinker of the thirteenth century.

Master Eckart, "the father of German speculation," a Dominican overseer at Cologne (1250-1328), was charged with heresies which he never recanted. He was zealous for the reformation of monasteries. In urging men to live above the world, and attain the fullness of God's love, he rose to such a giddy height that he quite lost the distinction between God and man. He had much to say of the presence of God in the human soul, and the absorption of the human will in the divine; and he led some of his society—"The Friends of God"—almost into pantheism. They were not a sect, but a company,

* Note V.

who devoted themselves to the love of God and of men, and were active in all benevolent works. In those lands it was a general custom among the devout people to set apart at least one hour each day to meditation on the death of Christ, and the benefits to be derived from it. Out of this spirit grew many societies for spiritual culture. It also gave rise to a new class of preachers.

John Tauler, a pupil of Eckart, and a learned doctor, drew immense numbers of hearers as he went about preaching, with an eloquence and spirituality rarely excelled. With Cologne as his center he ranged widely for twenty years (to 1361). He is one of the first, best, richest prose writers of Germany. Despite his deep mysticism, he taught a practical religion, and trenched close upon justification by faith. Christ and his words on the cross were favorite themes. He was at Strasburg when the city was under an interdict, and the Flagellants were bewildering the people while the Black Death was raging. But the magistrates bade the priests fulfill their duties or be banished. The clergy were divided. Some obeyed the pope, others the town council. Here the bells were silent; there they tolled for prayers. Poor, ignorant people were dying under the papal ban, merely because of some political offense. Tauler cared nothing for such interdicts until he was driven from the city. He and his Friends of God went among the people saying, "God is not in the churches alone: he does not come only with the priest: seek him in your homes and hearts. It is not the liturgy, nor fasts, nor penance, nor sacrament, nor self-scourgings, that surely brings Christ to you; for you may find him in your souls." Men of all ranks came into this sort of sympathetic brotherhood. A cottage, a castle, a convent, became the center for these devout "friends," who had their preachers and prophetesses. Rich men gave largely to them. Schools were formed, and new communities, in which there was "a common life," not in the form of the grosser *communism* of social infidelity, but a modified conventism. Women had nunneries; men had monasteries; and in these grew up a religious and literary culture. Tauler visited John of Ruysbroek, an Augustinian monk, who had his famous convent near Brussels. Hundreds went to learn from this "ecstatic doctor" how to keep their souls in a state of ecstasy, or fervent love to God.

"The meditative men of the times, the Mystics, knew that the world around them required a renovation, not external, but spiritual and deep, and that this renovation must take place, first of all, in the reformer's own mind. So they retired from the strife of society to find, or to make peace, in the world of their own thoughts." Tauler said, "One thought of God, attended with absolute resignation to his will, is worth more than all the good works done in Christendom." By such resignation Christ is born in the human soul. By the inner silent self-sacrifice of the soul, which no good works or words can fully express, comes eternal life with God. "Dear soul, sink into the abyss of thine own nothingness, and no power can crush thee." Thus Christianity had its root in the consciousness of devout men, and not in scholastic theology, nor in mechanical churchism.*

Some unknown man like Tauler wrote the "*Theologia Germanica*," which Luther edited in 1516, saying that, next to the Bible and St. Augustine, he had learned from it more true religion than from any other book. It is colored, or clouded, by the mysticism which so blended the work of Christ for us with his work in us that sanctification and communion with God were made the condition of justification; the inner life was a means of faith, rather than a result of it. Luther was the first man to dispel this mysticism.

Gerhard Groot (the Great, 1384) preached with marked effect at Leyden, Delft, and Amsterdam. The people left their meals to hear him in the streets. He founded the Society of the Common Life at Deventer. It became the center of many similar institutions in the north of Europe. Clergy and laity entered them, with no formal vows or rules, and by their schools and sermons they had a vast influence for the good of the people. They promoted the copying of manuscripts and the circulation of the Bible. Gerhard of Zutphen insisted on the reading of God's Word in the vernacular, and its importance in preaching and in religious life. One of the noblest sons of

*By urging that every thing historically or externally true in religion must be conceived in the soul and realized in the experience before it can become spiritually true, the Mystics were forerunners of Schleiermacher (1825), whose work was very similar in evoking the religious consciousness of men. They and he, in different ages, helped greatly to clear the way for a restoration of the Christian faith and life in Germany.

Deventer was Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471), to whom is commonly ascribed the best of all the many books on the "Imitation of Christ." It has long been circulated almost as widely as the Bible. It met a want; it was the fruitage of a growing idea. Tauler's best book had been upon "The Imitation of the Poor Life of Christ." The idea was that every soul might come personally to a living, loving Savior, without the help of priest or ritual; that Christ, and not the Church, was the source and center of all spiritual life. Thoughtful men and women were prompted, by every such book, to cultivate personal piety. They may have tended too much to a spirit of self-reliance; but this was better than a slavish dependence on the clergy when the clergy was not a ministry to the soul, but stood as a medium of grace. The influence of Thomas was felt by John Wessel (1420-1489), the fine scholar, the "Biblicus" and "lux mundi," who taught in various cities, and gave a powerful impetus to Scriptural learning.* He was one of the first Germans who turned the revival of classical culture upon Biblical studies, and some of the results are seen in John Reuchlin and Erasmus. His work on theology was fresh, vigorous, and so advanced in doctrine that Luther said, "If I had read Wessel before I began my work, my opponents would say that I had borrowed every thing from him, so nearly do we agree in spirit." Luther was profited by another similar name, John Burchard of Wesel, a professor at Erfurt, and then preacher at Mayence and Worms. His opposition to the papacy was so strong that the Dominicans imprisoned him for life (1481). He had said, "I despise the pope, the Church, and the councils, and I give Christ the glory." In this same quarter was reared John Staupitz, the first spiritual guide of Luther.

Among the many *Johns* was John of Goch (1460), who labored quietly among the many associations of devoted workers at Mechlin, and taught that "it is not merit of our works which makes us heirs of the kingdom of heaven, but the being

* It is said that when Pope Sixtus IV asked him to choose a gift, he selected from the Vatican library a Bible in the original tongues. "Why not prefer a bishopric?" asked the pope, laughingly. "Because I do not need such things." In 1447 the Elector Philip invited him to Heidelberg; its theological faculty would not admit him as a member because he would not accept the tonsure in order to be a doctor, but he lectured on philosophy in the university.

spiritually born of God; and that Christ has merited for us by his death. The merit of Christ is transferred to us by the appropriation and imitation of his love." Thus we have merely glanced at a class of devout men in the Rhine countries, who did no little to keep alive the coals of Biblical study and piety; to promote human sympathy and beneficence; to reform the morals of the people; to liberate minds from an icy scholasticism and from priestly mediation; to call men away from a dogmatic to a spiritual religion; to break the fetters of ritualism; and to prepare the way for a greater reformation.

How many hundreds were more quietly sighing for the light we can not know. Here and there a voice is heard like that of the monk Arnoldi: "O Lord Jesus Christ, I believe that in thee alone I have redemption and righteousness." And there comes up a name like that of Bishop Christopher, at Basle, whose motto was, "My hope is Christ's cross; I seek grace, not works." In the same city, when some men were pulling down an old Carthusian convent in 1776, a box was found hidden in the wall. It had held brother Martin's confession for more than three hundred years: "Most Merciful God, I know that I can not be saved and satisfy thy righteousness except by the merits and death of thy dear son. Holy Jesus, all my salvation is in thy hands." The very fact that he dared not confess this openly tells loudly against his convent, his Church, and his age.

V. THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

The human mind needed breadth as well as intensity; not merely faith, but a knowledge of it; not anchorage alone, but the commerce of all truth. The Church had carried her creed through the Middle Ages; but had narrow ideas of it, if she knew at all what it was. It had been run into the triple grooves of logic, and given over to the Thomists and Scotists for controversial purposes. The merely logical development of theology was at an end; any further advance must come by Scripture, and by a different sort of learning. Men needed to be brought out of Latinism and cold dialectics, or they would never emerge from Romanism. They needed a culture which would bring them to understand their creed, to throw off the

errors that had gathered around it and grown over it, and to affirm more clearly those doctrines which the Fathers had scarcely stated. Until there should be a revival of learning, there could be no Augsburg Confession, no Calvin's Institutes, no Thirty-nine Articles, no renewed and deeper study of the Word of God. The early Church had not understood the Holy Scriptures in all their breadth and depth, nor has the Church of any age exhausted them. An advance in Biblical study was the only hope for a reform in the Church. What secured this? What released men from barbarous Latin and scholastic jargon? What led them to fling aside the "Sentences" and "Summas," and study the Hebrew and Greek literature, at the risk of being called heretics? When America was discovered (1492) all men were astounded, and many rushed into the new world for gold. But to studious minds an old world of golden literature had been so newly disclosed that they became the most ardent seekers for the treasures of knowledge. This literary renaissance marks one of the great epochs of history. It was "hardly less than a second birth of the human mind." It was one of the great providences of God in behalf of his Church. It had these stages of progress:

1. The first literary awakening was in Italy, where the traces of the ancient civilization had never entirely disappeared. The break from slumber may be seen in the life and times of Dante (1265-1321), who grew up at Florence under the influence of Brunetto, the statesman, scholar, and poet; studied philosophy at Bologna, and theology at Paris; became the greatest of the Italian poets, and made his "*Divina Comedia*" a storehouse of the doctrinal opinions then held, and a portrait-gallery of the eminent men of the Church, past and present. The corruptions of the age are boldly set forth. The book was just the sort to incite men to read the classics, history, theology, and every thing else procurable. It marked the revival of genius, the effects of classical learning upon it, and its freedom from slavery to the papacy. Petrarch is more bold; he is even fierce upon the papal court; and Boccaccio is coarse in his ridicule of the common priests. In England native genius shot up with Chaucer, Gower, and Wyclif, who knew very little of the Greek language and literature. Two Greeks gave a fresh impetus to these classic studies: Chrysoloras, who taught at Florence, and

Bessarion, the Bishop of Nice, who saw the failure of an attempt to unite the Greek and Latin Churches, entered the Roman body, became a cardinal, and might have been elected pope if he had not been so devoted to the Platonic philosophy. The new art of printing prepared men for another advance in literary culture.

2. The Turks seized Constantinople in 1453, and ended the Græco-Roman Empire. The Greek scholars of the East became exiles in the West, teaching for a livelihood, and calling attention to the manuscripts which they had brought with them. Chalcondyles became a Greek professor at Florence, and in that school were some young Englishmen, William Grocin and Thomas Linacre, who bore their new treasures to Oxford. John Lascaris brought some two hundred manuscripts from Mount Athos, and taught Greek at Paris. These are but specimens of a class. The new learning required scholars to teach it, and places of instruction. The monastic schools were inadequate.

3. The universities. "In the history of human things there is to be found no grander conception than that of the fifteenth century, when it resolved, in the shape of the universities, to cast the light of knowledge abroad over all the Christian world. . . . Every thing about them was on a scale of liberality, splendor, and good taste sufficient to adjust them to the habits of the aristocracy. Yet the poorest and humblest of the people—the children of craftsmen and serfs—were tempted to resort to them and partake of their munificence."* The effort was to make them all equal in facilities of education, whether they were in wealthy cities or in the poor town of a rude people. That of Aberdeen, for "the wild Scots of the North," or of Greifswald, for the half-tamed Prussians, sought equality with those of Paris and Bologna. It was no dull age that gave sixty universities to Europe. They were no small preparation for the great revival of Christianity.

4. The next step was to collect other manuscripts, collate and edit them, print them, and create a book-trade. Men ransacked the convents for them. They brought them out of the dust of old garrets. Happy was the man who had the rarest copy. Princes became the cultivators and liberal patrons

* Burton; *History of Scotland*, III, p. 402. See Note IV to this chapter.

of literature. For example, the Medici at Florence. Cosmo had his agents to collect manuscripts of such writers as Homer, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plato, and the famous Romans. He sent a copy of Livy to the king of Naples and thus healed an old quarrel. By loaning money to Edward IV the white rose of England, he was unwittingly aiding the Wyclifites. Lorenzo de Medici, "the Magnificent," held rank, with fine scholars and freethinking poets. He made his palace a gallery of art, and in his gardens sought to revive the academy of ancient Greece. We shall again notice him and his son John, who became Pope Leo X, with whom Luther had his contest. Literature almost paganized them.

If art ran to Grecian mythology and legendary Madonnas, it had its fairer Christian side. If it tended to materialize Christianity at Florence, it conveyed some spiritual lessons at Milan. There Pietro Sacchi repeated Anselm's theology, when he painted the Crucifixion and wrote on the canvas these words from the *Cur Deus Homo*: the Father is saying to the sinner, "Take my Son and give him for thee;" the Son is urging, "Lift me and redeem thyself." It was a protest against the whole Roman scheme of salvation. A silent protest against the mass was read in the Milanese convent where Leonardi da Vinci—a poet, musician, sculptor, engineer, architect—painted the Last Supper, so nearly to life, that it is still regarded as "the finest and sublimest composition ever produced by an Italian master."

It was the era of the great printers, when such founders of printing-houses as Aldus of Venice, Operin at Basle, Crispin at Geneva, Robert Stephens at Paris, and Caxton in London, were likely to be scholars, editors, and authors. The earliest complete book, known to have been printed on metal types is the Latin Vulgate (about 1455), from the press of John Fust, who had probably cheated Gutenberg out of his grand invention. Within fifty years after that date an astonishing number of books was sent out into the world.* One of the noblest undertakings was the polyglot Bible edited by Cardinal Ximenes at Complutum, in Spain. Its last volume was issued the year of Luther's theses (1517). The Jews were active in publishing the Old Testament. Translations of the Bible in

* Note II.

various languages were printed. The publication of the Church Fathers was begun; a work which would engage Erasmus.

Theology began to be separated from philosophy, literature, and science. *Divinity* and *humanity* (*humanismus*) were the two great departments of culture. The first made little real progress, except in the acquisition of materials, before Luther's time. In Italy, humanism was a pagan renaissance. Its scholars assumed to be philosophers. Plato was exalted above Paul. The immortality of the soul was questioned; the Council of Lateran found it necessary to reaffirm the doctrine. Leo X is charged with skepticism, and yet he morally reformed the papacy.* This school produced Machiavelli, who wrote to a friend, "I wish these Medici would employ me, were it only in rolling a stone. They ought not to doubt my fidelity. My poverty is a proof of it." He doubtless wrote his "Prince" to set forth the political maxims of the Medici, and commend himself to them. The book was not a satire, nor a warning to the people. It coolly set at defiance all principles of Christian morality in the government of a state. Yet two popes virtually indorsed its leading doctrine that the end justifies the means. This revival of heathenism in Italy carried with it religious laxity, moral frivolity, and licentiousness. The old corn was converted into alcohol rather than bread.

Yet there were noble exceptions. Laurentius Valla went from classic to Christian Greek. He wrote notes upon the New Testament. Erasmus edited them. He pointed out errors in the Latin Vulgate. He exposed such frauds as "the donation of Constantine." He denied that the "Apostles' Creed" was written by the apostles, and asserted that the categories of Aristotle were not equal to the Ten Commandments. He rebuked the ambition of the papacy. Before the Inquisition he made some sort of retraction. In 1465, he died as the papal secretary. He is regarded as the restorer of Latin literature. But the wonder of his age was John Pico, prince of Mirandola, in whom the revived learning blossomed out prodigiously. After studying at several universities he appeared in Rome with the boldness of an Abelard. This knight of twenty-three years challenged all scholars, of every sort, by posting up nine hundred theses "on every thing that

* Note II.

can be known," and ranging through logic, philosophy, theology, ethics, metaphysics, mathematics, natural magic, and cabalism; the discussions requiring some skill in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic languages. He offered to pay the expenses of all opponents who should come from a distance. Probably he was acquiring more universal learning than any other man of his time, but the broad stream was not deep. Upon it floated some drift-wood which the pope's committee called heresy. He submitted to the Church, tore down his theses, went to Florence, began to write upon nearly every thing, and gave temperate literary suppers to Politian, the fine Latinist, and Professor Ficino, the half-pagan author of the "Platonic Theology." Out of this whirlpool of skepticism he was drawn by Jerome Savonarola, the last bold reformatory preacher of the fifteenth century.

VI. JEROME SAVONAROLA.

This man, once written down as a fanatic, is now proved to have been a philosopher. A Dominican writes his life as that of a moral, political, and religious reformer whose love of liberty brought upon him persecution and the crown of martyrdom. Another Roman priest treats his career as "the development of a drama, the most important, the most touching, the most sorrowful that is to be found in the history of Italy for many centuries." This strange man, so honest, independent, pure in life, eloquent in speech, gifted with an insight which led to prophetic utterances, "this Luther of Italy" wrote tender letters to his poor mother while he was a wandering Dominican monk, saying, "Do not be troubled about me; I wish I could comfort you more. I have voluntarily given myself to be a slave for the love of Jesus, who for love to me made himself man, and became a slave to set me free. For the love of him I am laboring in his vineyard in divers cities; and that not solely for the salvation of my own soul, but for the souls of others. He has given me a talent and I must use it as best pleases him." Thus he went out from his native Ferrara preaching. John Pico told Lorenzo de Medici about him, and, as Lorenzo wished to draw every body of importance to Florence, Jerome was soon the preacher in the convent and church of St. Mark. It was in 1489, and he was in his thirty

seventh year. Not yet was he free from the dryness of scholastic method, and his blunt manner brought severe criticism upon his sermons. Florence evoked his warmth of oratory. There he was at the headquarters of the Renaissance, with art, books, classics, scholars, Platonism, and half-heathen preachers and poets all around him. Every day he might see young Michael Angelo among the statues educating his eye and pencil, or hear men jest over the coarse verses of Lorenzo, to whom he paid no servile homage; but amid all that fascinated stronger minds he stood like a Hebrew prophet, crying aloud and sparing not. For he thought that Italy was to be terribly chastised for her sins, and that repentance alone could stay the outpouring of the Apocalyptic vials of wrath upon the earth. Heathenish life was increasing in the cities; the pope and cardinals being at the head of it all. He believed that God would not much longer endure such outrages upon morality, liberty, and society; and this belief is the key to the mysteriousness of the man. A reform in the Church had long been an admitted necessity; it had been attempted in various modes. He would try his mode, by uttering the warnings of prophesy, and carrying his reform into society, into the state, into the politics of the court, and even into the homes of the people, so that there might be new laws for dress and dining, visiting, and devotion. Voluptuous refinement was smothering independence and morality.

Lorenzo was surprised to find so practical a friar in the pulpit. The church was soon too small for the audience. The preacher stood near a Damascus rose-tree, and the garden of St. Mark was full of people. He brought there the thought, the fashion, and the pride of the city. Men who took notes of his sermons for the press dropped their pens and wept. Women went home to assume a plain attire. A young couple just married strolled into the garden, heard him, parted at the gate, and each went into a convent. Foes grasped hands and became friends. "The Modern Athens" heard new things. The city councilors, elected by the people but set aside by Lorenzo, began to see that their commercial prince held his lofty place at the expense of the popular liberties, and all his grand patronage of culture could not entirely blind their eyes.

One day a few leading men, doubtless of the seventy coun-

cilors chosen by the Medici, advised Savonarola to be more discreet, and not to excite the people. "I attack only crime and injustice, and the earliest preachers did nothing less," said he; and surmising who had sent them, he added, "Go and tell Lorenzo de Medici that he would do well to repent, for God will call him to judgment. Tell him that I am a stranger, and he a citizen: yet I shall remain and he depart." This is a sample of his prophecies. Lorenzo was magnanimous, and the friar went on in "the liberty of prophesying," and becoming more and more the popular leader. The patron began to lose power. All his arts and magnificent festivals could not stay the rush to St. Mark. The general demand was, "Give us back the ancient liberty, the republic of 1198," and the friar was ready to promise it. In 1492 Lorenzo was dying at his country-house, and after receiving the sacrament he sent for the reformer. The rumor was that the friar asked him to rely on the mercy of God, and restore all unjust gains. The dying man assented. One thing more: "Give back to Florence her liberty." Lorenzo silently turned his face to the wall: Savonarola left him. And that shows the two men.

The reformer's influence bore strongly upon the Renaissance. John Pico became his disciple, turned from the path of universal knowledge, cultivated a child-like piety, studied the Holy Word, resolved to travel and preach, but died at the age of thirty-one (1495). A blow was struck upon the reviving paganism in Italy, and its power declined. Charles VIII came with his French army, warring against papal aggression, and made a league with the Florentines. The Medici were expelled. The republic was restored, and by request Savonarola outlined its constitution. Schools were established, convents were reformed, the Bible was studied in its original languages, and his tremendous preaching was a means of instructing the people in their duties, religious, civil, and domestic. He aimed to build up a Christian commonwealth, whose sovereign was God, and whose law was his Word.

"People of Florence, give yourselves to the study of the Holy Scriptures," he would say. "There you find the source of all good. They have been locked up. Let me open them to you;" and then he would press the truth through the doors of their common life until his hearers found no hiding-place. He

introduced that peculiar type of reform which was afterwards attempted by Calvinists at Geneva, and by Sixtus V at Rome. It was demanded by an age when sumptuary laws were needed in cities as means of refining the habits of the people. Public opinion did not restrain gross manners. When Savonarola and Calvin, whose positions were quite similar, made laws to regulate domestic and social habits, it was because there was no force of custom to regulate them. They must create a purer sentiment. They aimed to secure a public morality which civilized custom has brought to us. They may have gone to an extreme of rigor and trenched upon some natural liberties, but in the weediest fields the corn must suffer by the culture which saves it. After law has made social custom, then custom may prevail without legal enforcement. The first was their position, the second is our own. To such men our social decency owes another debt than harsh criticism. But the Florentine reformer seemed to depend less upon law than upon enthusiasm. His social power appeared magical. It was sometimes won and held by devices, and the relation of visions which indicate fanaticism, or a fevered brain. When under torture he blamed himself for having indulged too freely in prophesying events.

The true patriot and reformer lives, not only to benefit his own generation, but also to educate the next. In this effort is one great lesson in Savonarola's life. He gave special attention to the children. We may disapprove the mode, but the fact is an example. He brought out their marvelous power. The young people were organized into bands as the "Children of Jesus Christ," and in them were those of the leading citizens along with the poorest. They must shun all games, bad company, vile songsters, wicked books, masquerades, fire-works, dances, and circuses. They must be often at confession, communion, prayers, and sermons. They had their captains, peace-makers, procession-masters, censors, and judges. They formed a juvenile republic. On certain days they marched through the streets, in perfect order, chanting hymns and litanies; as the spectators dared not shout they wept. This enthusiasm of the children was caught by the citizens. On one day the women came in processions to the public square and flung their costliest ornaments into a pile as so much discarded worldliness. On another day the prodigal sons, the lewd monks, the amatory

poets, and the grave scholars brought their bad books and licentious poems, along with copies of the viler classics, and made a great bonfire in front of the cathedral. Many of the Lenten services were held before daylight. To-morrow morning eight hundred boys will march to the altar and receive the holy wafer. Scarcely has the bell struck midnight when people gather at the gates of the church, or stand within on the cold stone floor, the epoch of pews not having dawned. The companies of children are entering and keeping step to their song. Savonarola mounts the pulpit, and thousands of people, holding a taper in one hand and a book in the other, roll up the grand anthem, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" So an eye-witness describes it. At a Sunday festival the monks and chief citizens are the more prominent. Now they sing, "Long live Christ our King;" soon this is followed by "Florence in our hearts shall live, Florence forever." Much of this is impulse, and will have its reaction: and yet many priests are growing earnest in the work allotted them. Platonism is hiding itself. Only the purer classics are visible, and these are commended by the reformer. Scholars turn to Biblical studies. Men come from far to witness a social transformation the like of which was never heard of before. The foes of the movement are the vicious.

A Dominican from Rome visits his brother monk, talks with him, remonstrates, spends three days in earnest discussion, and at last says, "Come, now, cease from these assaults on the clergy and these predictions of woes; be quiet; and then, I am authorized to say, his holiness will offer you the red hat of a cardinal." Savonarola need not ponder that bribe. "God forbid," he replies, "that I should be unfaithful to the embassy of my Lord. But—be at sermon to-morrow, and you shall hear." The pope's agent is present on the day fixed. The preacher begins, as usual, with some commonplaces, or logical propositions. He warms, elevates soul and voice, drifts into the favorite line of utterances, hurls astounding censures on all ranks of the clergy, and does not spare Pope Alexander, the infamous Borgia, who is able in talents, shrewd in policy, and devoid of honesty, shame, truth, honor, faith, morality; for we may as well say that this blackest of popes is ruled by a courtesan, the mother of his five children, one of whom is Cæsar,

the cardinal, and another is Lucretia, reputed as the most monstrous of women in crime. This is the pope who is scathed and scorned by the preacher, whose voice at last expresses his sublime contempt: "Red hat! I wish for no other red hat than that of martyrdom, reddened with my own blood."

The papal agent concluded that his mission had failed, mounted his mule, rode away, reported the case, and even the Borgia was perplexed. "He is honest"—that was the trouble—"but how shall we dispose of him? How prevent a schism at Florence?" These questions were heavy upon the papal mind, which was further agitated by rumors, letters, and messengers, by the failure of Peter de Medici to kill the reformer, and the refusal of the Florentine senate to arraign him. He retired to a convent for the sake of peace, and wrote to the Borgia: "My words are published every-where by booksellers. Let them be examined. My accuser has openly raved against your holiness, and yet he charges me with the same sin. . . . Although a sinner, I proclaim, with all my might, repentance of sins, amendment of life, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ—a faith almost extinct in the hearts of men. I intend shortly to publish a work on the Triumph of Christ,* and it will show whether I am a heretic." The senate bore high testimony to him, and was true to the restorer of its liberties, until a conspiracy brought a new class of men into power. He received excommunication from the pope; declared it came from the devil, and was null; and felt more free to expose the papal sins.

We can easily imagine the rest—the threat of an interdict, the mob, the riot, the seizure, the false charges, with the glorious charge that he taught justification by faith, the tortures, and the condemnation by his bitterest enemies. Like Huss, he had no fair hearing. At the execution, when the bishop was saying, "I separate thee from the Church militant and triumphant," Savonarola firmly replied, "Militant, but not triumphant; that of yours is not." His last words were: "In the closing hour God alone can bring comfort to mortal man. . . . The Lord has suffered as much for me." He was hanged, his body was burnt, and the ashes were thrown into the Arno (1498); but the truths he had uttered

* His "Triumph of the Cross" has recently appeared in a new English edition.

flowed on like a river into the ocean of historic events. It was long before his followers disappeared. Priests far away admired him, read his sermons, and had his portrait. It is said that the people scattered flowers on the spot where he died, until a fountain was placed there to prevent it—a fitting monument unintended. In 1600 medals of him were openly sold in Rome. In 1832, when the Italian patriots sought to waken the dormant spirit of freedom, a group of scholars published his sermons, which had been long under ban of the popes. In 1855 his name was a watchword of liberty, and an ex-priest in London published and sent into Italy the “Echo of Savonarola,” bearing his own words, “*Italy shall be renewed.*” That prophecy is fulfilling to-day.

He held advanced views upon papal supremacy and infallibility, and the seven sacraments. He did not renounce Mariolatry and the mass. He adhered to the Roman Church. Still he was an Augustinian, and cherished “the very body of the Pauline theology.” He defined faith Scripturally, and said: “Faith alone justifies; that is, makes righteous in the sight of God, without the works of the law. It is the source of all Christian virtues.” In prison he wrote a commentary on the fifty-first Psalm; Luther published it with a laudatory preface. His various works passed into all the languages of Western Europe. His richest biographer, Professor Villari, says: “Columbus opened the paths of the ocean; Savonarola began to open those of the Spirit. While one was ascending the pulpit, the other was dashing his bold prow through the waters of an unknown sea. Both believed themselves to have been sent of God to spread Christianity over the earth; both had strange visions, which aroused each to his appointed work; both laid a hand upon a new world, unconscious of its immensity. One was rewarded with chains, the other with a consuming fire.”

VII. THE GENERAL VOICE, AND NEED.

To exhibit the sum total of dissent against the Romanism of the age now treated would be as great a task as to make a list of all the errors and evils then in the Church. Many were the complainants, from the Emperor Maximilian—who once thought of becoming pope in order to reform the Church, but took another crown in 1493—down to the remotest Lollard,

Hussite, and Waldensian. The complaints ran upon papal politics and haughty dominion; they rose loud against the frauds, the violence, the avarice, and the injustice of the court of Rome, the insolence, the tyranny, and the extortion of the papal legates; the crimes, the ignorance, and the extreme profligacy of the priests of all orders, and of the monks; and the deception of Christ's own flock by men who hurried through a Latin service, and called that the feeding of the sheep. The shearing came when they mounted the pulpit, and, in popular language, offered to sell indulgences, or praised a system which was condemned by the more intelligent voice and conscience.

What was needed? A restoration of the three ministries essential to the Church. Let there be a proper recognition of the perpetual ministry of Jesus Christ as teacher, intercessor, and king; then Mary would be uncrowned, the pope dismissed, the saints unadored, the mass removed, and the visible Church no longer regarded as a Savior, nor as the highest authority over mind and conscience. Restore the proper ministry of men, and let them stand, not as official apostles, nor as priestly mediators,* but as administrators of the Divine Word, with its sacraments and ordinances; then the pardoner would give way to the preacher and the pastor, the confessional would be vacated, penances not required, indulgences unsold, a fictitious purgatory left without a gate for the collection of revenues, monasticism abandoned, and all members of the Church enlisted in their proper work. Let the ministry of the Holy Spirit be duly recognized, and all theories of salvation by human works, rites, and ordinances would pass away. John Wessel wrote, "The Holy Ghost has reserved to himself the work of renewing, vivifying, and unifying the Church."

It may be thought that the Middle Ages closed with an Autumn of falling leaves and dying grasses; that Europe was like a corn-field in December, the stalks dead, the ripe ears harvested. But there was no such death. The field was alive with growths. The nations were astir with new enterprises. The people of all ranks were in fear, or in hope, of great changes in society; the peasants were intent upon new revolutions (Note IV); and the minds of thousands were roused to

* "The essence of popery is priesthood, and the mystic virtue of ritual acts done by a priesthood." (Thomas Arnold.)

inquiry. Not death, but life, ended the old age, and brought in the new. Never was it more evident that "God was in history."

NOTES.

I. *The Lollards of Kyle, Scotland*, were taught by an English priest, John Resby, who was burnt at Perth about 1407, and is called Scotland's first known martyr. Lollardism increased in the South and West; it may have been readily adopted by the remnant of the Culdees. An act of Parliament, 1425, required the bishops to make close search for heresy. In 1433 Paul Craw, a refugee from Prague, was burnt for teaching Hussite doctrines. In 1494 thirty persons, some of them in high station, were arraigned for heresy, but dismissed by King James IV, who was not inclined to persecute. Widely scattered in various lands the Lollards may have expected good results from the powerful sermons of Vincent Ferrer, a Dominican of Spain. At the age of forty-two he began his work of twenty years (1399-1419), preaching in France, Spain, England, Scotland, and Ireland. He wrote the "Spiritual Life," in which he said, "Christ manifests his truth to the lowly, and hides himself from the proud. . . . Consult God more than books. . . . Study drains the mind and heart. Go often to be refreshed at the feet of Christ under the cross." But he was devoted to a reformed papacy. In Spain he was active in nominally converting thousands of Jews, and these "New Christians," or Marranos, were afterwards inhumanly persecuted by the Inquisition. They were neither genuine Christians nor consistent Jews. Many of them and of the Moriscos (Moors feigning conversion to avoid persecution) were among the one hundred and fourteen thousand victims attributed to the first inquisitor-general, the inhuman Torquemada (1483-98). Others fled, but constructive heresy was so rife that Deza (1510) had thirty-eight thousand victims, and the horrors of the time were deplored by Antonio de Lebrija, a devout Biblical scholar. Cardinal Ximenes, one of the milder inquisitors, is largely responsible for about fifty-three thousand victims (1510-17).

II. *The Papacy*. The last great pope of the Middle Ages was Pius II (Æneas Sylvius, 1458-64), a learned man, who failed to be another Hildebrand, to retake Constantinople, and to persuade the sultan to adopt Christianity. Soon came the fall, for Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, and Alexander VI, made thirty-two years of the papacy (1471-1503) black with their infamous lives. After the papacy lost power by its immoralities, Pius III heard of his election, and his first word was "Reform," but he died in twenty-six days (1503). The profane Julius II led armies against the French invaders of Italy, and excommunicated Louis XII, who issued a medal inscribed, "I will destroy Babylon." The papacy was in league with the German emperor, Maximilian, when Luther visited Rome (1510), and when Leo X (1513-21) promoted the Renaissance; but Leo is said to have been a skeptic in regard to the Gospel.

III. *Printing, Books, and Bibles.* The "*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*" seems to have been printed on blocks at Harlem, about 1440. Bonaventura's "*Biblia Pauperum*," about the same date. The Vulgate on the first metal types in 1455-60, at Mayence. The art extended rapidly; great printers were editors and translators. Before the year 1500, more than ten thousand editions of books and pamphlets printed, chiefly in German and Italian cities. Caxton's press in London, 1471-5; press in Scotland, 1509. Hebrew Bible printed in Italy, 1488. Versions of the Bible in Italian, 1471; Flemish, 1477; Spanish, 1478; Bohemian, 1488; and rapidly into most European languages after 1520.

IV. *Universities in Europe* increased rapidly with the advance of learning; more than sixty were attempted or established before the year 1500, and students are reported in some of them by thousands. We present a few in alphabetical order: Aberdeen, 1494; St. Andrew's, 1411; Angers (law), 1364; Basle, 1460; Bologna, 1000; Bordeaux, 1472; Bourges, 1465; Cambridge claims 915; Cologne, 1385; Cordova, 968; Cracow, 1364; Erfurt, 1390; Florence, 1439; Freiburg, 1460; Geneva, 1368; Glasgow, 1450; Leipsic, 1409; Louvain, 1426; Lyons, 1000; Mayence, 1477; Orleans, 1305; Oxford claims 900; Paris claims 800; Prague, 1348; Toulouse, 1229; Turin, 1405; Upsal, 1476; Vienna, 1365; Wurtzburg, 1403.

V. *Revolts of the Peasants.* The attempts to secure popular liberty were reactions against (1) the feudal systems, for kings and lords became oppressive, and (2) the papal system, which became intolerable. The bondage to priests and monks was often severer than that to feudal lords. The Black Death (1348-9) caused a demand for laborers and a rise of wages; the peasants wished to leave the farms and earn higher pay in the towns, but the lords tried to retain them. In England the strikes reached their climax in the rebellion under Wat Tyler, and others like it. After 1385 the feudal servitude was nearly at an end in England, for the peasants might be paid in money and own property. Two Swiss republics were formed (1315-1471) by revolts of the oppressed people against their rulers. In Swabia and down the Rhine, the loudest murmur was against the Church. The alternative was Revolution or Reform. In various quarters of Germany, Poor-Men rose up proclaiming "the kingdom of God," in which there were to be no tithes, taxes, kings, nor priests. In 1476 Hans Boheim had forty thousand peasants of Franconia gathered in a valley. Insurrections continued until the Peasant Wars of Luther's time. Papal powers had to repress the revolutionists, and thus they gave the reformers a freer opportunity among the wiser people. Many cities, such as Wittenberg, Heidelberg, Geneva, Berne, and Basle, gained sufficient freedom to adopt a reformed system, and maintain the preachers of their choice.

PERIOD V.

THE RISE AND ESTABLISHMENT OF PROTESTANTISM.

A. D. 1500—1660.

THREE PHASES OF THE REFORMATION: 1. REVIVAL OF SPIRITUAL TRUTH AND LIFE. 2. REFORM, OR RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EXISTING CHURCH, AS SEEN IN LUTHERANISM, ANGLICANISM, TRENTINE ROMANISM, AND JANSENISM. 3. RESTORATION MORE THOROUGHLY OF APOSTOLIC DOCTRINE AND POLITY, AS CLAIMED BY THE REFORMED, OR CALVINISTIC CHURCHES—PROTESTANT CONFESSIONS OF FAITH—NATIONAL PROTESTANT CHURCHES—CONFLICTS OF PROTESTANTS WITH EACH OTHER AND WITH ROMANISTS—DEVELOPMENT OF ARMINIANISM—PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS—A DEFORMATION OF LIBERTY AND DOCTRINE IN NON-EVANGELICAL SECTS—RELIGIOUS WARS IN PROTESTANT LANDS—ADVANCES IN CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY AND IN TOLERATION—PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, 1648, CLOSES THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR, AND ESTABLISHES PROTESTANTISM, WHICH IS BROUGHT TO A NEW CRISIS BY THE RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS, 1660, AND THE POLICY OF LOUIS XIV.

CHAPTER XVI.

THREE CIRCLES OF REFORMERS.

1500—1521.

In the Word of God were the means of reviving Christianity, and restoring to the Church her three ministries. In the Renaissance were helps to the acquisition of its truths, and the translation of it into the languages of the people. In the Germanic race, whose long tutored nations were mature enough to be independent of Rome, were heroic men who made classical learning the assistant of Christian revelation. To them the Bible interpreted itself, when read under the breath of the Holy Ghost. They saw not only the evils in the then existing Church, but also the remedies for them. There had been a long preparation for the new movement. Dissent and reforms had blazed out roads of departure from

Rome. The spirit of freedom, of research, of literature, of art, prompted the young men of studious habits to think for themselves. To secure the rights of private judgment and of conscience they must move in a new direction. Two facts evince the overruling power: (1.) Groups of men widely separated, independently and contemporaneously study the same Holy Scriptures in the new light, and reach the same conclusions as to their supreme authority and essential value. (2.) Out of these circles come the men, almost contemporaneously, whom we call the leading reformers.* In each case, after the movements have fairly begun, the men cross each other's paths, catch each other's spirit, and make the grand advance upon the errors of their age. We shall learn most concerning the Reformation, not by leaping at once to the side of Luther as the pre-eminent champion, but by first sitting an hour in each circle of his predecessors and contemporaries.

I. *The Heidelberg Circle.* The university there was an infant when Jerome of Prague came along, posted up some theses for discussion, and was silenced by those who wanted no Wyclifite lectures. Then came the famous John Wessel, the admirable teacher of sacred theology, well versed in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and acquainted with philosophy in all its branches. He plowed deep and left in the furrows the seeds of a great harvest. He planted "the sacred languages" in the mind of Rudolph Agricola, "the father of German Humanism," who died in 1485, revered as a Christian of the manliest type. These men insisted that the Bible was the sole fountain of faith, and faith the essential means of justification. The prince of the Palatinate, his court, and his bishop, Dalberg, favored these ideas. Heidelberg promised to be the cradle of a reformed theology. Many of its students, such as

*Compare the dates of the reformatory work of 1. The Reformers of the Transition; at Florence, Savonarola, 1470-98; in Germany, Reuchlin, 1500-22; at Oxford, Colet, 1496-1519; at Oxford and Basle, Erasmus, 1498-1536; at Paris, Le Fevre, 1510-20. 2. Early Protestant Reformers, at Wittenberg, Luther, 1512-46; in German Switzerland, Zwingli, 1516-31; at Basle, Oecolampadius, 1522-31; in French Switzerland, Farel, 1520-65; in England, Tyndale, 1514-36; Bilney, 1515-54; Latimer, 1524-54. The fact that so many men, at the same time, had similar thoughts, was a proof to Zwingli that the work was of God. "No historical event so clearly and plainly displays a ruling divine Providence as the German Reformation." (Kurtz.)

Bucer, Brentz, Sturm, and Melancthon, threw themselves into the great reform. They generally enlisted in "the army of the Reuchlinists," so called from John Reuchlin, the celebrated jurist, and the next leader of the German humanists. The life of this man is the history of the literary renaissance. The poor singer in the church at Pforzheim wins the heart of a prince who wants a companion for his son, and the lads are sent to the University of Paris. There the chorister receives from John Wessel (1475) the advanced learning and theology, and earns bread and books by making copies of Homer for richer students. In his frequent travels to Rome and across Europe, and in his lectures in various cities, he is known as the Greek-speaking German. Heidelberg finds him learned in history. Diplomats are faced by his knowledge of law. But his studies, collection of manuscripts, grammar and lexicon, and the impetus given to the study of one language, make him the restorer of Hebrew to Germany. His foible was his cabalistic lore. He became the champion in two linguistic battles, one against monkish hatred of Hebrew and the other against monkish Latin. A sincere monk wrote, "Men have invented a new language which they call Greek; guard against it, my brethren, for it is the mother of every sort of heresy. That book which they call the New Testament is full of thorns and serpents. As for Hebrew, it is certain that all who learn it instantly become Jews!"

The Dominicans at Cologne got an order from the Emperor Maximilian, that all Hebrew books (except the Bible) should be brought to the town hall and burnt. Reuchlin said to the emperor, "Let all rabbinical writings which blaspheme Christ (as these monks say) be burnt, if you will, but save the rest. The wisest way to refute and convert the Jews is to appoint two professors of Hebrew in each university." The books were not burnt. The Dominicans cited Reuchlin before their inquisition on charges of heresy. He appealed to Pope Leo X, and was sustained. The inquisitors were condemned to pay the costs of the process. When they refused, it was with great pleasure that the knight, Francis of Sickingen, collected the amount by force.

As Reuchlin was attacked for his Hebrew and Greek, he and the Heidelberg circle resolved to set the learned world

laughing over the Latin of the monks. They sent forth, one by one, "The Letters of Obscure Men," written in the most barbarous style, bad spelling and wretched grammar. The writers assumed to be sincere, earnest, and precisely such monks as were all around them. They jeered the great Hebraist a little, and praised without stint the writers who were most ignorant. Monks were represented as telling their peccadillos in confidence, and asking advice in affairs of gallantry. The effect of this burlesque was prodigious. Many monks could not see the joke, and some of them helped to circulate the spicy letters until the learned world heaped upon them unbounded contempt. They were then furious, but their wrath could not repair their loss of respectability. One of this circle was Ulric Hutten, the boldest mouth-piece of humanism. He had studied the classics in the old monastery of Fulda, and fled when the vows of a monk were to be forced on him. Penniless, and not venturing back to his father's castle, he endured every sort of adversity, roaming through German and Italian cities, now student, now soldier, always a wit, rhymers, and in 1517 the poet-laureate of Germany. In his many writings he scathed the Roman clergy, and sought to rouse the spirit of liberty in his fatherland. His method of reform was political revolution.

II. *The Oxford Circle.* When Grocyn and Linacre, along with other young Englishmen, came up from Italy laden with the new wisdom, they found at Oxford a demand for all they could offer. "It is marvelous," wrote a friend, "what a thick crop of ancient learning is springing up through all this country." The growth was strongly Biblical, and this was largely due to John Colet, son of the mayor of London, an Oxford student, a gatherer of knowledge in Italy, and the chief of the circle which had its headquarters in this university. He had left Plato for Paul, whose writings charmed his soul. His views were similar to those of Wyclif, though less pronounced. He brought scholastic logic and theology into contempt. He had one use for Greek; it was the key to the New Testament, in which he found more and more of the riches of Christ, and none of the traditions and errors of papal Rome. In 1499 he was holding a powerful influence over two great men. One was the young Londoner, Thomas More, so prominent in English literature and history, "a marvelous rare man" in past

ages. The other was the famous Dutchman, Erasmus, who had been an orphan boy, reared among the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer. While he was a monk he received an impulse toward Biblical studies and criticism. Forsaking his mild vows, teaching poor lads for his scanty bread, and drifting with the tide, he worked his way into such knowledge as the University of Paris could offer him. He wrote, "I have given up my whole soul to Greek learning, and as soon as I can get any money I shall buy Greek books, and then clothes." Too poor to go to Italy, he came over, about 1498, with his pupil, Lord Montjoy, and joined the Oxford Circle. He and Colet were each about thirty-one years of age. More was ten years younger. They honestly sought a reform within the existing Church by means of culture and the Word of God. "Reform without schism" became a great idea in Europe. Colet went to London, as the dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, and boldly preached to immense audiences. He founded, with his own funds, the celebrated St. Paul's school. More wrote the "Utopia," and advanced noble ideas of religious liberty. While they earnestly opposed gross evils in the Church, the barbarities of war, and oppressive legislation, they regarded King Henry VIII as the friend of their enterprises. Erasmus was supplied with funds to visit Italy. On his return, in 1509, he was for a short time professor of Greek and lecturer on theology at Cambridge.

Erasmus has been called "the restorer of good sense." But he has been severely blamed for his time-serving spirit, as it is called. His want of sound health was a cause of many of his whims, yet wit and humor were as abundant as if he were fit for nothing else than to revise the editions of his "Praise of Folly," and the "Colloquies," in which the monks were scored unmercifully. He was the impersonation of literary culture, the best critic and editor of his time; fond of literary leisure, retirement, and praise, and yet an astonishing worker in his sphere; not a hero, and he knew it; averse to enthusiasm, and afraid that Luther was going too far; the censor of popes and all manner of popery, yet hopeful that the old Church would be reformed, preserved, and made the true home of all Christ's flock. He wished the Protestants to remodel the old Church and not form a new one. He dreaded sectarianism

and schism. He was timid of heresy, and yet he must have smiled when he said that a Spaniard had found sixty thousand heresies in his writings. The Romanists were afraid of him; the Protestants thought that he had no moral courage to fight their hot battle. Between the two bodies most men would have fallen into contempt. But he reigned over a broad realm. "He sat on his throne, an object of admiration and of envy." Statesmen and scholars did him reverence. Perhaps he might have received a cardinal's hat if he had bowed lowly enough for it. He belongs to the transition, but the fact that his writings were in great demand and widely circulated by an active press, shows that the European mind was disposed to break away from the mediæval systems of thought and worship.

His services to the Reformation are not likely to be overestimated. They are seen in his exposures of the faults of his age and Church, his pleas for religious liberty in which he was in advance of his time; his example in mental freedom, leading men to search below the surface, and use their reasoning powers; his editions of Cyprian and Jerome, and his translations from other Fathers; his own theology which threw scholasticism into the shade before Luther was an author, and his labors in Biblical criticism, the best fruit of which was his edition of the Greek Testament (1516) with a Latin translation, and with paraphrases which were once ordered to be read in all the churches of England. This last was the great book of the era, the main source of the Protestant theology. It broke down the Latin Vulgate in the minds of thousands. It was the foundation for the new translations which soon appeared in popular languages. In his preface he said, "I wish that even the weakest woman should read the Gospels—read the Epistles of Paul. I wish they were translated so that they might be read and understood not only by Scots and Irishmen, but also by Turks and Saracens. I long that the farmer shall sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plow; the weaver hum them to the tune of his shuttle, and the traveler read their stories to while away the tedium of his journey." He boldly restored the true standard of faith, and said that "the strength of the Christian religion does not depend on man's ignorance of it." He brought forward the sensible method of interpreting the Bible.

Erasmus had hoped that the pope and the kings would

listen to his protests against indulgences and tyrannies of every sort, but they were deaf. The very year that Luther's theses roused Europe (1517), he wrote to Colet, "I have made up my mind to spend the remainder of my life with you in retirement from a world which is every-where rotten. Ecclesiastical hypocrites rule in the courts of princes. The court of Rome has lost all sense of shame." To another friend he wrote, "I see that the very height of tyranny has been reached. The pope and kings count the people not as men, but as cattle in the market." Two years later Colet was in his grave. Erasmus lived chiefly among the editors, and near the best libraries of the Continent. In 1535 More perished, a martyr to the fury of his king. Just a year later Erasmus died among the Protestants of Basle. They had lived as friends: they never ceased to oppose their culture to the flagrant evil in the Church, but they never left the "Old Catholicism."

III. *The Wittenberg Circle*.* Frederick the Wise became Elector of Saxony in 1487, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and then displayed such honesty and ability that the Germans began to think of him as their next emperor. He had an eye for good men, and engaged John Staupitz in his humanistic enterprises. John was of noble birth, meek spirit, and a believer in the theology of the heart, but a student of Augustine and the Bible. "My Staupitz was a great man," said Luther; "not merely learned and eloquent in schools and churches, but beloved and highly honored at courts and by the great. He had a powerful intellect, an honest, upright, noble disposition." In 1502 he greatly aided Frederick in founding the University of Wittenberg. He was the first dean of its theological faculty. It was established in the interest of humanism, advanced thought, liberty, justice, and law. It fronted square against the worn-out scholastic system. It honored Tauler, à Kempis, and Wessel far more than Albert and Aquinas. Its patron saint was Augustine—a significant fact. The Augustinian monks had the main charge of it, and John became the vicar-general of their order. On one of his visits to the convents, reforming them as he best could, he came to Erfurt. His heart was touched at seeing a young monk, of middle height, lean by

* The circle at Paris contributed to the Renaissance and to a semi-Protestant type of reform.

fasting and vigils, sad, and evidently in some spiritual struggle. This was Luther, who now found such a friend as he had never met before.

"Luther has been the restorer of liberty in modern times. If he denied it in theory, he established it in practice." This hearty tribute comes from Michelet, who admits that his freedom of the pen, within his own Roman Church, is due to this "liberator of modern thought." Scores of men applaud the freedom, but reject the faith which made Protestantism a blessing to the human race. Which was the stronger element?

No other reformer is so well known as Martin Luther. The sudden turns in his career, the free play of all his powers, the manly independence of a great soul, his impulses, his music, his humor, his words often wild, his courage always firm, his triumphs in many a crisis, and his tried loyalty to the Divine Master, have charmed the writers and the readers of his life. This miner's son, born in the Saxon village of Eisleben, 1483, may have had ancestors in Thuringia, among the wild foresters to whom Boniface had first preached the Gospel. His poor book-loving father improved his condition at Mansfield and rose to some civil offices, but the son never forgot the days when his pious mother carried wood on her shoulders into town to procure the means of rearing her children. The striking fact of his early life is the severity of its discipline. His well-meaning, devout, prayerful, instructive parents were severe with the rod. His teacher beat him fifteen times in one day for the slightest offenses. The lad grows through poverty with buoyant energies which no hard usage can repress. The best schools are chosen for him in towns where he sings, as many lads of the time must do, for a little bread, until the Cottas of Eisenach take him to live happily with them. He reads Latin, makes verses, music, and speeches, prays with more fervor, eclipses his schoolmates, wakens in his masters a foresight of his power, and, at the age of eighteen, enters the University of Erfurt, the best then in Germany. There his mind is not fettered by Aristotle and the schoolmen. He studies them, but does his own thinking. He will not devote himself entirely to the law, though his father urges it and pays his expenses. In philosophy he prefers Occam, "that sensible man."

"I was twenty years old," says Luther, "before I ever saw

the Bible. I had no notion that there existed any other Gospels and epistles than those in the service. At last I came across a Bible in the library at Erfurt." It was the Latin Vulgate. His eyes rested on the story of Hannah and Samuel, and as he read it he wished "for no other wealth than a copy of this book." But he did not yet see the Reformation that lay hid in it. When ill from intense study the best that an aged priest could say to him was, "Take courage; you will not die now; God will make you the consoler of many souls." At home, during the Easter of 1503, his sword fell upon his foot, and when his life was streaming away through an artery he cried, "O Mary, help me!" As a doctor of philosophy he began to teach the physics and ethics of Aristotle. The sudden death of his friend, Alexis, was not enough to divert him from the hopeful career of a philosopher, lecturer, and lawyer. In 1505 he was again returning from his father's house to the university when a stroke of lightning brought him to the ground. He made his vow. He would become a holy man—a monk!

He gave his friends a parting supper, with music and wit, and that very night he entered the convent of the Augustines at Erfurt. "How I must have surprised folks by turning monk!" He leaves behind all the classics except Virgil and Plautus,—an epic and a comedy. An angry letter comes to him from his honest father, who will not be soothed by the entreaties of all his kindred, but lets his wrath flame on long after many a sunset. He had hoped to see Martin an eminent man.

That free act marks the first great change in Luther. Monastic life had long been regarded as the best method of holiness. He must fully know its worthlessness by an experience of its drudgeries, and even its honors. The menial of a convent became an overseer of important work for his order. But while he bore the beggar's sack he often meditated in his cell as a man of high culture and independent mind, having the degrees of a university somewhere among his papers and parchments. He read works of theology from Augustine to Gerson and Tauler and John Wessel. He led the way in debates and threw out astounding ideas. He lingered at the convent Bible, which was chained to a desk, as a cup is to a town pump. He drank

deep from God's fountain. He seems to have learned Hebrew and Greek. But this free mind gradually discovered its bondage to sin; it had not yet perceived its slavery to error and untruth. He thought that Christ was only a law-giver—the Moses whose law was embodied in the penitential system of the mediæval Church, whose sacrifice was in the mass, whose priests were the clergy, and whose Levites were the monks. Luther must make satisfaction for his own sins—the dogma at the very root of Romanism—and at the last day Christ would demand of us all how we had made atonement by our harsh endurances and our good works. He was nearing death by his severities and anguish of soul when Staupitz found him and drew from him the cause. “It is in vain that I make promises to God; sin is ever the strongest.”

Staupitz knew all that, for he had been in the depths of such painful experience. He gently led the pale monk to those simple truths so familiar to us. “Look to the wounds of Christ—the death of the Lord Jesus—there his mercy will appear. Instead of torturing yourself on account of your sins throw yourself into the Redeemer's arms. Trust in him—in the righteousness of his life—in the atonement of his death.” After other instruction and sympathy Staupitz presented him with a Bible, pointing to it as the one book to be studied. But still Luther cried: “Oh my sin, my sin, my sin!” An aged monk said to him: “I believe in the forgiveness of sins,” and one of the oldest of creeds, learned by Martin in childhood, began to ring out the words of a living faith. The needed light was not yet full; he sought it in God's book.

John Luther, not yet quite pacified, came over in 1507 to see Martin ordained a priest—a presbyter—who might have a right to preach and to celebrate the mass. The bishop handed to Luther the sacred cup, saying, “Receive the power of sacrificing for the living and the dead.” Luther was too sincere to recite the mass, as many priests did, for the sake of the fees. To him it had not lost its dignity and awfulness. His father was quite reconciled. He gave his son twenty florins and dined with the monks, but he still said of Martin's entrance into the convent: “Did not the Scripture tell you to obey your father and mother?” Monasticism was losing popular respect.

Not yet did Luther perceive that “the just shall live by

faith," for they are justified by faith.* This doctrine, which was to be his lever in overturning Europe, was more fully grasped when on his visit to Rome, in 1510, on some mission for his order. He there saw evils, levities at mass, hypocrisies, and abominations, but the true method of reforming the Church was not yet clear to him.

Not Rome, but Wittenberg, was the scene of this discovery; not merely the inspection of the papal system, but the deeper study of Holy Scripture was the cause of it. A knowledge of diseases alone does not make a man a physician; it shows him where to apply the remedies which another science has taught him. In 1508 he was engaged by Staupitz as a professor at Wittenberg. The new university needed him to give it character and reputation. He needed its free air, its youthful vigor, its founder's shield. It was the place of his spiritual growth, the center of his power. In that city were to be his cell while a monk, his home after marriage, his mighty pulpit, his honored grave. An old university, with its fixed system, its professors of traditionalisms, and its machinery for branding heretics might have expelled him as the Sorbonne thrust out Le Fevre. Probably no other prince in all Europe would have been such a firm and wise protector as Frederick.

Luther wrote to Curate Braun: "By God's grace I am well, except that I have to study philosophy with all my might. I had hoped to exchange it for theology; I mean that theology which seeks the kernel in the nut, the wheat in the husk, the marrow in the bones." The next year he was Professor of Biblical Studies. Every afternoon he lectured on the Bible, beginning with the Psalms, then taking the epistles to the Romans and the Galatians. Men perceived that he had read Augustine and Tauler and Wessel; but they may not have known how he used the Hebrew apparatus of Reuchlin 'o draw water from the wells of salvation. He took his degree—not doctor of the Sentences, but *Doctor Biblicus*. He received it, saying, "I swear to defend the evangelical truth with all my might." And from that day he was the eminent champion of the Bible. The Greek Testament of Erasmus came fresh from the press at Basle. He and a little band studied it. By

* Aristotle was then often quoted as teaching that by doing justly men are justified. He was high authority among the followers of the schoolmen.

degrees they sailed over the mediæval theologies into the remoter past of apostolic times, and there found a continent of facts as rich and fresh as Juan Diaz and Ponce de Leon were then treading in the new world—geologically, the real old world. The followers into this vast realm of truth appear in surprising numbers. Luther writes: "God is at work. Our theology and St. Augustine advance admirably, and prevail in our university. Aristotle is declining; he totters to his speedy and eternal ruin. The lectures on the Sentences produce nothing but weariness. No one can hope for hearers unless he professes the Biblical theology." This culture did not stop with humanism. It made a servant of the Renaissance, in which Luther had all the delight of one who loved music, art, poetry, language, eloquence, and every right means of human bliss. But refinement was not holiness; the fine arts might endanger faith. Hence he would not burn incense to his drag and net; not value the sickle above the harvest. He was probably the happiest man in Europe, after he had experienced the genuine Reformation in his own soul. Doubtless that joyful experience had a great effect on the popular mind, as that of Paul had in the founding of Christianity.

In no factious spirit Luther wrote: "I am reading Erasmus, but he daily loses credit with me. I like to see him so firmly and learnedly rebuke the groveling ignorance of the monks and priests; but I fear he does not render great service to the teachings of Jesus Christ. He loves the human more than the divine. We are living in dangerous times. A man is not a good and wise Christian simply because he knows Greek and Hebrew. Jerome, who knew five languages, is inferior to Augustine, who knew but one, although Erasmus thinks the contrary. I carefully conceal my opinion of him, lest I give advantage to his foes. Perhaps the Lord will give him understanding in due time."

Thus Luther had advanced beyond ceremonialism, meritorious works, penances, scholasticism, the ritualistic services of a priest, the oppressive routine of a monk, and the mere culture of the Renaissance. He stands redeemed, not simply reformed, with a Bible in his hand, and his voice ringing out in widening circles through Europe: "True liberty is what thou needest, and God offers it to thee in the Gospel." One

step more must be taken: he must break from the Roman Church, even against his first intention, for it will not allow itself to be radically reformed. Three years (1517-1520) will bring it by means of indulgences and excommunications on the part of Rome; on his part, bold theses and a bonfire.

1. Indulgences were nothing new.* The sale of them had grown into a trade. The pardon of sins was offered in the market, as government bonds are now sold. The buyer purchased a pardon-ticket, which guaranteed to him a release from the penalties of the sins named on it (such as murder at seven ducats, simony at ten, robbing at twelve, and blacker crimes at cheaper rates), or the release of a soul from purgatory. The Germans had never liked this business. They had said, at the Council of Constance, "It is most abominable that popes put a price upon sins, as shopkeepers do upon wares." The abuse became a madness; and John Tetzel came in 1517 with the fifth lot of indulgences since 1500, so that the people felt oppressed. One of his mountebank notices ran thus: "The red indulgence cross with the pope's arms on it has the same virtue as the cross of Christ!" The scheme was professedly to raise more money to finish the great Cathedral of St. Peter at Rome, but the rulers were suspicious. Leo X offered Henry VIII one-fourth of what should be raised in England, but Henry bargained for one-third! Kings were to share in the spoils. The Dominicans were the traffickers in Germany; and from the shops of Tetzel "the German coin flew lightly as feathers over the Alps, and no wagoner could draw such heaps of money." When he was entering certain cities the bells were rung, and a vast procession, of clergy, men, women, children, even school-masters and learned men, went to meet him at the gate.

2. Luther had already preached against this outrage, and urged bishops to do their duty. When Tetzel came near to Wittenberg the reformer's indignation was almost boundless; for this monk was selling the pardon of sins which a man might wish to commit hereafter! Luther wrote his Ninety-five Theses, in which he stated the doctrine of repentance, and admitted that the lesser penances laid upon men by the Church, or pope, might be commuted for money; but he denied that

* See Chapter XII, Note II.

this kind of indulgences were of any spiritual value, and put Romanism and Christianity in strong contrast. In the blaze of noon he nailed these theses on the door of the church, so that they might be read by the crowd that would gather there to celebrate the festival of All Saints (November 1, 1517). He thus committed himself to "that great revolution which rendered the right of examination lawful in Europe." To meet him on these he challenged all comers, but nobody came to dispute them. He meant them for a local purpose; but they set all Germany in commotion. There were opponents who did their utmost to repel the effects, but it seemed as if the intelligence of Europe was almost entirely on Luther's side. "I had a dream," said Frederick. "I saw this monk of ours writing words on the church-door so large that I could read them eighteen miles off; and the pen grew larger and longer till it reached Rome, touched the pope's triple crown, and made it totter." The elector did not permit Tetzl to enter his realm.

The theses went over Europe "as if scattered by angels' hands." The Emperor Maximilian was not sorry, nor was Erasmus displeased at heart. "Thanks be to God," said Reuchlin, "the monks have now found a man who will give them such full employment that they will be glad to let me alone in my old age!" Even Pope Leo was not angry at first; he laughed until the Dominicans gave him some alarm. Still he thought the affair a mere quarrel between two monks, and even praised Brother Martin as a remarkable genius. He smiled when one monk cried "Heresy," and ordered a Dominican to write better replies to Luther, or be silent. Luther was brought into a wide correspondence; his letters spread the truth. He was active in the disputations in several cities, and in the great controversy upon the doctrines of grace. Papal legates were sent to discuss with him, and bring him to terms. He debated with Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg (1518), only to be more confirmed in his position, and appeal, in somewhat violent terms, "from the pope ill-informed to the same when better informed." Still later he appealed to a general council; but no pope dared to call one for more than twenty years. Finding that the cardinal intended to seize him, he escaped by night.

In the conference at Altenburg (1519) his Saxon opponent,

Baron Miltitz, admitted that he would not venture to take Luther out of Germany with an army ten thousand strong, for nine out of every ten men were on his side. He ingeniously begged Luther not to disturb the peace of the Church. The reformer's heart was touched by this sympathetic pleader, and fearing "lest the song he had struck up would get too high for him," he agreed to keep silent on the questions in dispute if his opponents would also cease. He wrote to Pope Leo, assuring him that the papacy was still honored by him as next to Christ in authority over the Church, an idea which he soon abandoned. This hollow truce was soon broken by Dr. Eck, no mean theologian, and Carldstadt, a Wittenberg professor of theology, who was eager for notoriety, and became "a precursor of the German rationalists." These men were to hold a public discussion at Leipsic. Thither went Luther, with Melancthon at his side in an open wagon, and perhaps he had again to borrow a coat for the occasion. He heard the debate on free-will and grace, saw Dr. Eck have the advantage, and heard the schoolmen highly applauded. It might be a critical hour for the reformed theology. On the morning of July 4, 1519, Luther rose on the platform, held a charming bouquet of flowers, and grew eloquent and bold as he stated principles not hitherto avowed by him; that the Latin Church is not exclusively *the* Church; that the pope is not the universal primate by any divine right; that councils may err, and that one had erred in condemning John Huss, whose doctrines were drawn from Scripture and St. Augustine. When a man asserted such bold doctrines as these the scholastics lost all hope of him. They despaired of his return to their faith and fold. "It seems," he said, "that I have become a Hussite without knowing it. St. Paul and Augustine were Hussites."

But he still claimed to be a dutiful son of the Church. He had no intention of leaving it. Meanwhile he had been feeding the hungry people of Germany with something better than matters of controversy. He had sent forth little books on the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. Hearing that papal bulls were preparing for him he wrote "The Babylonish Captivity of the Church." He sent forth an "Address to the Nobility of the German Nation." It was his appeal to the people. "Why do the Germans let themselves be fleeced by

cardinals who get the high offices and spend the revenues at Rome? Let us not give another farthing to the pope. . . . Let his power be reduced to proper limits. Let the national Churches be more independent of Rome. Let there be fewer pilgrimages and convents. Let priests marry. Let begging be stopped. Let us inquire into the position of the Bohemians, and if Huss was in the right let us join them in resisting Rome!" Germany will respond to the appeal.

3. Luther had now a warm-hearted colleague at his side. A devout armorer of Bretten, whose coats of mail glistened on the Palatine nobles, was dying in 1507, and he said to his son Philip: "I foresee that mighty tempests are about to shake the world. May God lead thee!" The lad of ten years may have cured his stammering by declaiming the wise rhymes of his mother. His power of acquiring knowledge was marvelous. He was soon the Greek among his school-mates. His renowned kinsman, John Reuchlin, gave him a Bible and changed his name of Schwartzerd to Melancthon. At fourteen he took the degree of bachelor of arts in the Heidelberg University; at seventeen he was a doctor of philosophy and a lecturer at Tübingen. There he was suspected of reading profane authors during the services in Church, for his book did not seem to be a liturgy. It was a Bible. All his life he carried it with him to public assemblies. He seems never to have been ordained a priest. As a scholarly layman he might have followed Erasmus, had he not been called to Wittenberg, in 1518, as the professor of the Greek language and literature. He began with his lectures on Homer and the Epistles of Paul. Luther wrote of him as "the very learned and most Grecian Philip, a mere lad as you look on him, but his lecture-room is always full. All the theologians go to hear him. He is making every body begin to read Greek." He raised Wittenberg into the school of the nation, and a model for all universities which reformed their methods of teaching. New modes of instruction in the classics, philosophy, and Scripture gave a broad science and a definite system to Protestantism. He was soon called the Preceptor of Germany. These men were life-long brothers, wisely united in one work by the divine Providence. "The miner's son drew the metal of faith up from the deep pit; the armorer's son fashioned the metal for defense and defiance." Both had their

moments of impetuosity and their days of moderation. But generally Luther was the more heroic, vehement, intent on victory, and ready to win it by "words which are half-battles." Melancthon was the more amiable, discreet, conciliatory, and forward to unite parties. The one roused men and rallied forces; the other organized them. If one was too free with the spur, the other took the check-rein, and so they rode together into the contest against the papacy and the empire. After the great leader was gone from earth, his helper gazed on his portrait and said: "Each word of thine was a thunder-bolt."

4. The excommunication of Luther came in 1520, the pope offering him sixty days in which to recant. If he did not then submit, every magistrate was authorized to arrest him and deliver him over to Rome. Two questions rose: What would Luther do with the papal bull? What would Elector Frederick do with Luther?

5. The bonfire, on the 10th of December, 1520, was the signal of a new liberty. Luther and his colleagues led a procession of students and citizens through the Elster Gate, and there, "in the presence of the great German river Elbe," he cast into the flames a piece of parchment, such as had dethroned proud emperors and had blasted good reformers. With it went a copy of the papal decretals and the canon laws of the pope, while the timid gazed in blank amazement, and the courageous lifted a shout of liberty. It was a grand hour, when a monk could defy the might of Rome and of empire, and when a pope had but one resource left—the power of the emperor.

What would Elector Frederick do now? "Much depends on this prince, or Luther may be crushed," said Melancthon. But Frederick had just the kind of power needed at the crisis—strong moral and personal influence. Only the year previous (1519) the seven German electors had met to vote for a new emperor. The French were there with their golden bribes to elect Francis I, and the Spaniards, with more gold to turn the scale for Charles. Erasmus wrote, "When the imperial crown was offered to Frederick of Saxony (the protector of Luther) by all the electors, he magnanimously declined it and named Charles, who would never have been elected otherwise. Frederick refused the thirty thousand florins offered by the Spanish agents, and when asked to let his servants take ten thousand he

replied: 'They can take them if they like, but no one shall remain in my service who accepts a single piece of gold.' The next day he took horse and departed lest they should continue to bother him." We may regret that the good, honest, cool-headed elector was not even forced to be emperor. But had he been emperor the Reformation in Europe would doubtless have resulted in a modified Romanism. His noble service was to stand firmly by Luther, advising him to avoid rash words and measures (from which he was not wholly free to the last), and imparting courage to other princes. He was a providential man.

What would Emperor Charles V do? On him the pope depended, for when the papacy was insulted and defied and was politically weaker than it had been for centuries, the empire seemed to be more nearly a universal monarchy than it had been since the days of Charlemagne. Yet he had to fight almost as much to maintain it, and even make war upon Rome. He must think of Turks as seriously as of heretics. He orders Luther's books to be burnt in the Netherlands; the publishers send new supplies. He reminds rulers and magistrates of their duty to obey the pope's bull and arrest Luther; but those who wish to obey have two difficulties: Luther is not in their districts, and Frederick will not drive him into their traps. The Wittenbergers can not read a bull that has been calcined. Charles can not send an army to Wittenberg, nor put it under interdict, for his oath forbids such work except by consent of the Diet or congress of electors, princes, and representatives of the cities. In 1521, just thirty-eight days after the great fire-signal of revolt, he meets the Diet at Worms to hear certain grievances, for "there be above thirty bishops at variance with their temporal lords," and "to take notice of the books of Friar Martin Luther against the court of Rome."

"Give the force of law to my bull," is the word from the pope. Nuncio Aleander speaks nine hours to show that Luther should be condemned at once, unheard and undefended; "for if the heresy be not stopped," *he* says, "Germany will be reduced to that frightful state of barbarism and desolation which the superstitious Mohammed has brought upon Asia." The electors quake under this eloquence. But the business goes to a committee, and loses heat in the cooling-room. The wiser electors plead for the liberties of their states. They secure from

the emperor a safe-conduct for Luther to come and defend himself. Will Luther retract?

Thus the reformer has become a national, a European man. The Wittenberg circle has become Germanic. We can not ignore its first organizer, the gentle John Staupitz, to whom Luther wrote in 1519: "God drags, and drives, and carries me on. I have no power over myself. I wish to be at rest, but am hurried forward in the tumult. . . . You forsake me far too much. I have been for days very sad on your account, like a weaned child from its mother. Last night I dreamed that you were departing from me. I wept bitterly. You waved your hand for me to expect your return." Staupitz replied, "Come to Salzburg, and here let us live and die together." Friendship had its peculiar sorrows in that separating time. Staupitz died in seclusion. The *finis* to his books was the prayer, "Jesus, I am thine, save me!"

We have now before us, not merely circles of reformers within the old Church, but centers for the organization of the reforming Churches. External unity between the national Protestant Churches was not the rule. From the very start, the forces of Protestantism were not brought into a visibly unified body. The reason is found in their circumstances. The imperative demand was for a defensive and aggressive warfare upon vice, ignorance, political injustice, wild schemes of reform, and the bigotry that would have no reform at all; communism on the German side, and inquisitors on the Spanish border; free thought without faith, and blind faith with no desire to think; and every-where Romanism so organized under the papacy that the grand commander, in St. Peter's name, felt able to summon kings and prelates, with legions of priests and monks, to crush the restorers of Peter's faith. All men who were loyal to the kingdom of truth must leap at once into the battle in their own towns. It was a fight for liberated homes, altars, and father-land. The promptness and single aim of the volunteers, and the political confusions of the time, scarcely permitted a general, organic union of the forces. In breaking away from the alleged center of unity they formed national centers of organization. Thus Protestantism was divided by the universal pressure of evils, by local interests, by jealous nationalities, language, forms of civil government; by conserv-

atism here, by a radical spirit there; by leaders acting independently of each other; and by different opinions and rites, especially that of the eucharist. Yet the original agreement in theology and Church polity was remarkably close, and the bonds of spiritual union were strong. Early Protestantism had few diversities of type and system. Its one great aim was to restore on earth the kingdom of Christ.*

* The three types, or forms, of Evangelical Protestantism, and their chief centers of influence:

1. *Lutheranism*. It reconstructed the then existing Church on the principle of admitting whatever Churchly rites and symbols were not expressly forbidden in the Bible. Presbyterian or consistorial polity. Augustinian theology in the Augsburg Confession, 1530; but tendencies to (the later named) Arminianism in the Form of Concord, 1576-1584. Wittenberg the main center until 1560. Earlier leading reformers: Luther, Melancthon, Spalatin, Cruciger, Bugenhagen (Pomeranus), J. Jonas, Brentz, Armsdorf, Flacius, Agricola.

2. *Calvinism*, which included the more radical Zwinglian reform after 1535: the term "Reformed" was applied to its theology and national Churches. It admitted, in the main, only what the Bible required. It aimed at a nearer restoration of the apostolic Church than even the Lutheran; hence called "Reformed." Presbyterian polity. Augustinian theology; "high Calvinism" in time of Beza. The Reformed (Calvinistic) Churches in various lands had each its own Confession. Main centers: (1) Zurich for German Switzerland, with Zwingli, Myconius, Leo Juda, Haller, Œcolampadius, and Bullinger. (2) Geneva for French Switzerland, France, the Netherlands until Dort, 1618, and Scotland until 1560—with the reformers, Farel, Viret, Calvin, Beza, Bucer at Strasburg, and Knox in Scotland.

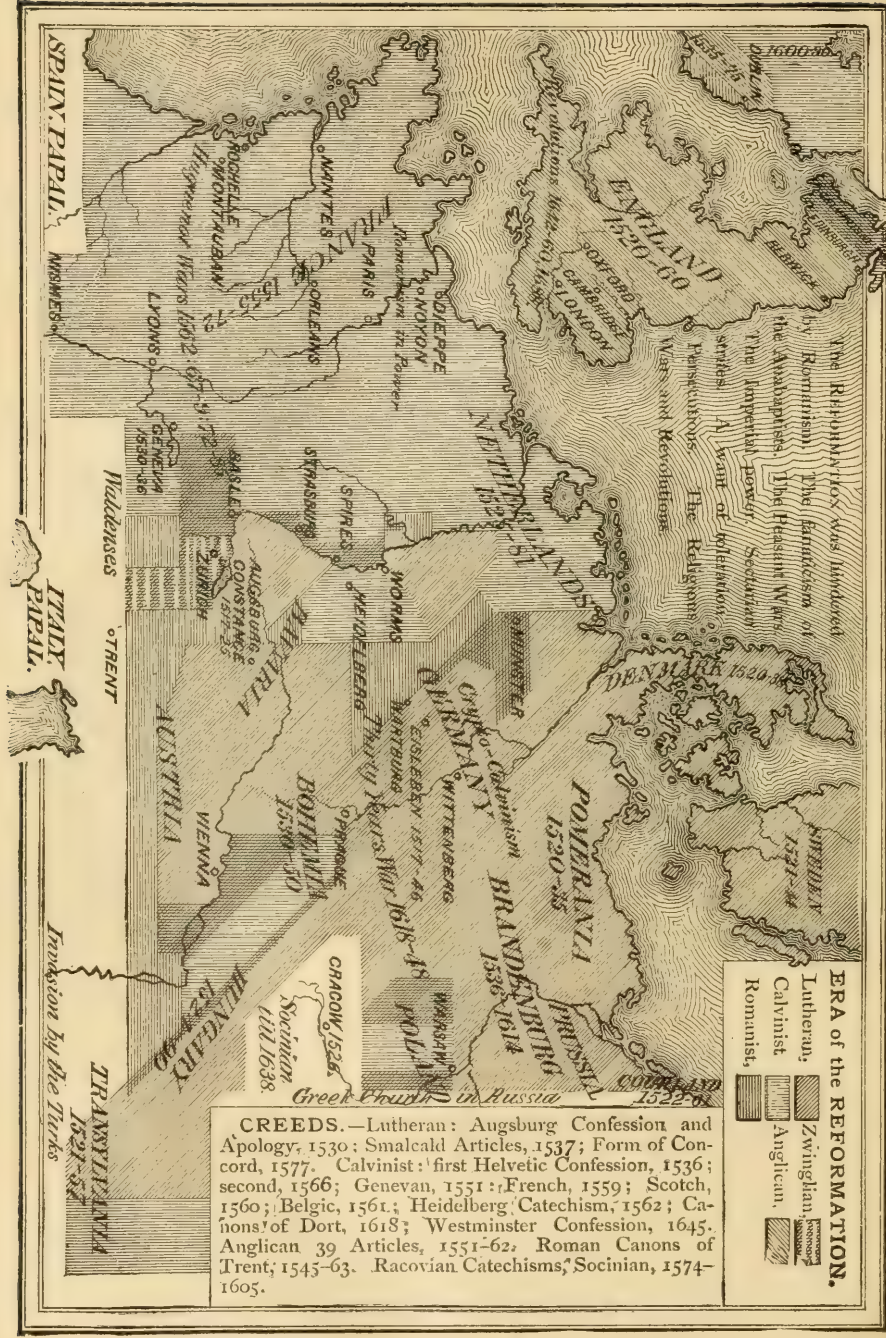
3. *Anglicanism*. The old Church of England was re-formed, and its continuity preserved in the English Protestant Church. The polity is prelatic episcopacy. Its early theology was Augustinian; after 1590 Arminianism caused a diversity of doctrine, but no change in the Thirty-nine Articles. The main centers were Oxford and especially Cambridge, with the transitional reformers, Grocyn, Colet, More, Erasmus, Cardinal Wolsey, and Fisher; and the fathers of Anglicanism, Thomas Cromwell, Tyndale, Frith, Coverdale, Bilney, Latimer, Barnes, Cranmer, Ridley, Jewell, Becon, Peter Martyr from Italy, Bucer of Strasburg for some years, Hooper, Hooker, Grindal, Parker, Whitgift, and Cartwright.

Three evident facts: 1. The theology of all the evangelical Protestants was Augustinian, with some diversities here and there, until the leading doctrines of the system advocated long before, and called afterwards Arminianism, reappeared among Protestants about 1565-1575.

2. Outside of the Anglican, Danish, and Swedish Churches, the ecclesiastical polity of the earlier Protestants was presbyterial in its main features. The Lutheran superintendents, and so the Scottish in their brief day, were not prelatic bishops. They were more like the Methodist bishops since the time of John Wesley. The form of Church government drawn up by Francis Lambert, 1526, for the Churches of Hessa, was congregational, or a sort of independency.

But it did not root itself there. This polity found ardent supporters among the English Puritans, some of whose exiles and pilgrims, early in the seventeenth century, organized under it with permanent results. It was then brought into modern history as a third Protestant system of Church government. The first reformers "were contending for the primitive Gospel, rather than the primitive Church polity."

3. The continuity of the old Church in the new Churches. This appeared externally to be most fully preserved in England and Sweden, where the old prelatial polity was reformed, and each national Church freed from the papacy. But, if continuity be thought important, it may be found as real elsewhere. The Lutherans were not dependent on the organization of new congregations; they carried with them the old Churches of towns and of states; and the presbyterial succession was sufficiently continued; for the priests of the old were the presbyters of the renewed system. So among the Zwinglians and Calvinists; existing Churches, of free cities, of Cantons, of states or nationalities, went bodily out of Romanism into Protestantism, with their presbyters, pastors, and people, and denied that they were schismatics. In France the Huguenots had to organize new Churches. There, and in some other quarters great stress was laid upon two other sorts of continuity: (1) A spiritual, or vital. The *visible* Church had been Romanized and papalized; yet in or about it there had been the *invisible* Church of God, consisting of all true believers and worshipers through all ages. (2) An organic, in the purer dissenters from Romanism, such as the Culdees, Albigenses, and Waldenses. Hence a vigorous effort to construct for them a historical succession from the days of Columba, Ambrose, and even Constantine. "It is an act of justice to vindicate the character of those whom the apostate Church of Rome stigmatized and persecuted as heretics and schismatics," says Dr. Cunningham (Hist. Theology, I, p. 449), who does not rely upon a visible and official succession. But such a history must rest, through many misty centuries, upon slender traditions, meager facts, and large inferences. Those who rely upon it to prove the continuity of the true and visible Church are entitled to their theory, their arguments, and their satisfaction. Most Protestants lay stress upon the spiritual continuity of the Church.



ERA of the REFORMATION.

Lutheran; Calvinist; Anglican; Romanist;

CREEDS.—Lutheran: Augsburg Confession and Apology, 1530; Smalcald Articles, 1537; Form of Concord, 1577. Calvinist: first Helvetic Confession, 1536; second, 1566; Genevan, 1551; French, 1559; Scotch, 1560; Belgic, 1561; Heidelberg Catechism, 1562; Canons of Dort, 1618; Westminster Confession, 1645. Anglican 39 Articles, 1551-62. Roman Canons of Trent, 1545-63. Racovian Catechisms, Socinian, 1574-1605.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION.

1521—1600.

Two astonishing facts were before Europe: a pope had failed with his ban upon a monk; the excommunicated monk was to be heard in his own defense before an emperor. These are notable marks in the progress of liberty. The days of Canossa are gone. The papacy is thrown into the shade. Charles V is given a peculiar position in Church affairs; they become intricate, and involved in politics and wars. We now limit ourselves to those events which bear most directly upon the deliverance of the reform from Romanism, from political revolution, from fanaticism, and from dissolution.

I. *The Diet of Worms* (1521) was a human affair; yet it was divinely ordered to bring out Luther's independence, and the sympathy of Germany for him; to make "the Lutheran cause" a definite power; to separate it from Roman rule and imperial patronage; and to create a reformed Church. Luther's twelve days' ride to the old city of diets was a test of the popular sentiment. He was the only man whom foes or friends cared to see. One priest showed him a portrait of Savonarola, and said, "Stand firm, and God will stand by thee." All Erfurt turned out to greet him; and he preached in the dear old convent-church, at the risk of forfeiting his passport. When near Worms, Spalatin came from Frederick to remind him of John Huss, and advise him not to go on. He replied: "Huss was burnt, but not the truth with him. I will go into Worms, though as many devils are aiming at me as there are tiles on the house-tops." At noon his rude farmer's wagon passed through the gate, and that old town had in it the two foremost men of Europe—Luther at his inn, praying with an open Bible before him, and Charles at his palace, bargaining

with the pope's nuncio, and reading the papal letters. Will the one recant? Will the other be the tool of a baffled pope?

Amid the highest excitement in the streets and in the great hall, where five thousand people gathered, Luther found that he was not in Constance, nor in one of those general councils which innocent men had learned to abhor. He was calm, respectful, candid, keen in his exposures of papal tyranny, skillful in argument, willing to concede that he had sometimes been "more vehement than a Christian ought to be," but retracting nothing essential. The Diet was considerate and evinced a German justice to him. The papal legate began to act the inquisitor at the second hearing. "Well, then," said Luther, "if my answer is not full and fair, you shall have one plain enough. I believe things which are contrary to the pope and councils, for it is as clear as day that they have often erred. Let me then be refuted and convinced by the testimony of Scripture, or by the clearest arguments; otherwise I can not and will not recant, for it is neither safe nor expedient to act against conscience. Here I take my stand. I can not do otherwise; God help me! Amen." That day's work was nobly done. The Saxon prophet announced the enduring basis, the true spirit, and the Divine Helper of Protestantism.

The next day Emperor Charles informed the German princes, "I shall proceed against Luther as an avowed heretic, and I expect you to support me." The papal party urged him to rescind the safe-conduct. His reply was, "I do not wish to blush as did Sigismund;" but thirty years afterward in his convent at Yuste, he regretted this fidelity to honor and duty. Charles ordered Luther to return to Wittenberg, and he started. Had he been like a warrior-bishop of the Middle Ages he might have had an army at a word, for Hutten and Francis of Sickingen were hovering about with troops, and on the walls of the Town Hall was found a placard stating that four hundred knights with eight thousand soldiers were ready to defend Luther against the Romanists. It alarmed the papists. They cunningly waited until most of Luther's princely friends had gone home, and then worked through the Diet an edict which declared that, after twenty days of longer perversity, he should be under the ban of the empire and Church, as a heretic and outlaw; his books to be burnt; press and pulpit forbidden him;

shelter and food and kindly words denied him; his doctrines to be rooted out, and his followers reduced to submission; all which might come to pass, if a torrent could be stopped by flinging on it a scroll of parchment.

Luther, on his return from Worms, had been arrested in the Black Forest, by some friendly horsemen, and placed in the lonely castle of Wartburg. Thence went out some of the keenest of controversial tracts. The better defense was spiritual aggression, and the noblest form of it was there begun in the translation of the Bible for the German people, the greatest literary work of all centuries for them. It was completed at Wittenberg in 1533, with the aid of Melancthon and Cruciger. It established their language, gave them a faith, started a varied literature, and struck so deep into the German intellect that even the ban of Duke George of Saxony was but a ripple on the stream of its national influence. It was Henry VIII of England who instigated the duke to forbid its circulation in his state. George found that his people must have the Bible. He promised a better version. He engaged Jerome Emser, ignorant of Greek and German, to construct it. With a flourish of trumpets it was sent out into the world. It illustrated the Jesuitic honesty of a man who audaciously took Luther's version, pictures and all, erased the original preface and notes, added some of his own, and then published it as his genuine translation! Luther exposed him as "this poor dealer in second-hand clothes." Tyndale's English version was treated in a quite similar way, that it might pass the criticism of King Henry.

II. *The Prophets of Revolution.* They belong to the Deformation. The coals of the former Peasant Wars were still alive. The decree from Worms was breath and fuel to them. Most of the Germans would rather read Luther's books than to burn them. Many of the social revolutionists hoped to find in him a leader. Bands of communistic spirits usually called Anabaptists,* raised their voices. At Zwickau, on the Bohemian border, the weaver Claus Storch and his comrades assumed to be inspired. They wanted no priests, nor Bible, nor churchly order. He and other of these prophets, expelled from Zwickau

* If they, or any of them, can be proven to have been worthy fathers of the present Baptists (some of whom are hopeful of the evidence), so much the better for the Anabaptists, and for future historians.

came to Wittenberg, where Carlstadt had taken some steps in the right direction. He had changed the mass to the Lord's Supper,* and restored the cup to the laity, abolished private confession and various ceremonies, but he knew not where to stop. He joined hands with the new prophets and exceeded them in his claims to miraculous inspiration. Learning was declared to be useless. Many students left the university to wander and preach this fanaticism, or remained to engage in riots. The iconoclasts broke the painted windows and the statues in the churches. Melancthon was at his wits' end.

III. *The Loci Communes.* These "Common Places," fresh from the quiet study of Melancthon, in 1521, were hailed by Erasmus as an army of doctrines sharply opposed to the scholastics and Pharisees. Nothing like so complete a systematic theology had ever appeared.† It had no rival through fourteen years. Then it amicably joined with Calvin's Institutes in establishing a theological system on the basis of the inspired Word. Its author saw it pass through sixty editions, one of them in French, by Calvin. It gave materials for the Lutheran symbols.

IV. *Luther again at Wittenberg.* He had not objected to the first mild changes there. To know that his brother monks had abandoned masses, and celibacy, and convent, was not an offense to him. But when the essential principles of reform, of faith, of worship, of holiness, were all going in the whirlwind, he resolved to escape from his retreat at the risk of his life. Duke Frederick warned him not to expose himself. Duke George of Leipsic might seize him. "I'll go if it rains Duke Georges nine days," said he, and throwing himself upon divine protection he was soon in Wittenberg, welcomed by those who had thought he would never come back. Order was restored. The prophets were expelled. In the Church services Luther now adopted the principle that all religious rites and usages which were not opposed to some clear statement of God's Word were admissible. Certain mediæval rites and customs were retained.

*Carlstadt held that it was merely a commemorative rite, the bread and wine being mere symbols of the body and blood of Christ: the view of John Scotus, and probably of Erasmus. It is often imputed to Zwingli.

†In 1832 the *Princeton Review* described it as "a model which might do honor to the brightest age of Scriptural investigation."

V. The Reform was charged with the evils of three military enterprises. (1) *The Knights' War* was headed by Francis of Sickingen, who besieged Treves in order to punish the archbishop for his sins against God and the emperor, and to give to the people freedom from the pope and the priests. He was driven into one of his castles: it was battered down, and he was slain (1523). His comrade, Ulric Hutten, fled, and died the object of Zwingli's charity. In his place Luther ought to have been poet-laureate.

(2) *The Peasants' War* was far more extended. The whole country drained by the head-waters of the Rhine and Danube was involved in a series of revolts. The old spirit of the serfs rose against their feudal lords and the clergy. They told how they were robbed of the game in the forests, the fish in the streams, and wages on farms and in towns, and how they must ever be raising money for the priests. "At baptism, money; at bishoping, money; at marriage, money; for confession, money—not even extreme unction without money"—and poor souls must suffer on in purgatory for want of money.

The mind of Thomas Munzer gave organic form to these movements. He was, like Luther, a Thuringian; he was gifted with a rude eloquence that gave him great ascendancy over the boors and burghers of the region. He joined Stork and the Anabaptists from a sympathy with their notion that Luther was not going fast and far enough in reforming the Church. When Stork was driven from Wittenberg, he seems to have taken refuge with Munzer in the imperial city of Mühlhausen. There Munzer, who had been driven from one place to another, took his abode. By eloquence and management, he got control of the city councils, became actual ruler, banished the old magistrates, established a community of goods, and caused a reign of terror in all that country. In other places robbers were leaders, and Dr. Carlstadt a fit preacher. It was this fanatic who now threw the Lutherans and Zwinglians into the rending controversy upon the Lord's Supper.* The sacrament of Christ's atoning love and union was to be a theme of discord

*The term consubstantiation is usually given to Luther's doctrine of the Eucharist. But John Gerhard (1582-1637) wrote, "We neither believe in impanation, nor consubstantiation, nor any physical or local presence whatsoever." Dr. Krauth (1876) says, "We affirm . . . that these sacramental objects, to

among the reformers. To war in the Church this man would add war in the state. So he cast his lot with the chieftain who subscribed his fiery proclamations thus: "Thomas Munzer, servant of God against the wicked;" and who inflamed the peasantry with these words: "Be pitiless. Heed not the groans of the impious. Rouse up the towns and villages; above all, the miners of the mountains. On! on! while the fire is burning, and the hot sword reeking with slaughter. Kill all the proud ones. While they reign over you it is no use to talk of God!" It was a war for communism of the most immoral sort. It was ended by the battle at Frankenhausen, in 1525, where Munzer was beheaded, as a rebel, and not as a heretic.*

About one hundred thousand peasants are thought to have perished in these revolts. By Luther's kindly mediation Carlstadt returned to more moderate views. He ended his days as a professor and preacher at Basle (1541), but he served to connect those excesses unjustly with the reform. The real authors of them were the dominant powers at the Diet of Worms. To the nobles Luther had said, "You must moderate your despotism." But when the peasants reveled in wine cellars, broke into convents, and set castles on fire, he so denounced them that he is said to have checked "the whole democratic movement of the time."

Another military movement (3), that of the league between certain reformed princes, was not so entirely evil. It was largely defensive of the Lutheran cause. It was provoked by a Roman Catholic league formed at Nuremberg between the new pope,

wit, the true body and true blood of Jesus Christ, are truly present in the Lord's Supper." Zwingli held that the bread and wine are memorials of Christ's death, and means of sanctifying grace; that in the sacrament believers receive Christ spiritually.

* Luther said, "The pen, not the fire, is to put down heretics. The hangmen are not doctors of theology. . . . If the Word does not put down error, error will stand, though the world were drenched with blood." He pitied the wretched peasants, but condemned their method of seeking relief from political oppression. "The story of their communistic struggles fills four separate chapters in the history of the period: (1) the uprising under Munzer and Stork, which centered at Mühlhausen in Thuringia; (2) the Anabaptist struggle in Switzerland, especially at Zurich; (3) the Anabaptists' colonization of Moravia under Hutter; and (4) the terrible closing scenes of the communist tragedy at Munster, where John of Leyden was leader and ruler, with the fruitless attempt to seize the city of Amsterdam." Note I.

Hadrian VI,* and the Romanist princes, in order to root out Lutheranism. The Reformed League was headed by John (Frederick's successor and brother) and Philip of Hesse—men intensely earnest for the good cause. In 1526, at Spire, they secured this admirable measure, that no German state should be compelled to enforce the decree against Luther; each state might do as it chose. Of course, Luther would be kept within the friendly states, and Lutheranism could work its way by moral force. These reformed princes began to reform or repress monasteries, and turn the revenues to the support of schools or of preaching. Monks and nuns were allowed to marry. The Church services were generally conformed to those of Wittenberg. All this went on prosperously while the Divine Providence kept the emperor in Italy, quarreling with Pope Clement VII, and sacking Rome.† One wrote, "Such is the empire of Jesus Christ, that the emperor pursuing Luther on behalf of the pope, is constrained to ruin the pope instead of Luther." But when Charles and Clement adjusted their quarrel, they did not forget the older alliance against Germany.

VI. *The Protestants.* The Diet of Spire, in 1529, re-enacted the edict of Worms, forbidding all further reforms until a General Council should be held. Luther must be again under the ban of pope and empire. This soon brought the reformed princes to Spire, with their memorable *protest*, which gave them the name of *Protestants*. The Turks seemed to have their protest, for they marched westward and laid siege to Vienna. So the emperor was again drawn away from the

* A poor boy of Utrecht, professor at Louvain, tutor of Charles V, pious Dominican, learned Thomist, not Hildebrandine in his papal theories, eager to reform the Church and to repress the Lutheran heresy. / His papal reign was too short (1522-3) to effect much reform.

† From the windows of the castle of St. Angelo Clement might see the Germans acting an alarming satire. They formed a procession, and marched through the streets to the castle. One was attired like a pope; others as cardinals; all on horses caparisoned in papal style. Their pontiff made a speech; rehearsed the evils and wars caused by the real popes; thanked Providence for raising up Charles V to avenge papal crimes and bridle the priests; and then solemnly promised to transfer all his authority to Martin Luther, who would refit the Ship of Peter and man it with better men. "All who agree to this, hold up your hands," said he; and up they went with the shout, "Long live Pope Luther!"

reformers. "Let there be unity against the common foe," said Luther, and so Lutheran and Romanist patriotically joined in the defense of the father-land.

VII. *The ecclesiastical polity.* Each reformed prince controlled affairs within his own bounds; hence a union of Church and state was continued. Few German bishops were converted early enough to Protestantism to conserve prelacy. The leading reformers were simple presbyters; hence a presbyterial system was natural. Reformed pastors brought over many of their Churches with them, or a state voted them all into Protestantism. The polity was framed chiefly by Melancthon and two or three civilians. It began, in 1527,* with the famous Saxon Visitation, which had been urged by Luther and ordered by Elector John. The province was divided into four districts. Each was canvassed by two ministers and three laymen. Luther had Saxony proper and Melancthon took Misnia. They were to inspect the morals and abilities of all teachers, monks, and pastors; to remove the unworthy and fill vacancies; to establish schools in all parishes, and afford sound preaching to all the people; to supply rules of discipline and fix salaries, or grant benefices from property secured to the Protestants; to deal tenderly with the ignorant, infirm, aged, and those of honest prejudices; to admonish the unfaithful and, if they did not reform, report them to the civil authorities for correction; and to harmonize the churches in a common worship and faith. They retained much of the old system, many saints' days, clerical vestments, and rites, of which Melancthon wrote, "There is no harm in them, whatever Zwingli may say." Other princes ordered visitations, and the reform was made effective.

To promote this work superintendents were appointed over districts, either by the civil power or by the clergy. The election of pastors by the people came to be limited by patrons or by consistories. To educate both clergy and laity Luther prepared his two catechisms. The first German consistory was formed in 1539 at Wittenberg. Two of its six ministers were professors of theology; the two laymen, or elders, were doctors of law. It had judicial power. It was virtually a presbytery.

* This was four years after Zwingli had introduced a more thorough presbyterial system at Zurich.

It was adopted wherever Lutheranism prevailed, except in prelatic Sweden.

VIII. *The Confession of Augsburg.* The new Charlemagne, now so dutiful to the pope, must repress the Saxons, not as heathen, but worse, as heretics. "Enforce the Edict of Worms," was his now monotonous demand at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530, whither Luther would have gone had his friends permitted. He was not far off in Coburg Castle, imparting courage to Melancthon by letters, and singing, *Eine feste Berg;*

A safe stronghold our God is still,
A trusty shield and weapon.

He was fully consulted while Melancthon was drawing up the famous Apology, which was meant to be a provisional defense, and not a permanent creed. Its framer often revised it afterwards, and treated it as his own summary of doctrines. But princes and people received it as the confession of their faith. It gave them more organic unity. It is still the most popular symbol of the Lutheran Churches.*

The reforming princes went home from the diet entirely unsubmissive to the orders and threats of Emperor Charles. The Turks again drew him away from Germany. The princes formed the Protestant League of Smalcald, 1531, and went on leaguings and staving off civil war until Luther was gone to his rest.

IX. In 1546 death changed the Protestant leadership in Germany. Wittenberg had become a model Protestant city. There Luther preached, lectured, commented on Scripture, wrote great folios, married a released nun—the most excellent Catharine Von Bora—loved his children and neighbors, and made his home blissful with song, hospitality, and never-forgotten table-talk.† There he curbed his high temper by

*It was preceded in 1529 by the Articles of Marburg, Schwabach, and Torgau. For other Lutheran symbols see Note III. To this Diet of Augsburg Zwingli sent his "*Ratio Fidei*," and Martin Bucer presented the "*Confessio Tetrapolitana*," or Confession of the four cities of Strasburg, Cosnitz, Memmingen, and Lindau. These cities, in 1532, adopted the Augsburg Confession, for it then seemed likely to be subscribed by nearly all the (later called) Calvinists.

† "Nine nuns came to me yesterday, who had escaped from their imprisonment in the convent of Nimptschen," wrote Luther, April 6, 1523. They had read some of his writings. "I greatly pity these poor girls. . . . They escaped in the most surprising manner. [Rode in a wagon on a rainy night to

prayer, uttered words of light and flame, wrote hymns which still ring in Christendom, kindled a literary spirit in his people, and died at Eisleben in his sixty-third year. He was buried at Wittenberg, and even Charles V would not allow his grave to be desecrated by the soldiers when they captured the city.

The Germanic leadership passed to Melancthon, who adhered to the maxim, "In essentials unity; in doubtful things liberty, and in all things charity." In trying to harmonize religious parties he may have increased their number, and added to them his followers—the Philippists. He was traveling to the Council of Trent, in 1551, when a war sent him back to his home, his good wife, children, books, and restless pen.

His hearty alliance with Calvin favored the planting of the Genevan system in many of the German states, but added heat there to theological controversies. Yet when the hail of censure falls upon his grave at Wittenberg, there comes to us the lament of Calvin, in an outburst of heart when he is writing one of his severest tracts, in 1560: "O Philip, now living with Christ, and waiting for us until we shall be gathered with thee into that blessed rest! A hundred times, worn with labors and cares, thou didst lay thy head upon my breast and say, 'Would to God that I might die here on thy heart!' And I, a thousand times since, have earnestly wished that we might be together. Certainly thou wouldst have been more valiant to face danger, stronger to despise hatred, and bolder to disregard false accusations. The wickedness of many would have been restrained, and their audacious insults would not have fallen upon thee for what they called thy weakness."

X. The evangelical states of Germany, deep in the wars of their league, had no religious peace from those truces called Interims. The Augsburg Interim of the emperor, 1548, was

Wittenberg.] Pray beg some money of your rich courtiers to enable me to support them a week or two, until I can restore them to their parents, or to friends who promise to take care of them if their parents do not." (April 10, 1523.) The next year he threw off his monk's dress, and "when I was thinking of other affairs, the Lord brought me suddenly to a marriage with Catharine, the nun." When reproached for this, he "hoped that his humiliation would rejoice the angels and vex the devils." During a severe illness in 1527, he prayed, "Lord God, I have neither house, nor land, nor possessions to leave. Thou hast given me a wife and children; preserve them as thou hast taken care of me." His letters to "Doctress Kate" and their children overflow with love, humor, and genial piety.

more than half papal, and was intended for the interval before the Council of Trent* should settle affairs for all Europe. Armies tried to enforce it. In Southern Germany four hundred faithful preachers, with their wives and children, wandered about starving and shelterless. In the north there was a stronger resistance. Fugitives from all quarters found refuge in Magdeburg. There alone, in "God's chancery," the press was free to oppose the Romanizing scheme, and tracts, satires, and caricatures fell upon Germany like Autumn leaves, to increase the fires of debate. The Protestant princes, who sought relief at the resumed Council of Trent, 1551, found that compromises with Rome were simply nets for their entrapment. The Reformation never appeared more hopeless. "Bound by the fetters of the Interim, it seemed like a culprit on whom the sentence of death was to be passed."

In Saxony the Elector Maurice, with the aid of Melancthon, put forth the Leipsic Interim, 1548, which seemed to be only half Protestant. It kindled a strife about "things indifferent,"† and evoked the disgust and hatred of Protestants, who chose to endure imprisonment rather than restore the old Romish usages. Calvin and his supporters wrote against both Interims, and "Crypto-Calvinism" brought a more heroic, unflinching spirit into the German states, where it fought hard and long for the right of existence.‡

XI. *Elector Maurice and the Treaties of Peace.* Germany was fettered by the Augsburg Interim. Magdeburg was the one bulwark of Protestant liberty. It was under the ban and interdict of the emperor so far as wrath on paper could make it. He was by the Divine Providence hedged in at Innspruck, and he could not lead in the storming of Magdeburg. Just when the hopes of all Protestants were centered on that brave, outlawed, long besieged city, Maurice betrayed them, and joined the storming forces (1550-1), in order to execute the imperial ban. But he could not endure the German aversion to himself, nor the rigorous demands of Charles. The city

*It held sessions, with many adjournments, from 1543 to 1563.

† Adiaphora, among which were the pope's jurisdiction, seven sacraments, images, saints' days, and good works. But the doctrine of justification by faith was not surrendered.

‡ Notes II and III.

yielded to him. He then threw off the mask, betrayed the emperor, said that he would not be trampled down by priests and Spaniards, flung the Interim to the winds, liberated Germany, and marched for Innsbruck "to catch the fox in his lair." Charles barely escaped on a stormy night. Sick, humiliated, forsaken, he fled over the snow-covered mountains into a hiding-place whence no one heard his old cry, "Enforce the edict of Worms." And so ended his toil of thirty years to wipe out German Protestantism.

Maurice entered Innsbruck and secured the Treaty of Passau, 1551,* and released from prison such princes as John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse. Preachers came home from exile. Soon Protestants and Romanists were fighting as patriots on the side of a common liberty. The Religious Peace of Augsburg, 1555, gained under the emperor's fallen crest, secured mutual toleration to the Romanists and Lutherans in Germany, or rather to their princes, who might compel their subjects to adopt their own creed. But it did not grant tolerance to the German Reformed Churches—the Zwinglians and Calvinists—and for it they must wait nearly a century. This unjust reservation did not prevent what is termed the Calvinizing of several German states.† It helped to sectarianize European Protestantism. Immense evils grew out of it. Yet it marks the close of an epoch from the rise to the establishment of the Reformation in Germany.

Melancthon, dying in 1560, said: "For two reasons I desire to leave this life. First, that I may enjoy the sight of the Son of God and the Church in Heaven. Next that I may be set free from the monstrous fury of the theologians." He did not undervalue theology, for it was his favorite science. He saw its vast benefit to Protestantism. But he feared that the eight or nine controversies already stormy would lead the people away from the essentials of faith and from spiritual life; and that a new race of schoolmen would befog all really scientific

* This closed the emperor's Thirty Years' War (1521–51), but it and the next Treaty of 1555 left enormous evils in both Churches and states, which grew on until they caused another Thirty Years' War (1618–48), the most terrible chapter in the modern history of Germany. The prince-bishops, who controlled certain large cities, and the Jesuits held some provinces of Germany under Romanism. See Chapter XIX, under *Jesuits*.

† See Chapter XVIII, Section IX.

theology. Ten years after he was gone the German Reformation was imperiled by bitter contentions. To save it and unify the Lutherans the Form of Concord (1576) was put forth.* But little fires were simply brought into a larger conflagration.

And still Protestantism was not a failure in Germany; not in the Christian faith which it brought to the people, the household altars restored, the love by Winter firesides, the bliss at harvestings, the songs that rang in churches; not in sanctifying the popular spirit of freedom inherent in the race, nor in directing Teutonic energies to higher civilization and literary culture and universal science. Creeds might divide theologians and philosophies make parties, but Luther's Bible was greater than all of them, for it passed into nearly every home and brought faithful readers into "the glorious company of the apostles, the goodly fellowship of the prophets, and the holy Church throughout all the world." To give a nation the example of Luther's domestic bliss was worth all that looked like wasted effort in the Reformation. To empty convents and fill pulpits with men of truth and pastorates with shepherds who cared for the flock, was a triumph which no revival of ritualism can turn back or nullify.

THE EXTENSION OF LUTHERANISM.

We shall briefly survey "the bursting forth of Luther's spirit into states and countries not included in the German Empire." Luther's writings were borne into various lands and found readers in all Europe, even where Lutheranism did not assume a distinct form. He and Melancthon lectured to students from nearly all countries. Monks became preachers, and went far as missionaries, especially the Augustines.

I. Prussia, then the country south of the Baltic, had long been under the control of the Teutonic knights, who had brought it within the pale of Christianity. Albert, the grand-master of the order and Prince of Brandenburg, admitted the Lutheran preachers, in 1522, within his province. Their success was rapid and marked. The bishop, George Polentz, was the first German prelate who became earnest for reform. The whole country was converted into a Protestant dukedom. The convents were changed into hospitals. In 1544 the University

* See Notes II, III. The Calvinists had already put forth distinctive creeds.

of Königsberg was established to educate preachers for the independent Prussian Church.

II. Denmark was opened to the reform by King Christern II, who opposed the national party of Roman priests. At his request, in 1520, Martin Reinhard was sent to him from Wittenberg. He met with success until the papal clergy expelled him and an assistant monk. Carlstadt went, but only increased the troubles. A revolution drove Christern to Saxony, where he was led by Luther to adopt the Reformation more heartily, and his wife (the emperor's sister) became an earnest convert. They secured a Danish translation of the New Testament, and circulated it in their realm. But this king, wishing the political aid of Charles V, abjured the reformed faith at Augsburg (1530), and by this means conquered Norway. He was soon thrown into prison, repented of his apostasy, studied the Danish Bible, and depended upon his son, Christern, to press forward the work. When he came to the disputed throne he was crowned by Pomeranius (Bugenhagen), who was brought for the purpose from Wittenberg. The old clergy were seized, imprisoned, deposed, and superintendents were appointed in their place. Their property and revenues were confiscated to the crown. The monasteries were converted to Protestant uses. The Augsburg confession and Lutheran liturgy were adopted. The University of Copenhagen was reorganized, and Christern III was recognized as the royal father of the National Church of Denmark. From this country the reformation extended to Norway and Iceland.

III. Sweden had freed itself from the Danish yoke, and been put under ban by Pope Leo X; but Christern II had reconquered it, and at his coronation put to slaughter six hundred of its noblest men, whom the archbishop pointed out as the enemies of the Danes. This roused the national spirit, so that, as soon as this new king had gone home, Gustavus Vasa returned from exile, expelled the Danes (1521), and was elected the rightful king. During his wanderings he had become inclined to the Reformation. Olaf and Lawrence Peterson had studied at Wittenberg, returned to their native land, and begun their glorious work. One became the preacher at Stockholm; the other a professor of theology in the University of Upsal. Bishop Lawrence Anderson entered into the movement. These

men gave the Bible to the Swedes in their own language. At one of the disputations King Gustavus, seated on his horse, discoursed on the uselessness of the Latin service, and suggested that the monastic orders be abolished. The Roman party was still strong. At one of the diets he said, "Either adopt the Reformation, or accept my resignation of the crown." The clergy violently opposed any reform of the Church, for they were rich. Gustavus left the assembly, weeping over the lack of a national spirit in his people. Then the laymen and the nobles felt the stir of liberty in their souls, and a love for their king, who was their strong defense against the Danish power. They rose up in their majesty and might, broke from the bonds of the clergy, and did not rest until Gustavus resumed the scepter. The states yielded to his wishes. They gave him all the power that he could ask. They deprived the bishops of their strongholds and their revenues, suppressed the monasteries, and organized the Swedish Church upon the Lutheran basis (1554), except that episcopacy was retained, along with many of the mediæval rites. There were insurrections and reactions; the Jesuits labored busily; but in 1593 the Augsburg Confession was established.

IV. Bohemia and Moravia had given birth to the Hussites, who claimed to be already reformed. They were among the first to correspond with Luther, who at length offered the hand of fellowship to the United Brethren. Their delegates conferred with him. One result was their Confession, in 1535, presented to their king, Ferdinand. They sent volunteers into the Smalcaldic War, and for this were bitterly persecuted. One thousand of them sought refuge in Prussia and Poland. But a party opposed to Lutheranism grew up, and sought alliance with the Calvinists. Both systems were admitted into the country, which became almost entirely Protestant. The Jesuits, however, produced a great reaction, so that in 1627 Protestantism was nearly suppressed.

V. In Hungary the truths of the Gospel were taught by Waldenses, Hussites, and students who returned from Wittenberg zealous for the doctrines of Luther. Simon Grynäus, professor at Ofen, was imprisoned for preaching them. Earnest monks had more success. Whole towns and parishes declared for the reform, in the face of persecutions. Had Queen Mary,

the sister of the emperor, and the correspondent of Luther, remained to protect the reform, it would have been more rapidly advanced. As regent in the Netherlands she at first favored "the Lutheran religion," very much to the displeasure of the papal nuncio. She had to be taught this error! The Hungarian Luther was Matthew Devay, who suffered in prison, dwelt for some time in Luther's own house, at Wittenberg, translated the New Testament for his people, and adopted the Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper. The larger part of the Hungarian Protestants indorsed the Swiss Confession (1557), but the German colonists adhered to that of Augsburg. Another party ran into Socinianism. The Jesuits began to undermine Protestantism by winning the ruling families back to their creed. They employed education as their means of gaining the princes and nobles. But they made Hungary a land of heroes and martyrs for the Word of God. The Reformation, which had virtually triumphed, was almost overthrown, until the year 1781 brought "perfect freedom for the Protestants." No other land furnishes a more complete illustration of the arts and victories of Jesuitism over the Reformed Church. But the true light went out from Hungary into neighboring countries. The reform in Transylvania has a similar history, only that toleration came at an earlier day (1571), granting equal liberty to Lutherans, Calvinists, Romanists, and Socinians.

VI. Poland had never been strongly devoted to the papacy. Waldenses and Hussites had fostered the Slavonic spirit of independence. Students were educated at Wittenberg, and Polish nobles employed them as teachers and preachers. In 1524 the leading cities of Prussian Poland—Dantzic, Elbing, and Thorn—declared for the Reformation. One of the chief reformers was John à Lasko, a nobleman destined to the priesthood, a student under Erasmus at Basle, and a man of independent thought. After 1526 he labored eleven years to secure a reform in Poland, on the Erasmian basis, but failed. He traveled, met with Zwingli and Cranmer, preached to foreign residents in London and Frankfort, superintended the work in Friesland, and in 1556 he was called back to his native land by King Sigismund. He lived four years longer, earnestly seeking to unite the reformed parties, and translate the Bible. A union in the consensus of Sandomir was effected (1570), but it did not

heal the dissensions. The Jesuits were the common foe against whom the Protestants did not join hands in vigorous efforts to educate the people and retain the ruling classes.

Poland became the refuge of the Unitarians, who had scarcely been tolerated in other lands, and who were brought into unity by Lælius and Faustus Socinus of Italy. The doctrine of the Trinity had been opposed by Martin Cellarius of Wittenberg; by Gentilis, Blandrata, and Servetus, who had resided for a time at Geneva, and by several Anabaptists. Free-thinkers had also appeared at Venice and other cities of Italy, but the chief of the Italian school was Lælius Socinus, a learned jurist of Siena, who spent some years among the reformers at Zurich, Basle, Geneva and other cities, and gradually developed his belief. He held that Jesus Christ was a mere man, supernaturally endowed with gifts and power to achieve the salvation of men, who only needed a moral example, a true teacher, and a new impulse towards a holy life; yet the man Jesus, having accomplished his work, is rewarded with an exaltation to divine majesty, and granted power to judge the world; hence divine honors are due him. The Holy Ghost is only a power of God. The elder Socinus went to Poland, and sought to unite the various parties of Unitarians in his views (1560), but left the work to his nephew, Faustus Socinus, who was successful. For this society the city of Racow was built. There they had collegiate and printing establishments. They planted Churches in various cities. They issued the Racovian Catechism (1602), and flourished until they were expelled from Poland in 1638, and found refuge in other lands, where Socinianism has ever since existed in varying forms.

VII. Spain received the writings of Luther at an early day, through the attendants of Charles V, one of whom was his chaplain, Virves, and another was his secretary, Alfonso Valdes. The new doctrines were hailed with joy in a country where the Inquisition would continue its work of inhuman craft and destruction. Roderigo de Valero abandoned his dissipations, studied the Holy Word, and taught it at Seville with great success. The most famous of his disciples was the Bishop Juan Egidius, who formed societies for Biblical study. These men were severely punished by the inquisitors; and who in Spain was not, if he ventured upon a new opinion? Enzina

translated the New Testament; it was prohibited, and he was imprisoned. There was no open attack made upon the papal system; the converts to the revived faith were content to teach the simple truths of the Gospel as quietly as possible. They had secret Churches organized at Seville and Valladolid. About 1555 there seem to have been two thousand of them in various parts of Spain, united in doctrine, and holding private meetings. The papists took alarm. The Emperor Charles V, in his convent at Yuste, gave attention to the heresy. The engines of the Inquisition were called into most active use. Multitudes were burnt, or left to die in dungeons.

Philip II believed that he was predestined to subdue free thought and Protestant faith. The only safety for the readers of the Bible, or of "Lutheran books," was flight. Julian Fernandez, the little deacon, active, heroic, and shrewd, had traded between Spain and France, dressed as a muleteer, and in packages of goods had concealed the writings of the reformers, which he delivered to men of learning and rank in the chief cities of Spain. He was burnt, not having betrayed a single one of his truth-loving customers. An English ship-master sailed into Cadiz with a rich cargo; he was seized, found to be "a contumacious Lutheran heretic," and burnt alive; so that the Inquisition at Seville gained about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars by this *Auto-da-fe*; for the Holy Office claimed all the property of its victims. Among the exiles was Juan Valdes, who went to Naples, taught the Gospel to a circle of friends, and wrote his "One Hundred and Ten Considerations," affirming Protestant doctrines. These are but samples of countless thousands who were crushed by the Holy Tribunal, the only prosperous institution in a land, of which one of her recent historians says, "The Inquisition ruined Spain." It postponed the work of reform until the present century.*

VIII. In Italy the history of incipient Protestantism is also that of martyrs and exiles by means of the Inquisition, which the popes sought to make universal. Cardinal Baronius said to

* "Under Philip III (1598-1621) there were in Spain nine hundred and eighty-eight nunneries and thirty-two thousand mendicant friars. The number of monasteries trebled between 1574 and 1624, and the number of monks increased in a yet greater ratio." (Roscher, Polit. Economy.)

Paul V (1605-21), "Blessed Father, the ministry of Peter is twofold—to *feed* and to *slay*. For the Lord said to him, 'Feed my sheep,' and a voice from heaven also said, 'Slay and eat.' This was not the first torture of Holy Scripture to authorize the Inquisition, which had been terrible at Venice for four centuries. Yet that was one of the cities in which were clubs of learned men and women, studying the Bible, reading the contraband books of Luther and Zwingli, and hoping to be justified by faith. In the time of Pope Paul IV (1559-65) spies prowled every-where, and the newly built prisons of the Inquisition at Rome were crowded. A cardinal said that Italy was full of Lutherans. None dared to breathe a murmur at the severity of the Holy Tribunal, nor whisper a word of pity for the sufferers. Even the cardinals trembled when their brother, Morone, was imprisoned on the charge of heresy; thereafter Contarini, Sadolet, and Pole, the English prince, gave little more promise of leading a reforming party. Pietro Carnesecchi, a man of noble family, great learning, and high office, was burnt alive, and great terror every-where prevailed.

But a more positive work had been going on in various quarters where the writings of the German and Swiss reformers were circulated. Bruccioli translated the Bible (1530), and it was prohibited. Moratus and his brilliant daughter Olympia were ornaments of the cause. In this circle of learned men was the lawyer and classical professor, Aonio Paleario, who is credited with the authorship of the little book on the "Benefit of Christ's Death," which would have honored an Anselm or a Luther. It is said that forty thousand copies of it were printed at Venice, and these were so burnt in heaps and swept away that it was long thought to be lost forever. It has been found, and thousands of copies are again in circulation in Christendom. Paleario died a martyr, in 1570, after many of his friends had escaped to other lands. Peter Martyr Vermiglio taught in several Protestant cities, and at Oxford took his place among the leading English reformers. The Duchess Renée (child of Louis XII of France) made her court at Ferrara a home for the reformers, until persecution and her return to France closed its doors to the Gospel. The reform in Italy was suspended until the nineteenth century.

Many Italian refugees, with their families, went into the

Grison Republic, which belonged to the Swiss League, but was Italian in language. There Comander imitated Zwingli, and at Coire (Chor) established a presbyterial system. After 1537 there was a national synod. The poor Grisons were astonished to find in their narrow valleys these Italians, so well born, learned, and refined, many of them of high rank in their forsaken land and Church. Among them was the celebrated Peter Verger, once a bishop, a papal legate, a reader of Luther's writings, but now a moderate Lutheran, co-working with fully twenty of his exiled countrymen in planting and serving Churches of the Swiss type. He often visited them from Tübingen, where he spent his last years (1553-65) in a professorship. When the Grisons were invaded by the doctrines of Socinus, Blandrata, Servetus, and the Anabaptists, the synod and the civil authorities expelled the teachers. This heroic little republic had its fine schools, its classical and Biblical literature, and its missionary Protestantism.

NOTES.

I. *The Anabaptists* (rebaptizers, generally by immersion) were of almost every sort, from the wildest fanatics to the later and more sober Christians, who came to be called Baptists. Of the first were the Munzerites and the Munsterites. At Munster, in Westphalia, Rottmann introduced Lutheranism. He rejected infant baptism and rebaptized adults. To strengthen himself against all other parties he gathered in Anabaptists from other quarters, and among them were John Brockelson, a tailor, of Leyden, and John Mathys, a baker, from Harlem. They attained power, and expelled "all unbelievers," for such was "the will of God revealed through Mathys, the prophet." They seized the wealth of the city, destroyed art and books (save the Bible), and established communism. Brockelson practiced polygamy, and announced himself as king of the whole earth. He sent out twenty-eight apostles to convert the world and twelve dukes to govern it in his name. The Roman Catholic bishop laid siege to Munster, and finally took it (1535), and cruelly put to death the universal king and his officers. The fanatics were scattered abroad to trouble other cities. Munster was restored to Romanism.

(The Mennonites form the second race of Anabaptists.) They took their name from Menno Simonis of Friesland. He gave up his pastoral charge as a priest in 1536, labored to reform the Anabaptists in Holland with great success, and claimed to agree with the evangelical reformers in certain essential doctrines. He rejected infant baptism and baptized believers by pouring; also rejected the oath, military service, and salvation by faith

alone. Feet-washing was made a rite of the Church. The morality and strict discipline of this sect secured its toleration.

II. *Special subjects of controversy in the Lutheran Church.* 1. Synergism, or the co-working of man with God in spiritual life. Taught by Melancthon, as it had been by some of the Greek Fathers. Strongly opposed by Flacius Illyricus, the learned, intolerant leader of the Magdeburg Centurionators, and by the new University of Jena (1557).

2. Original sin. Flacius represented it as the very substance or essence of man's nature, and not the corruption of his nature. He was charged with Manichean dualism, deposed, and banished with forty-seven adherents.

3. Justification was confounded with sanctification by Osiander (1549). His son-in-law was executed as a heretic and disturber of the peace. Other followers were expelled from Prussia.

4. Good works not meritorious, but still necessary to salvation. So taught George Major, professor at Wittenberg (1539-74), who was too free with his anathemas upon the Solifidians.

5. Antinomianism, or the ignoring of good works, was preached by John Agricola (1527-62), who vexed Luther more than any pope did.

6. The ubiquity of Christ's human nature, advocated by Brentz, who pushed consubstantiation to an extreme.

7. Crypto-Calvinism, a term applied to the polity of the Philippists, or Melancthonians, who were specialized by their views of Synergism and the eucharist. In Saxony they quietly, if not unfairly, gained nearly all the posts under Elector Augustus (1553-86). Their leader was Caspar Peucer, son-in-law of Melancthon. The elector felt outwitted. They were imprisoned or banished in 1574. Peucer was in jail twelve years. This was not the end. (See Chapter XVIII, Section IX.)

8. Predestination. John Marbach, at Strasburg (1545-81), did not oppose the predestinarian doctrine of Luther and Calvin so much as the *a priori* method and extreme statements of Jerome Zanchi, who had a strong array of theologians on his side.

9. Universal Grace. Some Lutherans, following out certain hints of Melancthon, began to maintain that Christ died for all men alike and equally; and that all men who know the Gospel have grace sufficient to save them if they will spiritually co-operate with God. That is, the atonement and saving grace are not limited by any divine decree of election.

III. To settle the controversies just named (Note II), various doctrinal articles were proposed. The main result was the Form of Concord. It was secured in 1576-7 by the arduous efforts of Jacob Andrea, theological professor at Tübingen, aided by Selnecker and by the still *more* eminent Martin Chemnitz, the greatest of Melancthon's pupils. It was too polemic. It seemed to be the red flag of the high Lutheran party, and it has never been so generally accepted as the more catholic Augsburg Confession. In 1580 all the Lutheran symbols were published in one volume entitled, The Book of Concord. This virtually completed the doctrinal formulas of the Lutheran Church. The Saxon Visitation Articles, 1592, were the local sec-

tarian and temporary creed of Dr. Calovius and his party, who gravely discussed whether Calvinists may be reckoned among Christians!

"If Lutheranism had not assumed a hostile and uncompromising attitude towards Zwinglianism, Calvinism, and the later theology of Melancthon, it would probably have prevailed throughout the German Empire, as the Reformed Creed prevailed in all the Protestant cantons of Switzerland. But the bitter eucharistic controversies and the triumph of rigid Lutheranism in the Formula of Concord over Melancthonianism, drove some of the fairest portions of Germany, especially the Palatinate and Brandenburg, into the Reformed Communion." (Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, i, 525.)

"The Crypto-Calvinistic controversies were conducted with so much violence that they frustrated the scheme of the Philippists to effect an imperceptible transition of the entire Lutheran Church to Calvinism; but they could not prevent several national Lutheran Churches in Germany from adopting, or being compelled to adopt, the Reformed Confession." (See Chapter XVIII, Section IX.) (Kurtz, *Lutheran Church History*, ii, 151.)

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SWISS REFORMATION.

1506—1564.

I. THE REFORM IN GERMAN SWITZERLAND.

SEVEN weeks after Luther's birth, on the New-Year's day of 1484, Ulric Zwingli was born at Wildhaus, in the canton of St. Gall. His father was the chief man of the village, and the spokesman of a band of mountaineers who had thrown off the feudal yoke and sought more liberty for the republic. His mother reared him in the piety of the time. The son pursued his higher studies at Berne and Vienna. He refused to enter a Dominican convent, and valued humanism above all else until at Basle he was led from the classics to the Holy Scriptures. There he must have heard Dr. Thomas Wittenbach say, "The scholastic theology will be swept out of the Church and the doctrines of God's Word revived. Priestly absolution is a cheat. Christ alone paid the ransom for our souls."

Zwingli is eminent for his love of liberty—personal, social, civil, and ecclesiastical. Compared with Luther he was thrown more directly into the affairs of common life, among villagers, herdsmen, and soldiers; he was never a monk; he had more classic culture and a warmer sympathy for the ancient pagan sages; he dared to hope that the noblest heathen, whose virtues he overestimated, were among the elect of God;* he was the emancipator of a world of children from one of the saddest of old beliefs, by teaching that all dying infants are redeemed by Christ; and he had less severe struggles on his way to the cross. We hear less of deep conviction of sin. He passed more quietly from Romish works to justifying faith.

While he was a pastor for ten years, after 1506, in the nar-

* He wrote: "The virtues of heathen sages and heroes are due to divine grace. By grace they were led to exercise faith in God. A Socrates was more pious and holy than all Dominicans and Franciscans."

row valley of Glaris, he sought to lead the people to higher morality and nobler patriotism. Marching as a field-preacher (1515) with the army into Italy to defend the pope, he made researches in the libraries and churches of Milan, found an old liturgy, and had evidence that the mass of his time did not exist in the better days of Ambrose. Already had he studied the Greek Testament, visited Erasmus at Basle, and learned the self-interpreting power of the Bible. Now he preached with fresh vigor. Not yet boldly assailing the errors of the clergy and the Church, but saying, "If the people understand what is true they will soon discern what is false." He had not yet heard the name of Luther. In 1517 he became preacher to the famous convent of Einsiedeln, where a group of scholars met and qualified themselves for coming work. There crowds of pilgrims gathered to obtain mercy from a black image of the Virgin Mary. To them he declared, "Christ alone saves, and he saves every-where; not man, but God forgives sins; not works, but faith, justifies."

In 1519 he became preacher in the Cathedral Church of Zurich, and from that time Zurich was the center and stronghold of the reform in German Switzerland. His zeal, eloquence, practical mind, and his application of the Gospel to all the affairs of life gave him the power of a true bishop. Already he had roused such indignation against Samson, the traveling auctioneer of indulgences, that the gates of Zurich would not open for those sinful wares, and Pope Leo X recalled his agent. Zwingli's efforts had a threefold aim: to purify the morals of the citizens; to restrain the Swiss from mercenary service to foreign powers, and restore the spirit of independence in the Swiss confederation; and to interpret the Word of God not merely by collating a few texts on some point of doctrine, but by expounding entire books of Scripture in their obvious sense. He was a social, political, and religious reformer. He had not to fight Luther's battle with the pope. When priests, canons, bishop, and cardinal tried every means, except the effectual, to overthrow him, the senate was firm on his side. It soon ordered all the parish ministers in the canton to explain the New Testament as Zwingli was doing; and avoid all human inventions. Three years brought great changes. At Zurich Leo Juda was translating the Bible and preaching it. The

most intense opposition came from "the five forest cantons"* in the very heart of German Switzerland. Elsewhere the people gladly heard the Word.

Thus far the movement was under the control of the state, which could not rightly perform spiritual work. The Word and Spirit of God had won marvelous triumphs. But a reformed polity of Church government was lacking. The power of the mass and of images had not been entirely broken, nor could it be by the civil authority. The Church must be led out of priestly bondage, brought to the front, reorganized, unified, installed in her office, duties, and privileges; her character restored, her rights resumed, her authority pronounced, her worship purified, her discipline revived, and her mission asserted. All this would come. By invitation of the senate, representatives of the cantons of Zurich, St. Gall, and Schaffhausen met in the town hall of Zurich, October 26, 1523—a historic day in the restoration of ancient presbytery.† The other cantons refused to send delegates. Not a bishop would herd with "that heretic Zwingli and his fellows." About one thousand people were in the hall. The Bible was on the table. Zwingli opened the discussion with a startling proposition. He claimed that the true Church is the community of all who believe in Christ and obey his Word, and not the clergy alone; that the reforming Church of these cantons might resume the rights which the New Testament grants to the Church universal;‡ that it was represented by the present assembly, and that these representatives had the right to decide upon matters of faith, worship, and discipline. He maintained his ground by Scripture, and finally carried the day against images and the mass, which were the special subjects of dispute.

"This," says D'Aubigné, "is the beginning of the Presbyterian system in the age of the Reformation." No plan of Church government was yet brought forward by the most thorough reformers anywhere else, nor was the name Protestant

* Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne. They were joined by Friburg.

† Fifteen years before the Lutherans had their first Consistory at Wittenberg.

‡ The existing Church was not dissolved nor abandoned; it had its continuity in the reformed polity. See last point in the note at the end of Chapter XVI.

yet known. But the Church of Zurich, long quite free towards her bishop at Constance, was now emancipated. The parity of the clergy, the equal voice of ministers and laymen in a representative assembly, the common priesthood of believers, and their right to restore what they regarded as the Scriptural constitution of the Church, were there assumed. The majority of the priests there voted, and thenceforth acted as presbyters, who had won back their rights and were ready for their duties. They went back to their parishes, with stronger faith and zeal, to wage the spiritual battle before them. The Reformed ministers of Zurich formed a consistory for the government of the Church.*

And still the mass and images were in hot controversy. The Romanists clung to them as essential. Moderate senators thought they might be used as staffs for the weak and lame. The Anabaptists stormed against them with a much more worthy zeal than they evinced towards sound faith and good order. The Reform was in peril. Amid all parties stood Zwingli, appealing to the Word of God. It alone could save the liberated Church from Romanism, fanaticism, and compromising measures. What does it sanction? Before this searching question the images and relics fell; even a painted window might be shattered, the frescoes erased from a wall, the organ hushed, the bells no longer rung, and every mere ornament removed; mediæval ceremonies passed out of the Reformed Church of Zurich, and ritualism was driven into a silence it had not known for a thousand years. Later Puritanism would not demand more plainness in worship, nor secure more spiritual fervor. Zwingli must have his wedding,† and the baptism of his infant children, free from all ritualistic display. But he sang in his bliss at home, and restored to the Church the public service of song. At Easter, 1525, the Lord's Supper, with bread and wine, in the simplest manner, at a table instead of an altar, free from every sign of a mass, was first celebrated in Zurich, if not first in all Europe since the great degeneracy. That city was the first to become rad-

* What is now called a *Session* (a body sitting) was called by the Zurichers a *Still-stand*, for the members stood after a service in church, to hear any matter that might come before them.

† In 1522, he married the widow Anna Reinhard

ically Protestant. It led the way in dissolving the monasteries and devoting their revenues to schools, hospitals, and almshouses. It soon had its reformed press, university, and literature. Zwingli was not only chief pastor and adviser of the senate, but professor of theology.

Other Swiss cities followed the example of Zurich, although some of their triumphs were not so peaceful. The state used its power to effect the revolution. Berne seemed fixed in the old Roman way, unwilling to depart from the routine of her fathers. But the preaching of Haller, Meyer, and Kolb had its attraction, and drew hundreds to Christ. The elections of 1527 put enough reformers into the Great Council to remove from the government the chief partisans of Romanism. But these ardent papists were not banished from the canton, nor were many of the raving Anabaptists. Nobly did Haller say, "The magistrates wish to expel them, but it is our duty to drive out their errors, and not their persons. Let our only weapon be the sword of the Spirit."* At the time of a disputation (1528), in which Zwingli, Œcolampadius, William Farel, and Martin Bucer were invited leaders, the priests were left free to say mass on the day of St. Vincent, the patron of the city. The bells rang, but no worshipers entered the cathedral. No priest said mass, for there were none to hear it! At vespers the organist found himself quite alone. After he left in sadness, certain radicals broke in and shivered the organ to pieces. Arguments had convinced "my Lords of Berne." The two councils abolished the mass and ordered the removal of images and decorations from the churches. But the citizens

* The routed disciples of Stork and Munzer seemed bent upon turning Zurich into another Mühlhausen. They were expelled. They made little Zollikon their headquarters. Some of their crimes were atrocious. "They spread themselves over all Switzerland, preaching resistance to all authority, and the right of the saints—that is, of the rebaptized—to take and use whatever they found needful. They sowed the seeds of discontent and idleness among the laboring classes; they intrigued to obtain control of the cities by aid of these malcontents, and all but succeeded at Basle. At last the magistracies of the republic united in the forcible suppression of the sect; many were burned alive, others were drowned in the rivers. Protestant and Catholic cantons vied with each other in measures of successful violence; but it was against sectaries, whose success would have been a cause of far greater evils than any that were inflicted on them. To this day the name of Anabaptist is an abomination to the ordinary Swiss."

were more iconoclastic; they utterly destroyed twenty-five altars and uncounted idols. Not a human being was injured; the children sang the victory in the streets. The reorganization of the Church was soon effected. Yet Berne did not make so complete a riddance of old customs as Zurich had done. Her retention of baptismal fonts and certain festivals had a marked effect at Geneva.

On his way home Zwingli must ride through papal cantons, in which his life was not safe. He found the gates of Bremgarten, in Aargau, closed against him. But he had the company of stout bailiffs and two hundred armed men, who were drawn up in striking array, lances forward, and the gates were opened. The troop kindly saluted the vast crowd in the streets, and passed on to Zurich. What does the married priest, Dean Bullinger, say to all this? Ten years ago he bravely shut out the peddler of indulgences, and his son Henry, who had sung for bread while at a Swiss school, went off to Cologne to study logic and philosophy. The lad of fifteen was led through heavy tomes of the schoolmen to the ancient Fathers, especially Jerome and Augustine. He gave nights and days to the study of the New Testament. Luther's flying tracts helped to destroy his reverence for the pope. In 1522 he was at home eagerly mining truths in the Bible, and lingering over the "Common Places" of Melancthon. He went twelve miles to see Zwingli, and had his growing faith confirmed. Then he studied with Abbot Joner, was ordained by the synod, and was greatly blessed in preaching at Cappel.

One day, in 1529, the good dean publicly said to his flock, "For twenty-three years I have taught you what I supposed to be the truth. I was blind, and was leading you on in darkness. Now I see; may God pardon my error. By his help I shall henceforth show you the right way of salvation, and try to lead you by the hand to Jesus Christ." There was no small stir in the audience. The chief magistrate left the church in flaming wrath, and sought the aid of the papal cantons to quench the heresy. Bremgarten was full of commotions. But the earnest old dean had strong supporters. They were defended by Zurich and "my Lords of Berne." They met in convention, had the majority of votes, abolished the mass, images, and all papal machinery, and called two pastors, Henry Bullinger and

his young friend, Gervas Schuler, who had come up from Strasburg to aid him at Cappel. "So mightily grew the Word and prevailed."

Basle was the city of learning and of printing, when many printers were scholars and critical editors. There Erasmus was the prince of a literary republic. In editing the Greek Testament (1516) he had the help of John Hausschein, or *Æcolampadius*, a Franconian, then thirty-four years of age. Educated at Heidelberg and other universities, wandering here and there, now preaching Christ to his countrymen at his native Winsperg, then entering a monastery near Augsburg, and soon escaping from it, he finally settled again at Basle, to be renowned as the Melancthon of the Swiss Reformation. He preached to crowds in St. Martin's church, and his associates rejoiced at his successes. Without their knowledge, in 1528, a band of citizens entered the church, hurled down the images, and went to prison for it. The majority of the people rose, and compelled the Great Council to release them, and grant the reformed the use of several churches, which were soon cleared of all the signs of popery. The guilds demanded the entire abolition of "idolatry." The Romanists took up arms; the reformed grasped weapons of defense; and civil war was threatening. But the Great Council ordered a convention. The papal minority were unwilling to submit the disputes to a popular vote, and the reformed party made a sudden attack upon altars and images. Great piles of them were burnt in the streets. The leaders did not encourage such violence.

The chief papists fled. Erasmus hurried away to Friburg, for he sought a reform that would not involve separation from the Roman Church. He wrote thus: The reformed party "broke into no house, nor did they attack any person, though the chief magistrate, my next-door neighbor,¹ . . . was obliged to fly by night in a boat, and would have been killed had he not done so. Many others also fled through fear, who, however, were recalled by the council, if they wished to enjoy their rights as citizens, but all who favored the old religion were removed from the council, so as to put an end to disunion there. . . . Not a statue was left either in the churches, or the vestibules, or the porches, or the monasteries. The frescoes were coated over with lime; whatever would burn was thrown

into the fire, and the rest pounded into fragments. . . . Before long the mass was totally abolished, so that it was forbidden to celebrate it in one's own house, or to attend it in the neighboring villages. . . . Œcolampadius urged me not to leave Basle. I said 'I will stop at Friburg for some months, and thence go whithersoever Providence shall send me.' So we shook hands and parted." Erasmus outlived his friend, saw his fine edition of Augustine in print, visited Basle, where he died in 1536—died, after all, in a Protestant city, and as the monks in their jargon said he would die, *sine lux, sine crux**—and the grateful universities saw his body laid to rest in the cathedral.

Little Wesen abolished the mass, and said, "We must obey God in religion; ye rulers of Schwytz may command us in civil affairs." An officer was sent over to them. He saw the lads of the town carry the images from the church to a place where several roads met, and there they said to the statues, "This way leads to Schwytz, that to Glaris; this to Zurich, that to Coire; choose your road and go in peace; but move along speedily, or we will burn you." These supposed "helps to salvation" could not save themselves. They were the only martyrs of Wesen, so long as the reformed had control. The good work extended to the Grisons. Outside of the five forest cantons, it bade fair to win majorities in the whole confederation. The common method of the Swiss reformers was to ask a deliberate hearing, a free vote of the citizens, an acceptance of the Bible as the rule of faith and worship wherever they had the majority, and the protection of the civil authorities. Their general aim was to be tolerant.

The controversy upon the Eucharist grew more intense, and Zwingli came to be regarded as the leading opponent of Luther. In 1529 Philip of Hesse invited the reformers to meet in Marburg, and settle the question. The great public debate lasted three days. Luther had written with chalk upon the velvet cover of the table, "This is my body," and from the literal sense of those words nothing could move him. He sought the explanation in what has been called the doctrine of consubstantiation. Zwingli quoted such phrases as "That rock was Christ," "I am the vine," "The lamb is the passover," argu-

* Without light, without the crucifix, and priestly ceremonies. The monks were tenacious of bad Latin.

ing that "this *represents* my body." It was all in vain. Luther's friend's were pained at his obstinacy. They urged him to come to some agreement. "There is only one way," said Luther; "let our adversaries believe as we do." The Swiss replied that they could not. "Well then," he rejoined, "I abandon you to God's judgment, and pray that he may give you light." The hope of union seemed utterly lost when Luther rudely declined to acknowledge the Swiss party as brethren in the faith, and even to take the proffered hand of Zwingli, who burst into tears. But anger usually has its reaction. High tempers cooled in the breath of such men as Melancthon and Œcolampadius. Luther saw that "he was wiping his nose too roughly," stepped forward and offered his hand in peace and charity. It was shaken heartily. There was a general hand-shaking in the room. Articles of a common faith must be signed. Luther must draw them up. He had little hope, but based them on the Apostles' Creed. The Swiss eagerly indorsed them, and all thus agreed, with solemn seal, "that the spiritual reception of this body and blood is especially necessary to every Christian." But this did not settle the controversy.

The movements of Zwingli were those of an honorable strategist. He now attempted to unite the Protestant cantons in a religious league, and ally them with the evangelical states of Germany. Philip of Hesse exulted in the scheme of the Reformed Defensive Alliance, which was born at Zurich. Within the circle of the reformed cantons lay the Five Forest Cantons, all intensely papal. Their officials had expelled Oswald Myconius, fined, imprisoned, tortured, and even slain other teachers and believers. Probably in the first war the reformed party might have conquered them, if they had not sought and obtained the first Peace of Cappel (1529), by which all parties were to be tolerant. The Five Cantons violated the treaty (1531), persecuted the Zwinglians, and renewed their alliance with Austria, willing to be slaves to an old foreign tyrant rather than be free and kind to their neighbors. Ill affairs grew to the worst when, in 1531, the papal Swiss marched for Zurich, and Zwingli went with the men of his flock, as custom required and the defense of the Protestant stronghold seemed to demand. As a chaplain, adviser, and consoler, rather than

a warrior, he fell at a post of danger, on the field of Cappel. Twenty-five preachers of the reform there perished. Luther was one of the strong men who wept over their death. The war grew more bitter until "the treaty of Christian citizenship" so ended it that both parties agreed to tolerate each other. But political faith was often broken. The papists won back many of the reformed Churches, and expelled their members. They made a grand pilgrimage to Einsiedeln, restored the image of Mary, and again made that once reformed convent the center of papal intrigue and power. Basle, Berne, and Zurich held fast to Protestantism. Each offered its highest position to the rising man, Henry Bullinger, whose name became eminent in his own republic and in England, for his rich stores of learning, his gentleness, firmness, and judgment, untiring zeal, and love of union upon evangelical principles. He entered upon a quiet, peaceable, but active life of duty in pulpit and with pen, when he became the chief pastor and the professor of theology at Zurich, where he gladly saw the four folios of Zwingli's works published to the world.

Through a new period—that of confessions and alliance—Bullinger was the leader of the Reformed Church in German Switzerland. This type of doctrine and polity had extended down the Rhine to Strasburg. Formulas of belief had been drawn up, but the Confession of Augsburg was the most current, and union with the Lutherans was generally desired. In 1535 Bullinger was among the theologians who drafted the First Helvetic Confession, the most important one for the reformed Churches before the public appearance of Calvin. It failed to secure an alliance with the Lutherans, but it was a basis for the union of its adherents with the presbyteries of French Switzerland.

II. THE TRAINING OF REFORMERS IN FRANCE.

If the semi-Protestant reform in France (1512-55) had been sanctioned by King Francis I and the chief bishops, it might have been similar to the English movement under Henry VIII, and resulted in a new National Church, with Protestant episcopacy. It fairly tested the willingness of the Roman Church to promote reform. It was an immense preparation for the success of reformed theology and presbytery at Geneva. To

French exiles that city became what Midian was to Moses, and, still remembering the persecuted brethren in their native land, they sent to them deliverers, who should proclaim a spiritual redemption, and found a glorious Protestant Church in their father-land.

The first sparks of this reform fell into the University of Paris. There Jacques Le Fevre, as early as 1512, lectured on Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and set forth the way of justification by faith in Christ. Among the students who were drawn most closely to him was William Farel, born in 1489, near Gap in Dauphiny, and steeped in all the errors of his village priest. But he soon learned to think for himself, and he never lacked courage to speak what he believed. A circle of men studied the Bible; the Sorbonne, or theological faculty, raised the cry of heresy, and they were compelled to flee. Their best human defender was Bishop Briconnet, who had seen the abyss of immorality at Rome, and resolved to reform his diocese of Meaux. Being invited thither, Le Fevre, Farel, and other earnest spirits, began their work, and for three years (1519-23) they made a more quiet and marked progress than Luther knew in that very time. More than a hundred priests and curates were dismissed for ignorance and selfishness. A theological school was attempted. The New Testament was translated and widely circulated. The Gospel went into parishes, factories, and fields. The moral change was wonderful. Rude smiths and weavers refined their manners, led purer lives, and sang the songs of joy and hope. Meaux might have become the French Wittenberg, if the Sorbonnists had not borne down upon it with all their persecuting forces. The crusade reduced the bishop, quashed the press, drove out the laborers, filled dungeons, made noble martyrs, burnt writings of Luther and Erasmus, posted a line of guards all along the Rhine border, and soon extended over nearly all the eastern provinces, wherever a Bible-reader or a missionary caused alarm among prelates and theologians. Out of this tempest of wrath Farel thrice escaped, and at Basle secured the printing of thousands of New Testaments, which were scattered through France. He preached to exiles in Strasburg, his loud voice rang through Alsace, and he turned his eye to Switzerland.

The king's sister, Margaret, afterwards Queen of Navarre,

adopted the reform, and made Lyons a center of colportage and evangelization. Missionaries were active until banished or slain. Francis allowed her ministers to preach at his court, punished the monks who ridiculed her, and forced the Sorbonne to retract its censure of one of her little books. He invited Melancthon to take a chair in the University of Paris. For some time he questioned which of the three rival systems to favor most—Romanism, the Renaissance, or the Reformation.* He seems to have been inflamed by the placards posted on his own door. These anonymous, unmanly theses and challenges did not bring public discussions, but caused suspicion and persecution. When Francis yielded up the Pragmatic Sanction, the Gallican liberties were gone, and the pope was master. After his defeat at Pavia, 1525, and his release from captivity in Spain, he treated the reformers as enemies of both crown and Church. His son Henry married Catherine de Medici, a niece of the pope, and he declared for "one king, one law, one faith." Thenceforth he was Rome's favorite son. To his change of policy may, perhaps, be traced the ages of religious war and woe, perfidy and revolution, which make the history of France wearisome with massacres.

In that stormy land and time John Calvin began his work as a reformer. Born in 1509, at Noyon in Picardy; led by his mother to a high reverence for God; kept in a good social position by his father, who was a secretary of the diocese; educated with the sons of a nobleman in the best culture the town could afford, and following them to Paris, he entered the university in his fourteenth year, and held a distant curacy, whose small benefice supported him. His reserve, temperance, soberness, rebukes of folly and vice, affection for his teachers and a few choice classmates, and intense devotion to study, won him great respect. His logical mind readily evinced its independence. In 1527 he seems to have been led by his kinsman, Robert Olivetan, to self-knowledge, conviction of sin, spiritual need, conversion,† and the consecration of himself to

* Loyola, Rabelais, and Calvin, their coming representatives, were then young students in Paris.

† Of his conversion, or the consciousness of it, he said: "On a sudden the full knowledge of the truth, like a bright light, disclosed to me the abyss of errors in which I was weltering. A horror seized on my soul when I became

the Redeemer in whom he trusted. Thenceforth the Divine Word became his chief study.

It may have been this spiritual change, and the paternal horror of heresy, that brought an order from his ambitious father for him to study law. This he pursued at Orleans and Bourges; but still theology engaged his mind. Melchior Wolmar, a Swabian, taught him Greek, and confirmed him in the doctrines of the Reformation. He met with groups of inquirers, and went out preaching in the villages. His services were in demand. "I began to seek some hiding-place," he wrote; "but every retreat was to me a public school, so many flocked to me." The death of his father left him more free. He returned to Paris, published Seneca on Clemency, held meetings by night in private houses, and nurtured the faith of many who would soon be dragged to the stake and there win converts. He helped Nicholas Cop, the newly elected rector of the university, prepare his inaugural address, full of new ideas which heated the Sorbonnic wrath, and led parliament to inquire for heresy. The rector barely escaped by flight. When search was made for Calvin, and officers were parleying at the doors, he is said to have been let down from a college window and hurried to a farm-house. Disguised as a vine-dresser, he made his way to Angoulême. He was there in the library of his fellow-student, the young canon, Louis Du Tillet; and if he did not "hammer out the Institutes in that smithy," he wrote sermons for the neighboring priests to read in the churches, for they were charmed with "the little Greek." He was at Poitiers; and, meeting some of his trusted friends in a cave, he celebrated the Lord's Supper. He kindled the faith of young men, one an eloquent lawyer, who took the Gospel itself as their commission, and preached the glad tidings to thousands in the old lands of the slain Albigenes. His work in South-western France alone would entitle him to a high place among missionaries and organizers. In Navarre he visited the aged Le Fevre, sheltered there by Queen Margaret, who was spiritually a nursing-mother to a race of future Huguenots.

conscious of my wretchedness and the more terrible misery that was before me. And what was left, O Lord, for me but, with tears and prayers, to forsake the old ways which thou hast condemned, and to flee into thy path?" His experience was like that of Luther; but he more clearly and speedily saw the remedy.

Two ages met, when the old man, representing the failing reform of the Roman Church, gave his blessing and prophecy to the young reformer, who would yet shake France with the tread of Calvinists, and send into it a theology which would break the force of the Sorbonne.

"I am naturally diffident and retiring," said Calvin; and yet he had the courage to appear again in Paris (1534). He preached in the houses of his friends. Might he not appease the better Romanists by joining with them against a common foe? The Anabaptists were busily winning disciples by their wild doctrines. He sent out a valuable little book against their error, that the soul sleeps from death to the resurrection. He agreed to meet Servetus, who professed an eagerness to discuss with him the doctrine of the Trinity; he went to the place, but Servetus did not come. He resigned his curacy in Picardy, where he had sometimes preached. No longer safe in France, he rode out of it to Strasburg, where he first met with Protestant reformers. Literary Basle attracted him. There he published the *Institutes*, in 1535, under the name of Alcuin. It was a little book,* containing the famous preface, or appeal to Francis I, who sought the alliance of the German princes, and excused his unrelenting severities on the French reformers by saying that he had merely put to death a few seditious Anabaptists! Calvin's entire book was a defense of his persecuted brethren, an appeal for their liberty, a plea for their shelter among foreign nations, an exhibition of their faith. In its enlarged form it became a text-book in universities, even in England. In France it had a special mission, twenty years before the reform there was organized. "Entering the schools, the castles of the gentry, the houses of the burghers, even the workshops of the people, the *Institutes* became the most powerful of preachers. Round this book the [Calvinistic] reformers

* Long afterwards he wrote: "I did not then produce the large work which is now before the public, but a mere sketch of the design. So far was I from seeking fame by it that when I left Basle its authorship was not known. I still intended to keep it a secret." In this work "his eloquence is logic set on fire by intense conviction," says Dr. Schaff. He has been called "the rationalist of his age," in the sense of employing reason, not as the sole judge, but as the investigator and advocate of revealed truth. Any reader of his *Institutes* and commentaries may see that he respected the greater Fathers and councils, without subservience to their authority.

arrayed themselves as round a standard. They found in it every thing—doctrine, discipline, Church organization; and the apologist of the martyrs became the legislator of their children." Yet its strength was the Bible, which they loved all the more. It furnished the new base-line from which theological systems have been measured.

When this volume had been started upon its wide and endless travels Calvin took the road to Italy, hoping there to study or to advance the reform which had made a fair beginning. He met French exiles at Ferrara, about the court of the Duchess Renée, who would have been heir to the throne of France if she had been the son, rather than the daughter, of Louis XII—the king who had fought the Waldenses, and yet said, "They are better Christians than we are." She was proud of her father's medal stamped with "I will destroy Babylon." Her weak husband sought to crush the reformativ spirit that rose in the Italian cities. The Inquisition was busy in its horrible work, and Calvin slipped away. It seems that hidden Aosta, the birthplace of famous Anselm (1033), whom he resembled not a little, drove him from its Alpine retreat. But he had confirmed the faith and raised the hopes of the exiles at Ferrara. Most of them went back to France to prepare the way for his doctrines. Clement Marot, an erratic poet, did his best thing when he put into French verse about forty of David's Psalms, and set all France to singing them, in court, castle, hamlet, and vineyard. Only the Sorbonne could yet detect heresy in them, and their voice was mighty for the coming restoration of the Church. They were the basis of the reformed psalmody which rang through all Western Europe, and still rings even in America. And the good duchess would come, as a widow to her native land, and be the helper of Calvin and the Huguenots.

It seems that Calvin visited Noyon for the last time, sold his little property, took with him his sister and brother Anthony, and departed for Switzerland, "not knowing the things that should befall him there." With a warm heart to his persecuted brethren, he said, "I am driven from the land of my birth. Every step toward its boundaries costs me tears. Perhaps Truth is not allowed to dwell in France; let her lot be mine."

Thus, in 1535, the French reformation was in repression.

Its leaders were banished. It had no organization. "It was a quiet, hidden movement in the souls of men thirsting for religious truth, for peace of conscience, for purity of heart and life. They sought each other out, and met to help each other on. But it was in small bands, in closets with closed doors, in the murky lanes of the city, in the lonely hut of the wayside, in the gorge of the mountain, in the heart of the forest, that they met to study the Scriptures, to praise and to pray. They did so at the peril of their lives, and the greatness of the peril guarded the purity of the motive." They needed two forces; a ministry to preach and organize, and a nobility to support and defend the work. Calvin would send the one; Coligny represent the other. But they must wait twenty years.

III. THE REFORM IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

The kinship of language would bring exiles of France into French Switzerland. They were needed. Before the year 1526 the cantons—Vaud, Neuchatel, and Geneva—sought no higher reform than republicanism. There were cautious readers of the Bible, but no native preacher rose up to declare that Christ alone saves, and faith alone justifies. No one proclaimed that the day was breaking, until the loud voice of a foreigner rang from the first Alp which was struck by the Sun of righteousness. He was the unresting William Farel. He had tried to gain a hearing at Neuchatel, but the priests routed him. It was his fourth defeat;* yet this "Bayard of the battles of God" went to Berne to enlist in a new campaign. He could not preach in German, and "my lords of Berne" engaged him as a missionary for their seigniory of Aigle (Ælen), which touched on the south-west corner of their own canton. It was French in language, papal in religion. The providence was remarkable. The little town of Aigle was the door of hope for the Gospel in all the Swiss Romande. Like the waters of its Alp, the forces of this hero would reach Geneva.

In this remote village a Master Ursinus† quietly opened a

* He had been driven from Meaux, Dauphiny, and Montbelliard. Cœcolampadius and Zwingli advised him to avoid all rash exploits. Erasmus had no patience with him.

† Farel took this name probably from the bear on the shield of Berne, where tame bears were long kept at the public expense.

school (1526), drew the children, and then the wondering adults; explained their creed and the Lord's Prayer as the curate had never done; led them to the New Testament, and asked them to take, read, believe it, and live by it. Thus he reared a band of faithful souls. When priests and bailiffs threatened him he was ready for discussion—ready for any thing except surrender and flight—and he quoted the authority of "my lords of Berne." He went to other towns: "the heretic" was forbidden to teach, and then the Bernese Senate had posted, on the church doors of the four parishes, the decree that "all the officers of state must allow the very learned William Farel to preach publicly the doctrines of Christ." Crowds met and shouted, "No more submission to Berne! Down with Farel!" But the vote was taken. Aigle, Bex, and Ollon declared for the reform. These little Churches were the first in the ranks of strictly French Protestantism.

Farel extended his labors to other districts where Berne had a protective authority. Morat was taken and made his headquarters. With a daring often intrusive, a zeal not always courteous, and a rough poetry in his utterances, he traversed the whole country. He was called "the Luther," and dreaded as "the scourge of priests," whose rights he was not careful to respect. His methods would not all be approved in a modern overseer of missions. To mount the pulpit while a priest was at mass, or interrupt the sermon of another by questions, and refute him on the spot, seemed to him justifiable. It was not unusual for him to stand amid hisses, shrieks, and flying missiles, speaking right on as if they were nothing, winning silence by his self-command, and then carry the majority by persuasion, or by a thunder-storm of eloquence. The reform was voted into favor, the worship purified, and the church reorganized. Some of his virulent foes became his zealous helpers in the ministry. Yet he was not always successful. Peril increased his audacity. Here he was dragged out of a captured pulpit and beaten; there he was almost killed by furious women; the wall of a cathedral long bore stains of his blood. At Granson he barely escaped assassins. Venturing into papal Lucerne he was flung into prison. It was no rare event for him to return to Morat, bruised, bleeding, and apparently half-dead. "Do not expose yourself to needless danger," was his last word from

Zwingli, who left a widow to read the prompt reply of a loving heart, "My life is in less peril than your own." Farel's great motive was a love for the truth, for his Master, and for human souls. Men learned the gentleness of the rough hero. When he wrote to his brethren under the cross in France, the lion was a lamb: they felt the sympathies of a great heart, and with him prayed and hoped for brighter days.

When he was nearly killed at Orbe, success was won by his influence upon Peter Viret (1511-71), who had studied at Paris, adopted the views of Le Fevre, escaped the storm of Sorbonnic fury and retired to his native town, waiting for the skies to clear. He became the greatest native preacher among the French Swiss; amiable, wise, devout, eloquent; the reformer of Orbe, Payerne, and Lausanne, a popular writer, and at last the gatherer of vast crowds in Southern France.

Already Farel had gained Neuchatel, where the priest was his friend and a rock his first pulpit. He won the hospital. One Sunday he was there to preach, when the people urged him into the cathedral, "the Church of our Lady," which the canons in vain defended. He preached; the citizens shouted for the reform, and cleansed the temple of all papal apparatus. In memory of that grand day a cathedral pillar bore this inscription, "On October 23, 1530, idolatry was overthrown and removed from this church by the citizens."

Neuchatel was the first center of a presbyterial organization in French Switzerland. Each reformed city, or town, had its consistory quite like that of Zurich. Next to Viret, the more active ministers were exiles, chiefly from Dauphiny.* The Synod controlled all the ministers, and ordained others. It supervised and judged all the spiritual affairs of the Churches. In 1537 it divided the country into twelve Classes, or Presbyteries, over which it was the "Assemblée Generale." The system needed the revising hand of John Calvin, who had recently begun his work at the new center of organization and unity.

* Farel had attracted thither his Dauphinese countrymen Christopher Fabri, Saunier, Froment, Marcourt, and Boyve (the last four named Anthony). The stronger Reformed churches (1535) were at Neuchatel, whose entire canton soon established the reform—Orbe, Thonon, Yverdun, Bienne, Valangin, Morat, Payerne, Granson, and Lausanne. In 1536 the Reformation was legalized in nearly the entire canton of Vaud, and soon the University of Lausanne was founded.

IV. THE REVOLUTION AT GENEVA.

There were three movements in this old city, which had twelve thousand inhabitants, and was qualified by position and people for a vast influence. "The first was the conquest of independence; the second, the conquest of faith; the third, the renovation and organization of the Church. Berthelier, Farel, and Calvin are the three heroes of these three epics."*

There the bold monk, Baptiste, was sent to the stake, about 1430, by his bishop and the Duke of Savoy. The tyrannies of Church and state were unified. If he had lived under the Bishop Champion (1493-8), he might have triumphed, and written to Savonarola, that the yoke of Savoy was broken, and that Geneva was as free as Florence. The later prince-bishops chose disorder, or, if Claude de Seyssel urged both secular and ecclesiastical liberty, the duke was suspected of poisoning him (1513). The rich, idle, ignorant clergy seemed never to blush in their depravities. Then the people assumed their majesty, and demanded reform. The syndics, or lay chiefs, tried to check the scandals of the priests. From that day the keen strife was between the laity and the clergy. Prior Bonivard, the Genevan Erasmus, stung the priests with satires, criticised all parties, advocated freedom of conscience, and for six years he was "the prisoner of Chillon." Berthelier and Hugues secured an alliance with Berne and Friburg, and hence their party was called the oath-bound leaguers—Eidgenossen, Huguenots. They won their cause by revolution, not by reformation of morals. Berthelier, "the great despiser of death," was a martyr to the liberty, which was a powerful element in the Reformation. It was like the carbon which converts iron into steel. But it needed the fire of divine truth to spiritualize it, and to purge the dross from its own party.

Many of these Huguenots were wild in their freedom; turbulent, often despots over each other, and always unwilling to be restrained, even by their own laws, and by moral forces. They were driving out their bishop, but they wanted no new religion. They applauded Luther's free spirit and his revolt against the pope, but took little heed of his writings, and

* D'Aubigné, who lays stress upon Geneva's central position between Italy, France, and Germany.

ignored his faith. A spiritual reformer would find them hard to manage. Yet there were Huguenots who gave welcome to the colporteurs of the New Testament (1524), and sat close about Robert Olivetan when he came to teach the sons of Jean Chautemps, and talk of the pardon of Jesus Christ. The placards—handbills, theses for discussion—came to Geneva, as almost every-where else. But they had no able defender. The priests grew angry. Bible-readers were hunted out, and even Olivetan must soon hide himself.

In 1531, Farel wrote to Zwingli. "I learn that Geneva has thoughts of accepting Jesus Christ. Fear of the Friburgers keeps them from receiving the Gospel." His eye was often turned to that city. The synod appointed him and Saunier to visit the Waldenses, some of whose ministers were visiting reformed countries. They went, imparted and received benefit, and returned with two important plans: one was for Olivetan to make a Waldensian version of the Bible; the other, to begin their work in Geneva.

V. THE REFORMATION IN GENEVA.

"A shabby little preacher, one Master William, of Dauphiny, has just arrived in this city." Thus wrote the literary nun, Jeanne de Jussie, in 1532, and she was eager for the news from the hotel where Farel was, as she soon learned, "beginning to speak secretly at his quarters, in a room, seeking to infect the people with heresy." He had there a little group of the more sober Huguenots. He proposed to them to make the Word of God their rule of life and of a higher liberty. They thought well of it, came again, talked of what they had heard, and soon found a great sensation in the town. Certain women ordered him away, threatened him, but for him this was no storm worth heeding. The council brought the two preachers into the town hall, heard their defense, and let them go with a caution not to disturb the peace with new doctrines. The clerical court handled them more roughly, and utterly refused them a license to preach. De Jussie says that about eighty of the lower priests gathered at the hotel, "all well armed, to defend the holy Catholic faith." The reformers owed their escape from the mob to the Huguenots.

Farel went to Yvonand and said to its pastor, Anthony Fro-

ment, "Go to Geneva. Begin as I did at Aigle. Open a school." He went. He reached his highest point of varied effort, when he drew a crowd to a public square and there preached, until an armed force marched to seize him. He barely escaped to his pastorate. He had not been wise, and yet had not failed. Some members of influential families were among the believers. They met in a walled garden, outside the town, and there a layman administered the Lord's Supper for the first time in modern Geneva.

The moral battle was now sharpened by the demands of the allied cantons. Bernese envoys conducted Farel, Viret, and Froment into the city, and secured their liberty to preach at their lodgings in the house of Claude Bernard. On all sides there were great preachings and earnest inquiry. In a grand debate the monk Furbity was baffled. He would not recant, and went to prison for two years. The crisis came. "Restore the bishop, and banish Farel," said Friburg, "or we shall retire from the league." Berne replied, "Maintain the Reformers if you want our alliance." The Genevan senators were perplexed. Then the people rose to settle the question. They elected more Huguenot senators. Some of them led Farel into the Franciscan Church, and the Reformation had a pulpit. The papal Friburgers tore their seal from the alliance, and left Geneva to herself, to the league with Protestant Berne, to the reformers, and to freer progress.

Geneva must now "render to faith the service which she had rendered to freedom." But the people needed deeper convictions of truth. They were affected by the great debate which closed with the defeat of Peter Caroli, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and his avowal of the reformed faith.* Monks, priests, citizens, nearly all Geneva, went over to the Protestants. Some of the minority removed to papal lands. Farel urged the senate to establish the Reformation by law. An edict of August 27, 1535, abolished the papal system, and enjoined worship according to the Word of God. After an attempt to poison the three preachers, they had been placed in the Franciscan convent. Its prior, James Bernard, had renounced popery, and it was now turned into a public school under Sau-

*He proved to be the Carlstadt of Geneva, wrought mischief, and went back to Romanism.

nier. The nunnery of St. Claire was converted into a hospital. The nuns did not remain as Protestant Sisters of Charity. The revenues of the old Church were mainly applied to the support of the new clergy, the schools, and the poor. On Geneva's shield and coin the words, "After darkness I hope for light," were changed to "After darkness light."

To overthrow this new system, the exiled bishop and the Duke of Savoy made war on the city. When famine threatened the beleaguered Genevese, the King of France offered his protection if they would let him introduce a bishop over them. One of the syndics led his ambassador to the walls where men, women, and children were in the snows throwing up defenses, ready to use their "weapons, rude and few," and asked, "Do they look like a people disposed to accept your offer?" That was enough for him. Bernese troops came, as a Swiss poet of the time says:

"For hunger could not stop them,
Nor mountains bar their way,
Nor the sight of steel-clad foemen
Could strike them with dismay.
* * * *
The Lord was on our side that day,
In heart we felt his might;
And papal Savoy's champions
Were scattered in the fight."

Geneva had triumphed, and yet the cost of victory might be the loss of the reform. Farel toiled to keep the spiritual forces in unity. "He reigned, but over ruins out of which to rear a new edifice." He would have the people lay the foundations, for he knew the Genevese would adhere to nothing for which they did not vote. It was a grand scene—May 21, 1536—when the old Gothic cathedral was filled with citizens who took an oath to abide in the Reformation. Among them were not the lax thinkers, nor the Romanists who had been readmitted to the city. They might fling scoffs at the noble monument reared at one of the gates, as a witness to future ages that Geneva was grateful to God for "the restoration of the most holy religion of Christ."

But public votes were not pious vows. The general morals were in wreck. The question was, How to purify society? How restrain men in their wild license? How create good

manners, customs, and habits? Our age, taught by past experience, would answer, by increasing the spiritual agencies; by teaching the Word of God to all the people; by addressing every conscience; by employing moral suasion. Farel and his associates used these means with all their might, but they tried other forces. They hoped that civil law would make custom. They found Geneva an ecclesiastical state; they let it so remain. They did not release the Church from the civil power. If the government was theocratic, the senate ordained it, and that before Calvin's arrival. They seem to have revived certain laws of the bishops (1485-1516) against games of chance, dancing, debauchery, drunkenness, and blasphemy. The Romanists had made the sumptuary laws; Protestants would enforce them. The common amusements were vicious—many of them vile beyond any in our society. Laws were enacted against fairs, songs, lounging at taverns, masquerades, certain styles of dress, and ornaments. All persons must be at home by nine o'clock at night, strictly observe the Sabbath, and attend Church or leave the city. The effort was to furnish preaching to all German and Italian refugees in their own languages. All these affairs engaged the mind of Farel. He was often disheartened. Immorality and skepticism met him every-where, except in the hearts and homes and assemblies of those who scarcely needed such laws nor felt that they were rigorous. But they were relatively few; the crowd were glorying in a liberty which did not make them spiritually free.

The ministers seem to have had their consistory, but the secular councils had the direction of all affairs in the Church. A bond of unity, an expression of belief, an order of worship and discipline, were needed. Farel seems to have been at work upon a creed for the people—a simple confession of their faith—when a man came so unannounced, so uninvited, that the first thought was, "God has sent him."

In July, 1536, Farel heard that the author of the *Christian Institutes* was in town for a night. He found him at the house of Viret, and presented the wants of the city. But said Calvin, who wished to study in Germany, "I can not bind myself to any one Church, I would be useful to all." Farel urged, argued, entreated, until his words broke forth like thunders rattling overhead. Long afterwards Calvin wrote, "I was kept

in Geneva, not properly by an express exhortation or request, but rather by the terrible threatenings of William Farel, which were as if God had seized me by his awful hand from heaven. So I was compelled to give up the plan of my journey, but yet without pledging myself to undertake any definite office, for I was conscious of my timidity and weakness." He would visit Basle, and then simply make trial of his abilities as a "professor of Sacred Literature," by which he meant an interpreter of God's Word, a teacher of Biblical theology, ethics, and home-going truth.

The council acted rather warily towards "that Frenchman," as its records first mention Calvin. It voted him a slender allowance as lecturer or doctor in the cathedral, where large audiences gathered every day. It was pleased to learn that he was no fierce iconoclast nor stern innovator; that he asked the people to believe only what was proved by Scripture, and that he showed himself a master in the writings of the apostles and the Fathers, in the great debate at Lausanne. It then elected him preacher in the cathedral, whose frescoes and stained windows remain to this day. He was now professor of theology and chief pastor in the city. From his acceptance of these offices it has been inferred that he was ordained—perhaps by the presbyters at Geneva. But we find no record of his ordination to the ministry either by Romanists or Protestants.

In November Farel's Confession, which Calvin helped to frame, was ratified by the senate. It was practical rather than theological. It did not specify the "five points," afterwards so famous. It was not meant to be a manual for theologians, but a bond of union for the people, the outline of a popular belief, and a method of discipline. It aimed to instruct and confirm, to prune and purify, and make the Church to be "a body of true believers." One of the twenty-one articles declared "it to be expedient that all manifest idolaters, blasphemers, murderers, thieves, seditious persons, strikers, and drunkards,* after they have been duly admonished if they

* Such gross offenders had not been admitted into the Church by the reformers, but had grown up in it under the papal system. They had come over with it when it was voted to be reformed. The congregation was then identical with the church.

amend not, should be separated from the communion of the faithful, till their repentance has become apparent." But who should excommunicate offenders? Who would oppose further measures for the purification of the Church?

VI. THE CONTEST FOR DISCIPLINE.

There were soon four parties in Geneva. (1) The true Protestants in the several Churches, who stood firmly by their pastors. (2) Romanists, who had no public worship of their own, and who refused to attend the Protestant sermons and schools. (3) A mass of people without convictions, who applauded Farel's triumph, but cried down the more spiritual measures of Calvin. Among them were bold, immoral, restless men, who claimed a place at the Lord's table, and became the nucleus of the Libertines, or free-party, who led Geneva to the brink of ruin. They joined hands with (4) the Spirituals, the scum of the Reformation, floating wherever good men secured the true liberty which the wicked turned into license. They were sensualists, who represented God and man as identical, sin as a mere notion, and marriage a hateful bondage; the spirit in themselves was the only guide. "God lives in us; his breath is our soul; our acts are his acts; Christ had no real humanity." Thus taught their pantheistic leaders, Herman and Benoit, from the Netherlands, who were heard in a public debate, refuted and banished by the council. Their followers were allied to the Anabaptists. It is simply just that due weight should be given to the age and the city in which Calvin lived, and the peculiar contests of his day. Geneva then represented "a tottering republic, a wavering faith, a nascent Church," and it became "the scene of every crisis and every problem, great or small, which can agitate human society."

Calvin wished to bring all the people into unity of faith and make the state a Christian Sparta. The aim was grand, the motive pure, the zeal honest, but the methods were not all wise or just. The best means were his new catechism, the schools, public charities, lectures, sermons, sacraments. But the reformers went farther. Early in 1537 the four new syndics upheld them even when the council and all the citizens were required to swear to the Confession. Many people refused the oath. At bottom, the very requirement was an error. Even

if proper to demand such an oath of the true believers, it was wrong to impose it on citizens, *en masse*, who did not really believe it or whose lives were immoral; and then decree that all who refused it should depart from the city. "Such an enormity could not fail to lead to a revolution," says D'Aubigne, who shows how the troubles of the next four years grew out of "that state-church, that people-church, that shapeless community which comprised the whole nation, righteous men and profligates." Calvin's experience would ripen a wiser theory of the Church. Our age finds another error in the employment of the civil law to purify the Church by punishing vices and follies.* "The dances, for instance; do those who reproach Calvin for having so strictly forbidden them know what they were?" They were means of filling dens of infamy. He escaped the worse reproach of ignoring the most flagrant sins and of indifference to social reform. We employ merciful discipline with moral or spiritual penalties; as a last resort we excommunicate unrepentant offenders, and there we stop, so far as the Church is concerned. But the Genevan reformers had to contend for the right of excommunication.

A contest of long years began in this way: Calvin and his associates urged that the Lord's Supper should not be administered to any persons whose evil lives show plainly that they do not belong to Jesus Christ. They had to ask the council for the permission to admonish those who were leading evil lives! This was a simple duty of every pastor, but their request brought them much abuse and detraction. The council replied: "We shall see who is bad, and the bad shall be punished." Yet nothing was done. Then they asked the council whether certain restless disturbers might not be refused the Lord's Supper on the next Sabbath (January, 1538). The senate was convened, and the reply was, "not to refuse the Supper to any one." The reformers were disappointed, but they certainly were moderate and patient. "They yielded. This is not the crime of which they are commonly accused."

* Calvin attained a far more spiritual idea of the Church than Zwingli, and yet held, in 1560, that, "as it is the duty of the magistrate, by punishment and corporeal coercion, to purge the Church from offenses, so it behooves the minister of the Word to relieve the magistrate by preventing the multiplication of offenders." (Institutes: Book IV, Chapter XI, iii.)

The result was hailed as a triumph by the rising Libertine party. Bands of men paraded the streets, brandished swords at those who had sworn to the Confession, jeered them as "brethren in Christ," ridiculed holy things, reveled in taverns, and gloried in their admission to the table of the Lord. The exciting elections of the next month put in office four syndics and a majority of councilors who were bitterly opposed to the reformers.

Five April days (15-20, 1538) threw more storm into the ecclesiastical sky than even Farel had seen in Geneva. The usual shout of the rabble, when a preacher had lost favor, was, "To the Rhone!" It was now raised in the streets, but, as usual, no one was flung into it. Calvin said to the council: "I pledge myself to yield to the decision of the general synod." But the council twice ordered the preachers, in three of the churches, to administer the Lord's Supper at Easter in the Bernese manner—with unleavened bread—and appointed magistrates to see that it was done. "If you refuse you are forbidden to preach." They did refuse, and some of them preached. The result was that Calvin, Farel, and the blind Courault—an aged, eloquent exile from Paris—were expelled; not for any minute code of social laws, nor for a "stern theology," but really for guarding the Lord's table from the vicious people, who now danced, gambled, reveled in wine and gallantry, and boasted of their triumph.

Berne gave to the banished ministers refuge, believed their defense, protested against the wrong done, saw them honored in the general synod at Zurich, joined in the strong plea that Geneva would take back her pastors, and sent ambassadors to make good their entrance. When near Geneva they heard of danger; they turned back and escaped the twenty ruffians lying in wait for them. Farel resumed his charge at Neuchatel. Calvin journeyed down the Rhine.

VII. CALVIN AT STRASBURG (1538-41).

We must not think of Calvin as an exile only, for three years, resting on a side-track and merely freighting his Institutes for a return on the main line. He was extending the line into the Lutheran domains, and along it we shall find the German Reformed Church. If the entreaties of the Strasburgers had

not drawn him to "the Antioch of the Reformation," we might read far less of his influence in Germany. If he had remained there, we might hear nothing of the sternness, severity, and theocratic rule, imputed to his second residence at Geneva. He was one of the hardest workers at Strasburg. As professor of theology he lectured daily on the Scriptures to students from far and near cities. He revised and edited the French Bible of Le Fevre and Olivetan. His pen was marvelously busy as an author and conciliator. His treatise on the Lord's Supper pleased Luther. At four German synods he and Melancthon labored for the union of all true Protestants. The Genevan reformer accepted the Augsburg Confession.*

Calvin was also the pastor of about fifteen hundred French exiles, whom he organized into a church—the first in that age on a thoroughly presbyterian basis, and not under civil rule.† It was a famous model. Its elders and deacons met him once every week for prayer, advice, and Biblical study. If he could not preach his four sermons a week, one of them took his place. In his diligent pastoral care he led even Anabaptists to faith in Christ. One of them was the same Herman whom he had seen expelled from Geneva for pantheism. Another was John Storder, whose highly respected widow, Idelette de Bure, became the wife of Calvin (1540), who described her as a great soul, "the ever-faithful assistant of my ministry."

By conciliatory letters he had sought to keep "the relics of the dispersed Church of Geneva" in unity, quietness, and hope of deliverance. "Still go to the Lord's Supper," he wrote, "although the pastors admit the unworthy." But Saurier and Mathurin Cordier, an exile from Paris, where he had been Calvin's favorite professor, refused to take the Supper from these pastors, and also to administer it when the council so ordered. They were at the head of the school which had grown into a prosperous college wherein the ancient languages, the sciences of the time, and the Bible were taught as Geneva

* "Nor do I repudiate the Augsburg Confession (which I long ago willingly and gladly subscribed) as its author has interpreted it." Calvin to Schalling, 1557. He did oppose the use made of it afterwards by the Cardinal of Lorraine to deceive the French Church.

† "The French Church here increases every day. Many students and learned men come hither from France on account of Calvin." (Sturm.) This church was Lutheranized about 1555.

had never known them. They were banished, and the students scattered to near and distant homes. The persecution of the faithful was bitter. Then came lawlessness, riots, and anarchy. The Romanists expected to gain the city. Thirty-five priests were finding entrance. Cardinal Sadolet wrote a captivating letter to the Genevese. It seemed half Protestant; it broached justification by faith, but the Church (and where was there any Church except the Roman?) must be their teacher and hope. Many leading Huguenots felt a throb of the old blood, and wished for a reply to it. They looked in vain until their city was astir over a letter of Calvin. Was he now to be their deliverer? Was this his noble revenge? He treated Sadolet as a polished scholar, but tore up insinuating popery by the roots. He touchingly referred to his conversion, to his experience in Geneva, to his fatherly love for her Church. It was manly, devout, and so bold that it ran through Europe like startling news. Huguenots began to say, "Oh for one hour of John Calvin!"

Jean Philippe, the leader of the very syndics who had banished him and ruled in the spirit of ruin, went to a scaffold for treason and riot. The others perished disgracefully. The reaction put four good syndics in their place, in 1540, and in September the council ordered Perrin, one of its members, "to find means, if he could, to bring back Master Calvin." For one year letters, heralds, committees, councilors, were going to Strasburg. James Bernard and other pastors wrote, "Come; thou art ours." Farel entreated; Viret preached in Geneva, softened political rancor, obtained the recall of Philippe's banished children, brought minds and hearts more to the Gospel, and begged Calvin to come. The reply was, "Again I tell thee, no place so much alarms me as Geneva." It was hard for Strasburg to let him go. In September, 1541, he slowly, quietly, returned. Luther had rushed from a castle to Wittenberg with more heroic daring to save the Church; Calvin must apologize for visiting Farel on his way; the people received him with a warm affection, and the council showed a marvelous readiness to heed his advice in restoring the Church from the wreck.

VIII. THE RESTORATION AT GENEVA.

The registers of the council show how carefully it provided a house, new gown, and "salary for Master Calvin, who is a

man of great learning, well fitted to build up the Christian Church, and exposed to heavy expenses from strangers who come this way. Resolved to retain Calvin here always; and that he shall have yearly five hundred florins,* twelve measures of wheat, and two casks of wine; and shall take the oaths here." After some months he was settled for life in that house. There he endured the frequent illnesses which too close study had brought on him. He found it grow lonely as death took away, one by one, his three only infants, and his wife (1549), and fellow-workers whose calls he enjoyed.

He was soon at work. "I declared to the senate that a Church must have a settled government, such as is prescribed in the Word of God, and was in use in the ancient Church. Then I touched gently on certain points. I requested a commission to confer with us. Six were appointed." Six councilors and the company of ministers—Viret being one of them for six months—framed the new constitution of the Church. Doubtless Calvin was the chief author, yet the councils so amended it that we can not tell just what he pressed, and what he yielded. Theoretically, at least, the Church and the state were each independent of the other, in its own domain, yet so allied that each gave to the other its support.† Practically, the councils retained a lofty power over the Church, and Calvin conceded it as a policy for the place and the time. This new constitution was adopted by the general council of the people on the 2d of January, 1542, the date of "the Calvinistic Republic." The next year Calvin was chosen as one of the three revisers of the civil constitution. For the new code of laws he has been accorded high praise by eminent judges. Not the cross, but the monogram of Christ, I. H. S.—*Jesus Hominum Salvator*—was placed on the coin, the banners, and the public buildings.

Calvin secured for the Church these rights: (1) Authority for her ministers, called pastors and doctors (teachers), and all

* About two hundred and fifty francs at that time; now equal to about seven hundred dollars. The tradition of Sadoleto's visit and admiration of Calvin's mode of life is doubtful, yet consistent with Calvin's economy. He had no desire for wealth or display.

† "We at length have a presbyterial court, such as it is, and a form of discipline, such as these disjointed times permit. Do not think that we have obtained it without great effort." (Calvin, Letters, 14th March, 1542.)

on an official equality; (2) their ordination by ministers;* (3) representation for her people by elders, elected, or re-elected, every year; (4) excommunication of persistent offenders, as a last resort, by (5) a spiritual court alone—the consistory. Only the second and third of these rights were entirely free from limitations by the civil power. Ministers and elders must take an official oath before the council. But no other reformer had yet restored all these rights in so high a degree. For the Genevese Church he claimed independence; in purely religious affairs he won for it self-government. It was not a union of several “local churches” in the city, but one Church, with several parishes, “temples,” and collegiate pastors who rotated in the pulpits. Hence we do not there find “Church sessions,” as with us. There were three ecclesiastical courts.

1. *The Venerable Company of Pastors.* In it were all the ministers of the small canton. It was quite like our “ministers’ association,” with certain powers of an American presbytery. It carefully examined, and ordained, candidates for the ministry. It elected pastors, and, when they were approved by the council and the congregation, installed them. All pastors were elected for a year. It took oversight of the manners, morals, doctrines, and various duties of the pastors and teachers. It promoted good fellowship, mutual aid, and excellent preaching. It censured lesser faults and defects in the members; a more serious offense must be judged by the consistory; a grievous crime fell under the civil power, and the proof of guilt involved deposition. Bungener says: “More fortunate than her sisters of German Switzerland, who had, and still have, for their bishop the civil government, the Church of Geneva always had her own bishop—the Company of Pastors.” They had charge of the faith.

2. *The Consistory*, which had special charge of the morals of the people. In it were the ministers, and twice as many lay elders. At first it was “the session” for the Church of the whole city, or a group of congregations in the country.† It

* “The laying on of hands belongs only to the ministers. It must not be taken away by the magistrates, who have here more than once attempted it.” (Calvin.)

† So in Scotland for a time. “We think that three, four, more or fewer, particular kirks may have one eldership [session] common to them all.” (Book of Polity, 1581.) In a place where there was but one minister, he and the lay

was the court of discipline. If its advice, or censure, or severer punishment was not heeded by a persistent offender, the council took up the case, and inflicted a sorer penalty, such as a fine, or banishment. It carried its inspection farther into private life, and invaded more personal liberties, than we should approve among us; but it had to deal with grosser manners. The design was to raise the moral standard, educate conscience, use moderation, and employ censures as medicines for curing public disorders. Calvin laid great stress on private means of correcting faults and vices, and upon the instruction of the ignorant by simple lessons at home, by catechisms, by the visits of pastors and elders, and by preaching. The system did promote the happiness, industry, and safety of all the people who cared for good order and social purity.* A French refugee one day exclaimed, "How delightful it is to see this lovely liberty in your city!" A peasant woman replied, "Lovely liberty! We were once obliged to go to mass; now we are obliged to go to sermon." But the sermon was intended to lead her to the truth which would make her free indeed.

3. *The Synod.* In it sat the representatives of the consistories. If Churches, such as Berne and Lausanne, had no elders, they sent laymen from their civil councils. At first the

elders came to be the consistory of Swiss, French, Dutch, or German Reformed Church, or the session of a church wherever the Scotch polity prevailed.

* Bernard Ochino, an Italian reformer and refugee from persecution, wrote, in 1542: "In Geneva, where I am at present residing, excellent Christians are daily preaching the pure Word of God. It is constantly read, expounded, and openly discussed, and every one may propound what the Holy Spirit suggests to him, just as it was in the early Church. On Sundays the catechism is explained, and the young and ignorant taught. Cursing and swearing, . . . impure lives, so common in other places where I have lived, are unknown here. Gambling is rare; benevolence so great that the poor need not beg; lawsuits have ceased; no simony, murder, or party spirit; but only peace and charity. No organs here, no noise of bells, no showy songs, no burning candles [as at mass], no relics, pictures, statues, farces, nor cold ceremonies." This reformed monk gathered in Geneva a church of Italian exiles. Dr. Benrath has lately done much to rescue him from many imputations of error that have long rested upon his later years. The judicious Hooker, a moderate Anglican, said of the Genevan polity which regulated morals and manners, "This device I see not how the best of men then living could have bettered, if we consider what the existent state of the Genevese did then require." Montesquieu has written, "The Genevese may bless the day when Calvin was born."

synods appear to have had advisory rather than judicial powers. Calvin allowed them a high authority. Geneva was slow in paying much regard to a synod, whether local or general. The time came when "regular synodic action was of the very essence of the Calvinistic system." Calvin and Bullinger, along with the learned and eminent Vadian, of St. Gall, secured the unity of the Reformed Swiss Churches in doctrine. Calvin prepared the Consensus of Zurich on the Lord's Supper, 1549, and the Consensus of Geneva on Predestination, 1554, and by these the Zwinglian Churches were brought over to a more thorough Calvinism. The Reformed Synod of Switzerland became a strong and renowned body.

A General Council of all the Protestant Churches was suggested by Cranmer, to secure harmony of faith, and show a strong front to the Roman Council of Trent. "Would that it were attainable!" replied Calvin (1552); "the Churches are so divided that human fellowship is scarcely now in any repute among us. . . . Could I be of any service I would not grudge to cross even ten seas, if need were, to obtain a properly adjusted agreement upon the rule of Scripture, by means of which Churches, though divided on other questions, might be brought into unity." The grand project was favored by many eminent reformers. But wars were enough to defeat it, and the later renewals of it, so that it was left for some other age more nearly to realize.

Doctrine and discipline were not enough; Calvin sought devotion by means of a simple liturgy, and the service of song. He had Marot's psalms printed, with common tunes. Even he disclosed some poetic abilities. A master, paid by the council, trained choirs of children, and when they had learned a psalm they "sang it at the next sermon in a clear and loud voice, the people following it in their hearts, till, little by little, all could sing." This hymnal was enlarged by Beza with music by Goudimel and Franke.

By this threefold system of theology, polity, and worship, Calvin offered a solution of many problems of his age. It was readily accepted by the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, France, the German states, Holland, and Scotland. It gave creed and constitution to the Presbyterian Churches of England, Ireland, America, and Oceanica. "A local work," says

Guizot, "does not spread in this manner unless it responds to some great instinct of humanity, to the general condition of men's minds, and to the wants of the time. Calvin's ideas were larger than he himself knew. While debating with the syndics of Geneva, he was really working for much greater states, some of them not then founded." It is singular that the same professor of logic at Paris trained the two greatest organizers of that century—Calvin and Loyola—whose legions were to meet on many a field. We do not shrink from any comparison, or contrast, between their systems, as to culture, activity, enterprise, honesty, beneficence, and solidarity. The one was the strength of Protestantism, the other of Romanism. The one advanced civil and religious liberty; the other has often been repressed, even in papal lands, for its craftiness and misrule. The little faults in the one would have been high virtues in the other. Sternness was better than deceit. As to missions, Francis Xavier's wonderful work of ten years (1542-52) in distant Asia was superficial and transient; and, while Calvin and Coligny saw their colonies in America destroyed by Jesuits and Spaniards, they made Geneva the training school, and France the field, for missionaries whose successes were marvelous and enduring.

After 1543 Calvin's life was devoted mainly to the labors of a daily preacher and pastor-general; to the care of Protestant refugees from Italy, Spain, France, and the British Isles; to the wants of the crowded hospitals, in which he would have faced the plague* if the council had not restrained him; to journeys in behalf of the reformed Churches and the Waldenses; to that wide correspondence which reveals the heart of warm friendships; to the controversies wherein are his severest epithets; to the lectures which took the form of enduring commentaries† on nearly the whole Bible; to the training of men for the ministry in the far-famed academy; to the extension of his system in other lands, and its defense at home, and to that personal culture which made "the man, in spite of his faults,

*Calvin wrote, March, 1545, "A conspiracy of men and women has lately been discovered, who, for three years had spread the plague through the city. After fifteen women have been burnt [by the state council], some men punished more severely, some suicides in prison, and twenty-five prisoners still held, the conspirators do not cease to smear the door-locks of houses with their poisons."

†Note V.

one of the fairest types of faith, earnest piety, devotedness, and courage." The history of the man is largely that of the entire reformed Church in various lands.

Of course there were defects in the man and in his system. But the worst faults of the man appeared when he was defending the best features of a system of doctrine and order which he believed involved the highest welfare of his fellow-men, the security of Christ's Church, and the glory of God. The most grievous of them may be explained by the spirit of the age, the circumstances in Geneva, and especially by one fact—the revival of the Libertine party. They do not appear at Strasburg, nor scarcely even at Geneva, during those five years when her judicious historian, M. Gaberel, says, "The most vigilant of police forces failed to discover more than eleven offenses against public worship, between 1541 and 1546; a country deserves warm praise in which religious feeling leaves so little room for transgression."* But take the next nine years, from the time that no one was found to answer his little book "against the fanatical [changed to fantastic] and furious sect of the Libertines,† who call themselves Spirituals," to the time (1555) when that party was conquered in its armed treason and rebellion, and when Calvin was the leading patriot and statesman who secured the victory and the day of thanksgiving to God for his great mercies—and you seem to have two Genevas before your eye. In one are the majority of the citizens and the welcomed exiles, the students of theology and the devout worshipers in the churches, all growing in faith, morals, and social bliss, and delighted with their liberty. In the other are men and women of wild doctrines, who may at first be too harshly treated, but the crimes of Gruet are blasphemy and

*Some troubles in 1544. (Calvin Letters, I, 416.)

†April 28, 1545, Calvin wrote to Margaret, Queen of Navarre, who had been somewhat misled by the French Libertines, "I see a sect the most execrable and pernicious that ever was in the world. I see that it does harm, and is like a fire kindled for general destruction, or like a contagious disease to infect the whole earth. . . . I am earnestly entreated by the poor believers, who see the Netherlands already corrupted, to put my hand speedily to the work. Yet I have put it off a whole year to see whether the malady would not be lulled to sleep by silence." The next month Calvin was visiting the Swiss Churches and Strasburg to obtain relief for the Waldenses of Provence and Dauphiny, whom Francis I was endeavoring to exterminate. (Letters cxxix to cxxxii.)

treason, and those of Favre, "old, rich, and stupefied by vice," are divers acts of debauchery: yet around such men gathers a party, and it grows in vice and treacherous plotting until every real liberty and happiness is likely to go down under the reign of licentiousness. Was Calvin to let his Geneva perish? "Nine years he was [almost] every moment on the point of being, not conquered, but crushed; he was to expect every month and every week to be expelled from that city which he was continuing to render illustrious and powerful abroad: for nine years he guided Geneva as a vessel on fire, which burns the captain's feet, and yet obeys him." Rarely if ever, elsewhere, has public opposition to a man been so controlled by his personal influence, that a republic finally honored him as the father of her liberties.

After 1549 his gentle wife was no longer at his side to comfort him when the lion was irritated by the stings of men who called bad dogs by his name, almost jostled him into the Rhone, sang vile ditties and fired guns under his window, or yelled about the cathedral while he was lecturing to students who were in drilling for courageous preaching and even martyrdom. Exiles had come with all sorts of ideas, and the freeness of discussion in Geneva is too often overlooked. No other city, in that age when toleration was nowhere publicly understood, gave shelter to more men who boldly assailed the cardinal doctrines, not of Calvin alone, but of Protestantism. It is not claimed that he was an apostle of toleration, but he deserves the credit of three facts; one, that the councils had a part, and often the chief part, in the severest measures ascribed to him; a second is, that all the reformers, who gave an opinion, sanctioned his course, even when it was most severe; a third is, that these severities fell upon men in the degree that their teachings, or alliances, appeared dangerous to the sworn faith, the civil and religious politics, and the very liberties of the republic. Lælius Socinus, of Italy, a learned young exile, eager for knowledge, had doubts concerning the divinity and atonement of Christ, but he was not a disturber. Calvin loved him, manfully chided him for "floating in airy speculations," and wrote to him as a "brother very highly esteemed by me." Their followers would more sharply contend in Poland. Others were far more severely censured, yet allowed to go in peace from Geneva. It was

Berne that thrust Gentiles into the flames. Bolsec will hardly be claimed as an Arminian, out of time and place, when he assailed predestination, and all the pastors of the city. He was tried by the laws and banished, as a seditious disturber of the peace, and all the Churches found what he was when he vexed them, resumed the monk's hood and wrote a meagre "Life of Calvin," which even Romanists now treat as a monstrous libel.

In the very heat of those trying years Michael Servetus* barely escaped a stake at Vienne, and if the Romanists had burnt him there, he would have been simply one victim among untold thousands whom Rome executed for their Protestantism, and not for his pantheism and his grossly immoral doctrines. He was arraigned by Calvin's agency, and burnt, in 1553, by a Genevan Council when it gloried in acting free of Calvin's power. And Bolsec said it was right. The deplorable act was advised, or sanctioned, by far worthier men, even the gentlest of the reformers—Bullinger, Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, the Lutheran Chemnitz, the English Jewel—and by the several reformed Churches whose opinion was asked. Protestantism had not yet freed itself from the mediæval spirit and law against heresy, blasphemy, and sedition, nor revealed the tolerance which was latent in its own principles.

If Calvin was too forward in causing the arrest of Servetus, he still deserves the weight of one fact. During the trial he feared that his whole work in Geneva was overthrown when Berthelier, a Libertine leader who had been justly excommunicated by the consistory, was unlawfully restored to communion by the Lesser Council. That council wished to have the entire power in trying Servetus; it was testing Calvin by taking away a right which he had won for the Church. It secretly advised Berthelier, "if he can, to abstain from the Supper for the present," but left Calvin to "fence the Lord's table" courageously

*Of Villeneuve, in Spain; wandered about Europe; known by Calvin for twenty years; aimed at universal knowledge; his attainments in natural science and medicine were creditable; verged upon Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, and published a Sabellian book. He sent his "Restitution of Christianity" to Calvin. After his escape from Vienna he came rather secretly to Geneva, where his affiliation with the opponents of Calvin made him a dangerous refugee. By remaining there he made himself accountable to the severe laws (older than Calvin), whose deathly penalties were devices of the Mediæval Church and state for blasphemy, heresy, and conspiracy.

the next day, to hang in doubt of his own official safety, and to preach a tender sermon, in the afternoon, which he publicly said might be his last in that city. The crisis had come. After this the Council judged Servetus by its own laws against blasphemy, heresy, and turbulence,* laid a check on Calvin's power in the state, refused his plea that the poor convict might be executed by the sword rather than by fire, and soon gave back to the Church the right of excommunication. It was wrong to burn Servetus—wrong to have laws that would fix the stake on the Champel; but it was right to support Calvin in his just measures, by all lawful power, and save Geneva from falling into obscurity, popery, or even worse; right to fix the doom of that unbridled minority which rapidly sank into treason and rebellion, and ended when its leaders passed under the executioner's ax, or into banishment. In 1555 it was Calvin who again saved Geneva and the Reformation.

His remaining nine years were largely devoted to the reformed Church in France, where it had just begun its organization. Geneva was its center of light, its source of supplies, the refuge for its children. He had planned a university; worked up the original funds by going from house to house; traced on a keystone the words, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom;" shivered and parched with quartan ague while he was daily carried to the walls to see them rise, and to cheer the workmen; and in June, 1559, he thanked God and the large assembly of people for the academy. Just before this, "my lords of Berne" had turned the pastors and professors out of Lausanne, because they insisted upon the right of the Church to excommunicate vicious members. Five chairs of the academy were given them. Beza was its rector and professor of theology. Viret preached in the city again for two years with wonderful success.

But Calvin is wearing away. He often drops in to see how

* Guizot, in his sketch of Calvin, says, "It is my profound conviction that Calvin's cause was the good one; that it was the cause of morality, of social order, of civilization. . . . Servetus obtained the honor of being one of the few martyrs to intellectual liberty; whilst Calvin, who was undoubtedly one of those who did most toward the establishment of religious liberty, had the misfortune to ignore his adversary's right to liberty of belief." Michelet says that the acquittal of Servetus would have been the triumph of the Libertines and the ruin of liberty.

John Knox and Whittingham get on with the Genevan Bible (1560), which is to take such a hold upon the people of English speech. He will preach and lecture, though his lungs bleed; he will still write those great letters and revise his books, though a London bishop entreats him to work less and live longer for the whole realm of Protestantism. When he can no longer sit in the council or the consistory, those dignified bodies come to his bedside, hear his last words to them, talk of "the majesty of his unselfishness," and go thence, assured that "God has a use for this Church and will maintain it." And then comes Farel, "my sound-hearted brother and matchless friend," brisk at seventy-five, and lately gratifying his ruling passion for missions on wide tours of preaching. The two men shut the door, and spend an evening too near heaven's gate for this world to hear them. It was entered by "the father of Geneva's Church" about fifteen months after her restorer "went to God, May 27th," on a Saturday's sunset, 1564, not quite fifty-five years of age. "The poor flock in the Church wept for the loss of their faithful pastor," says Beza. "The academy was bereaved of its true head; all people in common bewailed their beloved father and chief comforter next to God." His body was laid in a simple grave, over which he forbade any monument.* Beza intimated, and Dr. Schaff says of this lawgiver and organizer of the reformed Churches, "Like Moses, he was buried out of the reach of idolatry."

Thus, through many a contest which honored it, the Genevan system of theology, polity, and worship was established in a city admirably adapted to its wide extension. It unified all the Swiss Churches.† It was rendered still more popular by Theodore Beza (1519-1605), the son of a noble family at Vezelai in France; a brilliant amateur of the Renaissance;

* A small stone now marks the supposed spot. A recent visitor standing there, and wishing that the uncertainty of tradition could be removed, said, "John Calvin is *dead*; that is *certain*." The guide responded, "Dead? yes, dead here; but, my dear friend, he lives every-where!"

† Calvin, doubtless, did more than any other man to settle the sacramental controversy. His middle view between Luther and Zwingli brought both the Swiss Churches into harmony. They held that the bread and wine represent Christ's body, and when received by believers in faith, they convey the benefits of his death to the soul, he being really but spiritually received, and they being also the symbol, pledge, and seal of spiritual life.

almost a troubadour while in the Roman Church with two benefices, and among priests who applauded his wit and lively songs; a young lawyer at Paris, rather more in gay society than at the bar; and kept out of the priesthood by an unpublished marriage, which was honorably maintained. The prodigal came to himself and to his Heavenly Father by an illness, by the Holy Spirit, and by a remembrance of the lessons of Melchior Wolmar, who had so drilled him in Greek that he became a learned critic, editor of the Codex Bezae, and expositor of the New Testament. He says, "As soon as I could walk again, I broke all my chains, packed up my goods, and left my country, my parents, my friends, my earthly all to follow Christ. I went to Geneva with my wife (1548)." Poor now, and self-helping, he resolved to be a printer in the house of John Crispin, the author of a History of Martyrs. When Calvin was ransacking offices and shops for young men to train for the pressing work of the Churches, he must have found Beza, whose merit soon put him into the chair of Greek at Lausanne. He there formed a Waldensian Church. We saw how he came to take Calvin's theological chair at Geneva. The two men were ardently attached to each other. "Calvin had a severer logic, a more penetrating vision, a stronger will. Beza had an easier eloquence, more winning manners, more social qualities, and the powers of a diplomatist." He was said to be more Calvinist than Calvin (*Calvino Calvinior*), and this gave him a leadership in the greatest debate that has yet divided Protestants. For in Holland his "high Calvinism" nourished the party which expected his former pupil, James Arminius, to maintain it; whereupon the professor became a leader on the other side. Beza was an oracle in theology to the Anglican Whitgift, and in polity to Cartwright the Puritan, and Melville the Scot. In France he was well known as the fine preacher to thousands, the keen debater with Romanists, the chaplain in Coligny's army, the presbyter bishop at Synods of the Huguenots, and the historian of their Church. We shall see more of his foreign influence.

At home the hardest blow of the remaining Libertines did not rouse Beza out of a healthful sleep. This wretched party, chafed by exile, sold themselves to the Duke of Savoy and the pope. They appeared once more in the famous escalade—

December 12, 1602—which was so nearly the grave of Genevan liberty. The duke's troops were scaling the walls by ladders in the night. The people were roused; they rushed to arms and saved their city. The aged Beza "heard nothing of all the noise of the guns and bells that were fired and rung the best part of that night, and in the morning he was extremely surprised to see so many persons who had been killed in the town. He was too old to preach, but he went into the pulpit and caused the one hundred and twenty-fourth Psalm to be sung, which hath been sung on that day ever since. The council ordered that day to be kept forever as a day of thanksgiving to God Almighty.*

Beza placed in the chair of Hebrew a young man of great vigor, John Diodati (1576–1649), the son of an Italian refugee. After 1609 he was the professor of theology. His Italian and French versions of the Bible are now growing in their influence. Geneva sent him to the Synod of Dort (1618), where his voice was closely heeded. In 1646, the admired Sir John Evelyn, an English author, wrote in his diary, "I heard Dr. Diodati (pastor of an Italian Church) preach in French and after the French mode, in a gown with a cape, and with his hat on. The Church government is severely Presbyterian, . . . but nothing so rigid as either our Scots or English sectaries of that denomination. . . . A little out of town is the Campus Martius. Here, on every Sunday, after the evening devotions, this precise people permit their youths to exercise arms, and shoot with guns, and long and cross-bows. . . . I was as busy with the carbine I brought from Brescia as any of them." Thus closed a European Sabbath in his time.

If Sir John thought that the Westminster Assembly, in which he declined to sit, did not "go on in a prudential way," he may have found a few sympathizers in the five Swiss schools of theology, although there was yet no marked departure from Calvinism. Berne and Lausanne felt the power of the state too heavily to attain a free individuality. Basle was eminent for the Oriental scholarship of the Buxtorfs, with their zeal for the inspiration of the Hebrew vowel-points. Zurich led in Church history, and stood firm for the canons of Dort. Geneva was still the chief center of the Reformed theology. Her first

* Le Mercier, *Hist. of Geneva*, 1732.

Turretine was in his grave (1631); her second was yet to write his great Institutes, and the third to open the door to a liberalism by which her school was uncrowned.

IX. THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.

This heroic Church was of the Swiss type; her language that of Zwingli, her settled doctrine mainly that of Calvin, and her mediative spirit that of Melancthon. These are her three fathers. Her own sons now differ as to the precise influence of each upon her childhood, growth, and habits. She was long like an orphan, unsheltered by the peace of Augsburg (1555), but with irrepressible energies of self-help. With a marked individuality, she framed her own creed, won her right of existence, gained possession of states and developed her theology, polity, hymns of praise, love of union and mystic piety.

I. *The Palatinate, and Heidelberg Catechism.* When the Lutheran superintendent, Tileman Heshus, and his deacon quarreled about the eucharist at Heidelberg, the capital, and tore each other's hair at the altar, it was time for some peaceable adjustment. They were both sent off by the new elector, Frederick III (1559-1576), a sort of King Alfred in his simple life and his zeal for learning, good schools, and charitable institutions. One of the noblest of the German princes, he was the first to throw his shield over the followers of Melancthon, who was a native, and the reformer of the Palatinate. Its university had reared the Preceptor of Germany, twice offered him its chair of theology without success, been reorganized on his plan, and become a war-camp of parties. His polity, almost Zwinglian in simplicity, had now been nearly swept out by the zealot Heshus. The reaction had come. By the advice of Melancthon, in 1560, the elector called an assembly, which voted for the Calvinistic doctrine of the eucharist. He put reformed professors in the university, and teachers in the schools of the country.

The Heidelberg Catechism, published in 1563, was one result of this movement. It was framed, at the elector's request, by two young professors at Heidelberg, both Germans, yet personally familiar with the Swiss reformers, and confirmed in their doctrine and polity. One was Caspar Olevian, who labored to establish the Genevan Church government in the

Palatinate, but did not fully succeed. The chief author was Zachary Ursinus (Baer), the pupil of Melancthon, a special favorite with Calvin, and an associate of Bullinger for a time. This catechism, adopted by the synod and intended for the Churches and schools of a province, found acceptance far beyond the land of its birth. Its clearness, moderation, catholicity, conciliatory spirit, warmth, faithfulness to the system which it explains, home-going questions and heart-revealing answers, made it the one and only permanent creed of the German Reformed Church in all lands, if not the most popular of all Calvinistic symbols. "It has not died in three hundred years; it will live as long as there is an evangelical Church."

Great creeds are few; some of them came from single minds. In serious years, and especially during the pestilence of 1564, Henry Bullinger wrote out a statement of his personal faith, and added it to his will. It might have remained hidden for eleven years if two demands had not risen: one from the Swiss, who sought a closer bond of union for their Churches; the other from the Palatinate, where Elector Frederick was threatened with exclusion from the Peace of Augsburg because he had so Calvinized his province.* He wished for a clear and full statement of the reformed faith, so that he might defend himself from the charges of apostasy, dissension, and heresy, at the next Imperial Diet. He had his wish; for, by request, Bullinger sent him his own private confession. With this, at the diet, 1566, the elector made such a manly and noble defense of his faith, says Dr. Schaff, "that even his Lutheran opponents were filled with admiration for his piety, and thought no longer of impeaching him for heresy." One of them, Augustus of Saxony, said to him, "Fritz, thou art more pious than all of us."

This was not all. Beza had already gone over to Zurich, met other Swiss theologians there, joined with them in the desire for a bond of union; and so Bullinger's statement was turned into the Second Helvetic Confession. It was adopted, and issued in the names of the Swiss Cantons and the Pala-

* He had brought in a catechism on which some anonymous Lutheran wrote: "This is Anabaptist heresy"—"Abrogation of the Gospel"—"a lie, and against God's Word." Such intense convictions, not then very exceptional, throw light on the history.

minate. Next to that of Heidelberg, no other reformed symbol was translated into so many languages (even Arabic and Turkish), and sanctioned by so many national Churches. It marks an era of stronger creed-statement and closer alliance in the Calvinistic ranks.

The Elector Louis VI (1576-1583) spent about seven years in a vigorous effort to Lutheranize the Palatinate. Six hundred Calvinistic ministers and teachers were banished. The form of Concord, fresh from its authors, was the new faith. But the stiff wind veered when John Casimir, who had fought on Coligny's side, restored the Heidelberg Catechism, sent off the Lutheran preachers, called back the exiles, walked in the way of his father Frederick, reared the next Frederick in strict Calvinism, and insured the prosperity of that system there until the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.

II. Most other Calvinized German states have a quite similar history. In most of them the Philippists claimed the right due to first occupancy; in all, the local creeds finally gave way to the Heidelberg Catechism. Bremen expelled for a time (1563-1568) fourteen Lutheran preachers, and permanently established the reformed system. Anhalt and some other provinces might have remained Lutheran if there had been toleration in Saxony. The Saxon elector, Christian (1586-1591), restored the Philippists, who had been banished in 1574,* and wished the union of all parties. His chancellor, Nicolas Crell, aiming to avoid extremes, repressed controversial sermons, abolished exorcism in baptism (to which the Lutherans clung), released Peucer, put Philippists into the chairs of the universities, pastorates, and schools, and began to publish a Bible with notes in the spirit of Melancthon. All this brought a reaction. The next rulers deposed the professors of Wittenberg and Leipsic; threw leading ministers into prison, or banished them; required officials to make oath to the new Articles (drawn up chiefly by Dr. Hunnius, 1592, and strong against Calvinism); held Crell ten years in prison, and then beheaded him for constructive treason. So Calvinism had its second exile from Saxony.

Peucer and others Calvinized Anhalt. The Earl of Lippe, 1599, banished saints' days, signing with the cross, exorcism,

* See Chapter XVII, Note II.

the host, candles, Luther's catechism, and the resistant clergy; and established Calvinism. The same system was confirmed in Cleves; also in Hesse-Cassel by four synods and Landgrave Maurice (1604). More important was the conquest of Brandenburg, the cradle of the Prussian Empire. John Sigismund was obliged to make oath and thrice give bonds, to his rigid father, that he would adhere to the Lutheran Church. Probably his social relations with the Palatinate and Holland inclined him to their creed. After he was about five years on the throne (1608-19) he openly and conscientiously avowed the reformed faith in the cathedral at Berlin. His wife and most of his subjects refused to adopt it. When the Wittenbergers assailed him violently, he abolished their Form of Concord, and put the University of Frankfort into Calvinistic hands. The Augsburg Confession, in its author's later form, was recognized. A confession, drawn chiefly by himself, was moderate and conciliatory. A prominent fact is that he was *the first German ruler to grant religious toleration in his realm*. He laid the basis, and from that time German Reformed princes and theologians sought union with the Lutherans. It would come in two hundred years!

CHAPTER XIX.

FRANCE, HOLLAND, AND SCOTLAND.

1555-1643.

I. THE HUGUENOTS OF FRANCE.

UNTIL the year 1555 the Reform in France wanted privilege, leadership, and organization. It was in repression. Numberless martyrs testified to its power. Its adherents were largely of the middle classes—tradesmen, thinking people, artists, teachers, lawyers, and physicians were among them. Rural tenants were waiting to see what the lords of the soil would do, or for pastors to enter their cottages. Two forces were needed; a ministry bold enough to face the persecuting powers, organize the converts, and preach wherever it was possible; and a nobility to stay the oppressing hand of the king, support preachers, erect chapels, and set an example to people of all ranks. By the royal edicts no heretic had a right to hold property, or offer a petition to king or parliament, or make a plea in the courts. King Henry II refused Lutheranism, and thought he had crushed it. Just then came sturdy Calvinism, the hardest thing then on earth to be killed. Its human forces were in the ministry reared by Calvin at Geneva, when he educated French exiles, and in such young nobles as the Coligny brothers, and the Bourbon princes. By the ministry the Reformed Church was organized; by the princes and nobles the Huguenot party was brought into a military struggle.

I. *The period of organization* (1555-62). A few Churches may have been formed before 1555 on the model which Calvin had furnished at Strasburg, but they were not influential. It must be set up in Paris. There La Ferriere, a wealthy provincial, made his residence, and drew to his house Bible-readers of the Latin quarter where Calvin had once held his little meetings. He wished to consecrate his infant child to the Lord in

baptism, but would not call a priest. He must have a minister of the Protestant faith. Why not also have a church and a regular pastor? He finally gained his point. Thus the first reformed Church in Paris was founded, 1555, with John Macon as its minister, sent thither from Geneva. Its members had risked their all on earth. It was speedily imitated at Meaux, and in the south-west where Calvin had raised up missionaries twenty-three years before, and where Margaret of Navarre had sustained preachers. Suddenly all Western France was traversed by heroic men whose hearers could not be kept dispersed by magistrates nor mobs. The listening tens became thousands.

Gaspard de Coligny, of noble birth, heroic in war, high in office as Admiral of France, had come from a military prison with the Gospel in his thoughts, and retired to his estates at Chatillon-sur-Loing. His generous-hearted wife, Charlotte Laval, "wonderfully given to the reformed religion," soon helped him make his home a model for the nobility. In his hall he had Bible-reading, psalms, and prayers every day; his tenants being often present. To his servants he gave Testaments, and forbade profane swearing. He established schools among the poor, and sustained preachers in villages. He became an elder in the French Reformed Church, receiving letters from Calvin, and giving his voice in the synods. Soon Madame Renée was his neighbor at Montargis, and of great service to the good cause. His brother Andelot followed his plans on his estates in Brittany. The eldest brother, Odet, was called the Protestant cardinal of the reform, in which noblemen were soon enlisted by scores.

Antony Chandieu left his rich estates near Macon, and his legal studies, learned theology at Geneva, braved the royal edicts, came to Paris at the age of twenty-two, and made actual the plan for a union of all the Protestant Churches of France in one Confession of Faith. In May, 1559, when a scaffold was waiting for every man of them, ten or twelve pastors of such churches as Dieppe, Orleans, Tours, and Poitiers, met quite secretly in Paris and organized the National Synod. The Confession and entire presbyterian system came from Geneva. Very soon presbyteries were established. So rapid was the growth of the reform, and so respectable its character, that the papal party took alarm. Its voice was heard in parliament and

was scarcely stifled by the execution of the eloquent Du Bourg for his bold speeches. The death of this martyr to liberty and truth led men to think and reason. The Romanist historians affirm that his execution did more harm to the old Church than a hundred ministers could do with all their preaching. But the persecutions became more fiery. "Death was made a carnival" in Paris. The provinces were fields of slaughter. Yet a cardinal wrote in 1561: "The fourth part of this kingdom is separated from the Roman communion. . . . They have with them more than three-fourths of the men of letters." He agrees with another papal witness: "In many provinces meetings are held, sermons preached, and rules of life adopted after the Genevan manner. Only the peasantry go zealously to the Churches; all others have fallen away, especially the younger nobles. Religious freedom must be granted them or a general war must come."

The royal court hoped for a theological triumph at the colloquy of Poissy (1561), but it seems that Beza more than defended his cause against the cardinal of Lorraine and the Jesuit Lainez. The main result of the debate was that it gave the reformed a higher position and won some converts. To it had come Peter Ramus, once a young coal-burner near Noyon, then a student fighting against poverty all his way through the Parisian colleges, and now master of an academy there. He wrote to the cardinal: "I was led to the holy truth by your speech. You admitted that the first centuries of Christianity were a golden age; that since then all have grown more and more corrupt. I take the age of gold." He became an elder in the Church, and advocated the theory that the presbyterian power lodges in the congregation, and not in the consistory (session) nor the synod. He was a forerunner of Des Cartes in philosophy. He sought to ally reason and authority, diverged from Calvin on predestination, and had a great influence upon the reputed founder of Arminianism.

Another convert to Beza's doctrine at the colloquy was Queen Jeanne D'Albret, the Deborah of Navarre, the coming heroine in Huguenot battles, a far nobler personage than her husband, King Anthony, and a nurturing mother to the reformed churches of Navarre and Bearn. No other human hand was more powerful in the Huguenot movement than hers at the

time when it seemed to be fatally checked. Soon after the colloquy a pastor on the border of Navarre wrote to Farel: "Three hundred parishes in Gascony have put down the mass. Four or even six hundred preachers are needed in France." At Toulouse there were fifteen thousand believers, and far up in Brittany the reform had swept the province. The papists had circulated stories of abominable crimes committed by the Protestants, but these might now be silenced, for Queen Catherine de Medici thus informed the pope: "By a singular favor of God there are among these people no Anabaptists, none holding monstrous opinions, nor any who oppose the apostles' creed." Coligny now hoped that she would prove a second Esther. At her request he took a census of the reformed Churches in France, and reported two thousand one hundred and fifty well organized, all of them in the vigor of youth, loyal to the government, and simply asking liberty of conscience and of faith. With them the alternative was not "Liberty or Revolution" until the papal party enforced their merciless edicts, and mobs resorted to violence against the Protestants.

II. *The period of resistance* (1562-72). The reformed Church did not rise in revolt against persecution; her nobility took arms against political aggression. The direct causes were these: (1) The throne was the mere tool of powers behind it. Francis II had not half the ability of his wife, Mary of Scots, and she was managed by her kindred, the Guises, one of them being the Cardinal of Lorraine, and others the dukes Francis and his son, Henry "The Scarred." They had brought the country almost to ruin. Charles IX, the next king (1560-74), was first controlled by the Guises, and next by his mother, Catherine de Medici. Still later she was willing to serve the interests of the great Roman party in Europe, whose champion was Philip II, of Spain, and whose purpose was the reduction of all Protestant lands to the papacy. (2) The oppressions of the Guises, who were charged with the persecutions, gave rise to large numbers of malcontents among all classes of people and of both religions. They wished to see the king more independent of Guisian craft, the parliaments more powerful, and the states-general, who had not been convened for seventy-six years, restored to their privileges. They looked for help to the Bourbon princes, Louis of Condé, and Anthony the King of Navarre. (3) These Bour-

bons, being of royal birth, hated the Guises, who were not of royal blood, and yet were virtually kings. They adopted the reform, drew to them the Protestant nobles, and took revolutionary measures to release the young king from the Guisian control. Thus came into existence the French *Huguenots*, who probably took that name from Geneva, and whose original aims and schemes were mainly political. If their first revolt was just they erred in not fighting out the battle to the end. In the series of Huguenot wars they felt each time driven to take up arms; they won some favorable terms of peace, such as the right to hold meetings outside the walls of towns; they saw their treaty violated by the royalists or by the unpunished mob; they again rushed into the field to be enticed into some other "Huguenot rat-trap," and all this time they failed to realize that the great league between the pope and Philip II was gaining form and force. At last, in 1568, when they were driven far down into the South-west, terribly beaten at Jarnac, their leader Condé slain, and Coligny distrusted by his comrades, the widowed queen, Jeanne of Navarre, rode into the field with her son, who was afterwards Henry IV of France. Shouts of welcome ran along the lines. She knew how to touch a soldier's heart. She halted where all might hear, and said, as reported by De Thou:

"Children of God and of France! Condé is no more! He has sacrificed his life for the noblest of causes. . . . You weep! Does the memory of Condé demand nothing but tears? Let us unite, summon back our courage, and defend the cause that can never perish! Does it cease to be just and holy? No. God has raised us up brothers-in-arms worthy to succeed him—Coligny, Rochefoucauld, La Noue, Rohan, Montgomery. To these brave warriors I add my son. Make proof of his valor. . . . I offer you all I have; my dominions, my treasures, my life, and, what is still dearer, my children."

"Lead us to the field!" cried the warriors. "Hail to the Prince of Navarre! He shall be our chief!" Thus Henry, sixteen years of age, was the elected Protector of the Huguenots, with Coligny as the lieutenant-general. And when Coligny buried his valorous brother Andelot, grieved over the woes in the South, learned that his home had been desolated, and that he was burnt in effigy at Paris, read the edict which degraded

his children and made him an outlaw to whom all were forbidden to give food or shelter; and when his army was again cut down at Moncontour, and his face shattered by a rifle ball, and all seemed lost, Jeanne D'Albret rode out from La Rochelle post-haste through all sorts of perils, and gave him the hand from which every jewel had gone to maintain the war. She had genius, and if Coligny had possessed the worthy ambition of William of Orange, who had just left him to fight out the great battle in the Netherlands, it is thought that he might have founded a republic in Southern France. Raised again to his feet by the help of this chivalrous queen and of foreign Protestants, Coligny set out on his grand march across the broad country to Nismes, and thence north almost to Châtillon. The court was surprised; Paris was in alarm. This man, who had such a marvelous power of retrieving himself after defeat, might be storming the capital in three days. Catherine began to see that this was not a merely local war, for Coligny was aided covertly by Elizabeth of England, and by German princes. A middle party—"the Politiques"—saw that Philip II was really the grand enemy of France, for by schemes of war and marriage he intended to bring all Western Europe under his sway. They urged peace, and were really the agents of the famous treaty with Coligny, whom they respected as one of the purest, noblest, most honest, and loyal of men. He was always ready for a fair treaty, and this one of 1570 granted to the Huguenots all that they had ever asked. It guaranteed to them pardon, safe residence, the right of appeal, toleration, the restoration of property and churches, and liberty to worship except within the walls of certain cities or in the suburbs of Paris. It was doubtless an honest treaty on the part of Charles IX, whose mother seems not then to have formed any special plot against the reformed chieftains.* Pope Pius V was a chief mourner over what he called "these infamous negotiations."

So the land had rest from war. The Guises were in the shade. The sickly, ill-tempered, dissolute Charles began to seem a king. The Politiques had influence. Various schemes to unite all parties, ally France with England, and break the

* No doubt plots had been talked of before and often, and attempts made to seize the leaders. Coligny had more than once narrowly escaped arrest, poison, and assassination.

power of Philip II were devised. Henry of Navarre was to wed Margaret, the king's sister. His mother came to Paris and suddenly died—perhaps of poison. Coligny was brought to Paris in 1572, and was to be sent to the Netherlands to assist William of Orange. He did send thither troops of Huguenots and Politiques. He was earnest that war should be declared against Spain. He was treated by Charles as a father, but Catharine hated him, for with such an honest, incorruptible, unselfish, disinterested man at court, what could she do to retain her power? She studied Machiavelli; she headed an Italian clique in Paris; she resolved to destroy the man whose plans were wisely adapted to make France the home of peace, the example of toleration, and the arbiter of Europe. Many Huguenot chiefs gathered in the hotels of Paris. The wedding was celebrated. Coligny was warned by his friends, but he knew not how to leave the city. On the 22d of August, in the open day, he was shot in the street. The assassin rushed from a house, rode away on a swift horse, and the Guises knew all about it. Catharine had a hand, doubtless, in the plot. But the wound was not fatal; the Huguenots did not rise in revolt; they did demand justice. There must be a new scheme. Coligny sent for the king, and cautioned him against the wiles of his mother. She discovered this, and quarreled with him. She and her party of Italians and Spaniards met in secret council, and laid their definite plot for a general massacre. They terrified Charles into the belief that the Huguenots were planning a rebellion. He still entreated for Coligny, until at last, in his raving, he said "Then kill all; leave not one to reproach me for the deed."

The St. Bartholomew—Sunday, August 24, 1572—had not fully dawned, nor the great bell struck the signal, when one of the most wholesale murders ever known began with the slaughter of Coligny. His body was flung out of a window upon the pavement, where Guise stood to insult it, and then said, "Well done, my men; we have made a good beginning. Forward, by the king's command." The report of this deed went to Catherine; she had the signal bell rung; other bells at once sounded, and every conspirator sprang to his work, wearing a white cross. The whole city was soon full of rapine and butcheries. The houses of Huguenots, previously marked,

were broken open and plundered, the inmates slain, and even the little child, that smiled and played with the beard of the ruffian who carried it, was stabbed and thrown into the Seine. No possible crime was left uncommitted during the full week of riot and slaughter. It was the holiday of the infernal world. Age, culture, scholarship, saved no one on whom a suspicion could fall. Peter Ramus paid all he had for the friendship and protecting influence of the old lapsed Calvinist, the learned Charpentier, a rival lecturer and defender of Aristotle; but Ramus was horribly slain by students, and Charpentier was one of the few men who wrote in justification of the massacre. An officer took one thousand crowns as the price of safety from Peter La Place, the eminent jurist whom young Calvin had led to the truth at Poitiers forty years before; but the next morning he was treacherously stabbed. Jean Goujon, the restorer of sculpture in France, was slain while his chisel was clicking upon some decorations for the royal palace. Yet there were Romanists who saved the lives of Huguenots for the sake of friendship or compassion. The moderate estimates are that ten thousand persons fell in Paris, and thirty thousand in other cities as Lyons, Orleans, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Rouen. Even if one hundred thousand were butchered, more than ten times that number remained. The Parliament sanctioned the acts of Charles, and branded the memory of Coligny—justice has reversed the sentence. Philip II is reported to have laughed aloud for the first time in his life, extolled the event as the most glorious triumph of Christianity, and boasted of the total ruin of Protestantism in the earth. At Rome there was a jubilee. Pope Gregory XIII publicly thanked heaven, decorated his palace with painted scenes of the massacre, and issued the medal inscribed *Hugonotorum Strages*.

But outside of Rome and Madrid there rose a loud voice of horror and condemnation. The Emperor Maximilian II, the father-in-law of King Charles, was severe in his protest. The English court put on deep mourning. The dying John Knox broke forth into a prophecy that "God's vengeance would never depart from Charles and his house," and the remaining two years of Charles's reign were those of strange maladies, insane anger, desperation, and remorse, until his old Huguenot nurse, his truest friend on earth, tried to impress the Gospel upon

him, and he died in 1574, aged twenty-four, saying thrice, "If Jesus, my Savior, should number me among his redeemed!" Heaven only knows what is his eternal future and the reward of Philippe Richarde, his nurse from infancy.

III. *Period of Recovery* (1572-98). The Huguenots had lost their ablest leaders; they were stunned, scattered, but not crushed. They held La Rochelle and a few other cities in the south, and defended them with help from England, where Queen Elizabeth stood as the grandest political champion of Protestantism in Europe. Catherine lost her power. Her son, Henry III, one of the leaders in the massacre, threw himself into the very hands of the Huguenots and Politiques in 1576, granted them large liberties, and put them on a footing which he could not remove, after he betrayed them and lost the confidence of all parties. The facts crystallize about movements rather than men. (1) The Roman Catholics were divided into two sections, and two leagues were formed. (2) The Patriotic League of the Huguenots and the Politiques, or Patriots, came to be led by Henry of Navarre. During the massacre he had been forced to renounce his Protestantism, had narrowly escaped death and the temptations of vice (for Catherine's aim was to ruin princes by enslaving them to vices), and now he began to display those powers which afterwards made him the greatest king of France. The Huguenots gained a broader toleration in 1576 from Henry III, a most dissolute king, who soon passed over to the opposite league. (3) The Jesuits and priests had formed brotherhoods in the rural districts. These were a basis for the Holy League, headed by Henry, the young Duke of Guise. The special objects were to restore the old Church, to support the pope, and to use every means to put down Protestantism. Murder was allowable. Any member who violated his oath was liable to death. This league seemed to become all-powerful. It had the support of the pope and Philip II, but it was weakened by a new quarrel, which Heaven seemed to kindle, when Henry III was overshadowed by Henry of Guise, whom the Holy League was willing to make king. (4) The "war of the three Henrys" increased the confusion and anarchy. After intrigues and battles the king invited Henry of Guise into his cabinet and had him stabbed to death. Then hurrying to his mother he said, "Congratulate me; I am once

more king of France, for this morning I have slain the King of Paris." The Cardinal of Lorraine was put to death in prison. Thus the Guises who had started all the wars were extinguished. Catherine, who had ruled and ruined for thirty years, died (1589) an object of general aversion and contempt. That same year a Dominican monk assassinated Henry III, and thus ended the dynasty of the house of Valois, which had reigned nearly three centuries. The heir to the throne was Henry of Navarre, a true Bourbon. Being under the ban of the pope, he had to win it by force. In order to unite parties he basely forgot his mother and went over to Romanism, but the leading Huguenots seemed to know that he would grant them toleration. When he entered Paris in 1594, the Holy League was broken, and the son of Jeanne D'Albret was the powerful King of France.

Henry IV was one of the weakest of men in morals and religion. His greatness lies in his policy, his royal genius, his tolerance, his patriotism, his desire to see all his people united, prosperous, and happy, and in his brilliant successes. He created an era in human liberty. He and Elizabeth of England were alike in their statesmanship, if he was not even more tolerant. His chief minister was the great Sully, who was a lad of twelve years at a college in Paris at the time of the St. Bartholomew. A friendly Romanist hid him and locked him in a cell until the murder was over. In his old age he said, "My parents bred me in the reformed religion. Neither threats, pleas, promises, nor changes in government have ever been able to make me renounce it." Another counsellor was Philip De Mornay. He and his wife (not then married) had escaped the massacre. By his virtues, wisdom, writings, and controversies with Romanists he won the distinction of being called the Pope of the Huguenots.

IV. *The Period of legal toleration* (1598-1685). For twenty years the Huguenots had enjoyed about as much peace as any body else in those wretched times, but they needed some new Magna Charta. By the *Edict of Nantes*, granted by Henry in 1598, they secured the liberties for which they had long contended. It was solemnly declared to be irrevocable forever. They were under many restrictions, but complete toleration was not to be expected in that age. In the social distresses

of the time they suffered with all other people. But the great evil was they had lost spirituality in a sad degree. This was one result of the wars, of politics, and of the example set by too many of their chieftains. Such men as Sully and Agrippa D'Aubigné were more orthodox and zealous in faith than in morals. The creed did not much regulate their social consciences. Moreover, the whole body was still in the condition of a defensive party. They could not become religiously aggressive. Their missionary efforts, like those of the renowned Palissy the Potter and Philip Hamelin, must be almost secretly conducted. They soon had nearly eight hundred churches. They restored their presbyteries and National Synod. They had five theological seminaries. Many of their pastors and scholars, such as La Place, Rivet, Bochart, Daillé, and Claude, attained high rank in Christendom.

The Jesuits, expelled in 1594, were readmitted by Henry IV, who feared their revenge, and died by their friendship. Ravallac buried his knife in the king's bosom. Toleration seemed lost. If the earlier edicts of Louis XIII (1610-1643) could have been enforced, Protestantism would not have spoken another word in France. Wars were made upon the Huguenots. When Cardinal Richelieu found England on their side, and could not subdue them, he sought in vain to unite them with the Roman Church. This great statesman, the master-spirit of the government, wisely enlisted their soldiers in the long resistance to Austria, during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).^{*} So patient and loyal were they that few of them took part with the Frondeurs[†] against the administration of Cardinal Mazarin, and he was so tolerant, for some years, that the good old times of the Great Henry seemed to return. In 1652 the Edict of Nantes was confirmed. But the papal clergy, since they could not persecute, complained that their Church was persecuted! They entreated the young king, Louis XIV (1643-1715), to cause this "unhappy liberty of conscience to perish by degrees." In 1656 the reformed

^{*} Note III to Chapter XX.

[†] The War of the Fronde, or Sling, in Paris (1648-54), was a fruitless attempt of the aristocracy to overthrow the Mazarin Administration. Probably it increased the despotic spirit of Louis XIV, who was crowned when a child, and did not assume the government until 1661, when he was nearly twenty-three years of age.

were forbidden to hold worship in episcopal towns, and on estates belonging to the clergy or monks; and their ministers must preach only where they resided. In 1657 it was decreed that churches built by Protestant nobles should be demolished when the land passed to a Roman Catholic. A decree of 1659 forbade the Huguenots, where their worship was not authorized, to sing psalms, even in their own homes, so as to be heard outside. That year, the centennial of their first national synod, they held the last one convoked by royal sanction. Jesuit teachers had got a footing in the reformed college at Montauban. In 1660 they provoked the students to interfere with their stage-plays. The citizens took the side of the students. This affair was treated as a rebellion against the king, whose army destroyed the walls of the city. When Mazarin died, in 1661, his friendly policy ceased; when the king said, "I shall in future be my own prime minister," the Age of Louis XIV began, and with it the saddest era of Huguenot woes.

II. THE REVOLT IN THE NETHERLANDS.

Commerce has often been a good missionary. Traders go where theologians are forbidden. Merchants, soldiers, and exiles carried the Gospel early into the rich cities of the Low Countries. The Jesuit historian, Strada, says that "neither the Rhine from Germany, nor the Meuse from France, sent more water into the Netherlands than by the one the contagion of Luther, and by the other that of Calvin, were imported into the same provinces." This holy contagion was sure to take hold of a people who had not forgotten The Brethren of the Common Life, who laughed over the keen satire of Reynard the Fox, and were proud of Erasmus. Liberty at first shot up too rankly; it was perverted by the Anabaptists; they were greatly reformed by the Mennonites; but both classes threw a suspicion upon the more Scriptural reform. Charles V sent the Inquisition there, and during his reign not less than fifty thousand persons were martyrs to some form of dissent. Philip II so used this engine of destruction as to cause a powerful reaction. We have three stages in the whole movement; for the Reformation led to a Revolution, and this to a Republic.

I. *The Reformation* (1520-1568). At the Diet of Worms an edict was passed to repress heresy in the Netherlands.

Books were burnt, and the young Augustine monks, Henry Voes and John Esch, were martyrs to their Lutheranism. The Dutch Testament was translated in 1523. But there was little progress until sturdier, more uncompromising reformers entered the land, singing the psalms of Clement Marot, and making field-preaching immensely popular. Some of the first preachers were unlearned weavers, tanners, and the like; but wiser men came—such as Francis Junius, the theologian, and the learned Frenchman, Lagrange, who galloped to his field-preaching on horseback, and fired a pistol-shot as a signal for his congregation to give attention. In 1566 Ambrose Wille, a student of Calvin at Geneva, made even bolder by the price set upon his head, preached at midnight to six thousand people on a bridge near Tournay, and the next Sunday to twenty thousand at the same place. Every third man among his hearers was armed. No one then dared to arrest him. The converted monk, Peter Gabriel, caused even greater enthusiasm at Harlem. From the whole country people flocked to hear him. At Antwerp camp-meetings were attended by fifteen thousand or even thirty thousand of the best and wealthiest people of the town. In such cities the reformed were five times stronger than the Romanists. Their assemblies were called rebellions! But the people went and came, and never injured a soul. When the preacher appeared the city was nearly empty, and the field was full. The people cared little for the old edicts which ordered a man to be burnt if he read or gave away a book of Luther or Bucer, Zwingli or Calvin, or had in his hand a Bible, or gave bread to a heretic. The Inquisition, in a more terrible form than that of Spain, and with Cardinal Granville to direct its machinery, could not repress their faith. By this time they had their Belgic Confession of Faith, drawn up by Guido de Bres in 1562, and still later the Heidelberg Catechism, which fixed Calvinism in Holland. The French presbyterian polity was adopted.

These preachers soon had to protest against the iconoclasm of the people, but even William of Orange could not check it. The provinces were rich in churches and monasteries of the finest architecture. But they were full of images and papal machinery. A storm of image-breaking swept over the land. It had passed through France, where Calvin was not able to check

the Huguenots. But here the outburst was more violent. Churches were entered, and art destroyed, not because it was art, but because it was idolatrous. Nobody cared for Rubens at such a time. The rage was directed solely against images, paintings, stained glass, and implements of false worship. Not a man was willfully injured, nor a woman insulted. Monks and nuns were set free from convent-prisons. A Romanist of Valenciennes wrote, denying that the Calvinists had killed a hundred priests in their iconoclasm: "I remember very well what happened on that abominable day, and I affirm that not one priest was hurt. The Huguenots took care not to injure the living images." The papists took care to destroy the living images of the supposed heretics. It should be said that the image-breakers claimed that the churches belonged to the people, in common, and that they had a right to purge them.

II. *The Revolution* (1568-1579). This iconoclasm and the reformatory spirit so enraged Philip II, at Madrid, that he resolved upon vengeance by armed forces. The Duke of Alva was sent to reduce the cities to order and peace. He was born to be nearer like his master than any one else; and Motley says of Philip, not morally, but politically: "If there are vices—as possibly there are—from which he was exempt, it is because it is not permitted to human nature to attain perfection in evil." Pope Pius V had desired Alva to take Geneva on his way from Italy, and to destroy that "nest of devils and apostates." But he reserved his energies, to expend them upon Holland. The Council of Blood was established, and the work began. In three months eighteen hundred men were sent to the scaffold. Counts Egmont and Horn perished. The richer the victims, the more money came into Alva's hand to pay expenses. The reformers were now called The Beggars (*Gueux*); they had their songs, but every note sung aloud would cost the singer his life, if arrested. If one had attended a Calvinistic funeral years before, or even whispered that this new doctrine would spread, he was liable to death. If one had petitioned to have the new bishops removed, or begged for mercy, death was his punishment. We need not mention the taxations and political schemes. We may judge how all more serious matters were treated. Early in 1568 all the inhabitants of the

Netherlands, except a few persons named, were actually condemned to death as heretics!

A leader was wanted. Heaven had reared the man for the crisis. William of Orange, the Silent only when it was not wise to speak, had been waiting for the hour to strike. He was born, in 1533, in Nassau, of which he was count; and he was a descendant of the Emperor Adolph of Nassau. Educated a Protestant, a page of Charles V, a frequent messenger to other courts, an observer of all that popes and kings were doing and planning, he came to know many of the secrets of the great papal league which was forming to wipe Protestantism out of the earth. He had conformed to the Roman Church, but when a free prince in his own country he adopted Calvinism as his faith. Not his piety, but his patriotism, is the eminent trait in him, along with the abilities to make it effective. For twelve years he had been singled out as the coming leader; and when all true Netherlanders were declared heretics, every man, woman, and child liable to be murdered without even a hearing before the Council of Blood, he only needed to lift a flag, and the whole land would be in revolution. The nobles had sung the song of The Beggars in the house of Philip Marnix, the lord of St. Aldegonde, a sublime soul, and had confederated to check the Inquisition. They had met in public for Protestant worship. They had opposed iconoclasm, but as strongly opposed the papal system; and they were heretics utterly doomed. But the trouble was to guide the revolution, to concentrate its forces, to bring armies under one master mind; and at first William seemed only to fail, that Alva might have new causes for his fearless butcheries. The St. Bartholomew in France, and the murder of his friend Coligny (whose daughter was his last wife), were stunning blows to Orange. The land forces were not successful until the Sea-beggars in 1572 took the fortress of Brill, and on that event was founded the Dutch Republic. The next year Alva, with his hands red in the blood of eighteen thousand victims, found himself an object of scorn and disgust, and left the Netherlands, never to return. Able men took his place; wars and sieges followed. Elizabeth of England helped the Calvinists of Holland to national liberty, even while tribulating the Puritans of her own realm for their personal freedom of opinions. And

finally the yoke was broken; the first Protestant republic was founded.

III. *The Republic* (1579-1648). The seven northern provinces formed the Utrecht Union, in the name of the king, and still fought on to bring their king to terms. Philip declared William an outlaw, an enemy of the human race, whom no man must feed or shelter, and whom any man might slay for the reward of twenty-five thousand crowns! The seven united provinces declared their independence (1581), and elected him their president. Anxious to relieve a present distress they had no dream of creating a republic which would endure two centuries and take the lead of all other European countries in the industrial arts, commerce, education, culture, and liberty. When William was assassinated in 1584 by a Jesuit fanatic, Gerard, who for seven years had been one of seven tigers prowling about his path, his son Maurice scourged the Spaniards upon the seas, and conquered more territory. The independence of the whole United Provinces was recognized in 1609 by Spain, and in 1648 by all the European powers. William was in advance of his age in his views of religious toleration, passing beyond Elizabeth and Henry IV. "This is the nature of heresy," he said, "if it rests, it rusts; he that rubs it, sharpens it. . . . Force can make no impression on the conscience." The National Synod indorsed this doctrine in 1578, when they sought toleration of the Roman Catholics, and pledged it to them. Their adherence to it was to be tested by the greatest theological controversy which the Reformation produced.

III. ARMINIANISM IN HOLLAND.

All along there had been in the Netherlands some opponents to the Belgic Confession, and strong tendencies toward the system of theology which takes its new name from Arminius, or James Harmensen (1560-1609), the son of a cutler at Oudewater. In a land of good colleges he received their culture. He passed from the University of Leyden to the school at Geneva. There he gave offense by opposing the system of Aristotle and advocating that of Peter Ramus, who had caused heated discussions in all the universities, by his attempts to establish simpler methods of reasoning. Arminius silently questioned Beza's Supralapsarian doctrine, which was to face him on his return to

Holland. In his extended travels he found Rome to be "much more foul than he had imagined."

At the age of twenty-six he became pastor of one of the reformed churches of Amsterdam. His abilities, great learning, piety, integrity, gentleness, popularity in preaching, caused him to be sought as an arbiter in a controversy which had enlisted the pastors of two cities. There were three parties holding these views: (1) Conditional election, warmly urged by Koonhert, who went farther than Melancthon and had been severely rebuked by his presbytery. Naturally the censured man advocated toleration. (2) Supralapsarianism* as taught by Beza. (3) The middle, or Sublapsarian doctrine, urged by the ministers of Delft. Arminius was requested to refute the first and the last view. It was expected that he would defend Beza's doctrine. In his examination of the subject he was led to adopt the first-named view, associated with universal grace and the freedom of the human will, and to express it in his lectures on Romans.

He was courageously at his post in 1602, when the plague raged in Holland. It carried away Francis Junius, professor of theology at Leyden. Arminius was chosen to fill his place. His colleague, Francis Gomar, an able, rigid, bold, defiant champion, charged him with Pelagianism, but after a conference manfully withdrew the charge. These two men, now regarded as champions, watched each other closely, and had a few lively disputes, each appealing to Holy Scripture. In 1604 Arminius propounded certain theses on predestination, and Gomar replied to them. About him were more combative spirits, for he said, "Easily could I cultivate peace with Arminius, but for the importunity of the churches, and of those deputies who are ever opposing some obstacle to my wishes." The curators of the university and one or two synods endeavored to allay the agitation. But they settled nothing. It was hoped that a national synod might be a vast engine to put out the flames of controversy which ran like fire through the entire land, and

*In merely logical order, Supralapsarianism puts election before the fall; Sublapsarianism, after it. "The Supralapsarians have always been a small minority among Calvinistic divines. . . . They generally concurred with the Sublapsarians in representing the difference as one of no great moment." (Cunningham, on Beza.)

far over Europe. Arminius desired it, but before it was convened he died, in 1609, saying, "God has willed that I should do no more." His motto was, "A good conscience is a paradise." His opponents admitted that he possessed it, and admired his manly, benevolent nature, and fervent piety. The University of Leyden granted a pension to his wife and children.

He had trained a successor, Simon Episcopius (1583-1644), who went beyond his master in developing his theology in his *Institutes*—a volume of lectures on theology published after his death. The Prince Maurice aimed at too high power both in the state and the Church. Being a thorough Calvinist, the civil power took the matter in hand, and required the clergy to signify their adhesion to the established Confessions of Faith, or cease to preach. The other party, in which Grotius and Olden Barneveld were political leaders, and advocates for a freer republicanism, put forth a Remonstrance affirming those doctrines which, mainly, were afterwards opposed by the "Five Points of Calvinism."* The causes of religion and of politics mutually injured each other. The majority of the clergy stood upon the National Confessions, but wished that the Church might act independent of the state. The minority sought toleration.

Years of effort brought no peace. In November, 1618, the Congress of the Republic convened the famous Synod of Dort, and paid the expenses of all delegates. No other assembly of Protestants had ever come so near being a general council. Fifty-eight of the eighty-four members were Dutchmen, and all Calvinists; the rest were from the reformed Churches of Britain, Switzerland, and Germany. Louis XIII forbade any Huguenots to attend. No Lutherans were present, their sympathies not being with the ruling party. The synod has been justly praised for the learning and ability of its members. None now laud the severity of the civil government, which endeavored to employ it for political purposes. Episcopius and his twelve associates—the Remonstrants—felt that they were summoned to appear as culpable resisters to the edicts of the state, as mere defendants in the synod, and not as free advocates of their own doctrines. After an earnest and able oration

*The Five Points: 1. Unconditional election. 2. Atonement limited to the elect. 3. Depravity total as to ability and merit. 4. Effectual calling, or irresistible grace. 5. Perseverance of the saints.

by their leader, protests, papers in defense, and various long efforts to be heard as they desired, they were dismissed from the synod. Their writings were examined. They were finally condemned (April 24th) as "introducers of novelties, preachers of error, guilty of corrupting religion, creating schisms, and dissolving the unity of the Church." They were deprived of their offices until they should repent. Other remonstrant ministers were "handed over to the provincial synods to see if it be possible to induce them to relinquish their doctrines; and if not, to be deprived of their offices in like manner." These decisions were to affect about two hundred ministers. Many of the foreign delegates pleaded for a milder sentence.* The synod not only indorsed the existing national Confessions, but issued its own doctrinal canons, which make prominent the Five Points of Calvinism.

Meanwhile the civil government unjustly sent the aged Barnveld to the block (1619) for alleged high treason. He is now honored as a Christian, patriot, statesman, and political martyr, who sought more republicanism for his country. For the same alleged crime Grotius was sentenced to imprisonment for life. In the fortress of Lovestein he wrote the "Truth of the Christian Religion." At the end of eighteen months his wife contrived to effect his escape in a book-chest. He won distinction as a statesman, jurist, theologian, and commentator, and was so tolerant that all denominations once claimed him.

Many of the Arminian clergy went to other lands. When affairs came to the worst the government notified Episcopius and his remaining supporters to choose their place of exile, and they should be sent thither in carriages, at the public expense. A rare kindness, coupled with an injustice, very common in those unkindly days! Some were taken to Brabant; others to Holstein, where they built Frederichstadt. In 1625 Maurice died. His brother, a nobler grandson of Coligny, established toleration. The exiles who returned had their churches and their college at Amsterdam (now at Leyden), with Episcopius there as professor of theology. After a new race of eminent scholars—

*The Scotch delegate, King James's chaplain, wrote, "Methinks it hard that every man should be deposed from the ministry. Never before did any Church of old, nor any reformed Church propose so many articles to be held under pain of excommunication."

such as Limborch and Curcellæus in theology, Leclerc and Wetstein in languages and criticism—this body tended to a decomposing liberalism and a rejection of creeds. It is now a small Church of about five thousand members in Holland.

As a theology, Arminianism made rapid conquests. It had already been growing stronger among the Lutherans. It divided the Calvinists. "It grappled with the Church of England, and for more than a century laid it at its feet." It took an organic form in the Methodism of John Wesley. Its adherents claim that "the Arminians of Holland were the real founders of religious toleration on the Continent." The Huguenots contend for the same honor. But neither of these bodies was in power, as was Sigismund of Brandenburg. In general, all the oppressed have been advocates for greater freedom of conscience, faith, and worship. The test of their spirit was the exercise of political power.

IV. THE REFORM IN THE ROMAN CHURCH.

If this be viewed as a self-renovation, its earlier causes and advances were similar to those of Protestantism. It moved along the same road until it came to justification by faith; that doctrine marks the divergence of the ways. There Cranmer left Wolsey, and Calvin parted company with Bellarmine. If this movement be viewed as a counter-reformation, or a reaction from Protestantism, it includes the restatement of Roman theology, the aggressive work of new and revived monastic orders and the papal leagues. The Romanists were impelled to reform, lest Protestantism should carry all Europe before it.

I. *The Council of Trent.* (1545-63). "The ship of Peter" was in a storm. If the managers had been as wise as those who sailed with Paul, under the blasts of Euroclydon, they would have cast overboard the cargo of mediæval doctrines and superstitions; but they flung in the sea their wisest men, as if they were Jonahs; and, after parting with some of the grosser evils, they struck land at Trent and made repairs. This famous council held five sessions during eighteen years. In it voices were heard in favor of reducing the power of the pope, exalting Scripture above tradition and Thomas Aquinas, recognizing justification by faith, and requiring thorough discipline. But they were in the minority. The pope was made the interpreter

of a new creed and catechism, in which the two theologies of the Thomists and the Scotists were left to dwell together in the unity of discord. But much was done to consolidate the Church, to reform and educate the clergy, to secure pastoral work, and promote discipline. The Vulgate was published and a Breviary and Missal for general use.

II. *Reformatory Bishops.* Carlo Borromeo, nephew of a pope, a cardinal and Archbishop of Milan (1560-84), mystical in his piety and studious of the Divine Word, went home from Trent to expound its catechism, write books, and to bestow great blessings on his native province. His zeal against heresy and his persecution of certain Waldenses "were essential features of the Catholic reaction." He reformed the morals of the clergy, built hospitals for the poor, and spent his remaining wealth in personal care of the sick during a plague. "His life furnishes the ideal of a Catholic pastor, and now his lofty form looks down from a colossal statue upon the streets of Milan as the revered patron of the land."

Francis de Sales, a nobly born Savoyard, highly educated by the Jesuits and in the best universities, eloquent, heartily a mystic, was a young missionary in the valleys about Chablais, and an adviser of the duke who banished the Calvinists from Savoy. With the title of the Bishop of Geneva he brought "piety to the aid of policy," and labored twenty years (1602-22) with little effect on the city, but marked results in the canton and the valleys about Mont Blanc. The paleness of Beza at his approach must be one of the many legendary miracles ascribed to the bishop. This St. Francis very shrewdly said that "more flies are caught with one spoonful of honey than with ten barrels of vinegar." Doubtless many Calvinists were won by him. He loved little children, taught them catechisms, and was so charitable that his servant said: "Our master will bring us all to the poor-house." Such a model was he in pastoral work that his pupil, Camus, the Bishop of Bellay, put the "Spirit of St. Francis de Sales" into six volumes, so that others might imitate his ministry. These are among the fairest samples of the reform on the Roman side.

III. *The Jesuits* were the working men in the reaction. Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), a Spanish soldier of noble birth, was wounded, and in his dreams he began to think of a "spiritual

knighthood under Christ as the leader." Like Luther, he had his distresses of soul, but he turned to lives of the saints, to the Virgin Mary, to monastic rigors, to pilgrimages in the Holy Land, and all sorts of visions and ecstasies. Like Calvin and Wesley, he was a wise organizer. In 1530 Loyola was in Paris with Xavier and Lainez, and four other young men, binding them by a solemn oath to purity, poverty, and hard service to the Church in whatever the pope bade them to do or endure. He was the first general of "The Order of the Society of Jesus." It was sanctioned by Paul III in 1540. Twenty years later it was directed by Lainez, who gave it a more political and invasive character. Its members were a sort of field-monks, ready to be preachers, teachers, missionaries, traders, explorers, or politicians. The order used any means to win, every method to rule, both nations and Churches. Macaulay says that "it possessed itself at once of all the strongholds which command the public mind—of the pulpit, the press, the confessional, the academies.* Wherever the Jesuit preached the church was too small for the audience. . . . In spite of oceans and deserts, hunger and pestilence, spies, and penal laws, dungeons and racks, gibbets and quartering-blocks, Jesuits were to be found under every disguise and in every country—scholars, physicians, merchants, serving-men; in the hostile court of Sweden, in the old manor-houses of Cheshire, among the hovels of Connaught, arguing, instructing, consoling, stealing away the hearts of the young, animating the courage of the timid, holding up the crucifix before the dying. Nor was it less their office to plot against the thrones and lives of apostate kings, to spread evil rumors, to raise tumults, to inflame civil wars, to arm the assassin." Expelled from one land they appeared in another and regained the lost ground; suppressed by popes they still remained irrepressible.† Lainez managed the Council of Trent,

* The popes from 1550 to 1585, with lofty assumptions, gave the Jesuits these *rights*: to enter any university in Christendom, teach, and enforce attendance on their lectures; to establish schools and colleges wherever they pleased; to claim exemption from all secular jurisdiction, and to exercise all episcopal functions; also, the Index Expurgatorius was committed to them with authority to correct, change, interpolate, or burn such books and manuscripts as they thought proper.

† The Jesuits were expelled from France in 1594, but readmitted 1604; again repressed 1764; from England, 1579, 1581, 1602; from Venice, 1607; Hol-

and, though Loyola had recommended the study of Aquinas, he silenced cardinals who wished the members to indorse Augustine.

The Jesuits made Sweden the first field of their political intrigues. About 1578 they won the king over to a secret Romanism, and soon the country seemed almost papalized. But in the resistance the Augsburg Confession was restored, 1593, by the national assembly. Charles IX, the champion of Protestantism (1604), secured a law for the banishment of all papists. The German states must have all gone over to a Protestant faith, if the Jesuits had not come with their skill in debate, instruction, and diplomacy. They nestled in Ingolstadt, and especially Cologne, where Hermann, the prince-bishop, had once tried to reform his province on the plans of Bucer and Melancthon. From these cities the Jesuits pushed their conquests. Bavaria expelled all Protestants (1565) and established the Trent Confession. In Baden-Baden and Treves were similar results. About a dozen states, ruled by prince-bishops, such as Munster, Würzburg, Mayence, were papal isles in the Protestant ocean of Germany. The universities of Vienna and Prague were centers for the training of Jesuits, who gave their special attention to all Hussites, Lutherans, and Calvinists between Germany and Turkey. In 1594 Rome won that part of Russia which revolted to Poland. In 1621 the Jesuits united with the Turkish Sultan in strangling the Calvinism of Cyril Lucaris at Constantinople,* but they failed to persuade the Russian czar to banish the Lutherans.

land, 1708; Portugal, 1759; Spain, 1767; the order abolished by Clement XIV, 1773, but restored by Pius VI, 1814; expelled from Belgium, 1818; Russia, 1820; Spain, 1820, 1835; France, 1831, 1845; Portugal, 1834; Austria, Sardinia, and other States, 1848; Italy and Sicily, 1860; suppressed in Germany, 1872; when, under ban, they have sometimes taken such names as "The Society of the Sacred Heart" or "Fathers of the Faith of Jesus" or Baccanari.

* A reform in the Greek Church was attempted by Cyril Lucaris, a native of Candia, educated at Padua, and a visitor of the Protestant Churches in Germany and England. At Geneva he received a decided partiality to Calvinism. He was Patriarch of Alexandria 1602-21, and then of Constantinople until the Jesuits threw suspicions upon him, and the sultan had him strangled, in 1638, on the accusation of high treason. He drew up "a well-nigh Calvinistic Confession of Faith," and sought to introduce it in the face of superstition and bigotry. It was a heroic effort. The pope offered the Sultan an immense sum of money to have him dismissed, and the Jesuits were rarely guilty of a greater crime than their destruction of this noble scholar and virtuous patriarch.

IV. *Jesuit Missions.* It has been pleaded that the early Protestants were not free to undertake foreign missions, except where they founded colonies. They had at home the work of conquest and defense; they were eager for the conversion of Europe; the roads and seas were controlled by their enemies. But the Jesuits found men and means for the work. The eminent leader was Francis Xavier, whose missionary career of ten years (1542-1552) ranks him with heroes, and his mystic piety with saints. He followed the track of Portuguese traders. At Goa, in India, he and his few companions rang a bell in the streets, drew wondering crowds, told his message in half-learned words and eloquent tears, baptized hundreds with their children, and provided slight means of instruction for the nominal converts. At Travancore he baptized ten thousand persons in a month. He soon reported whole provinces of Southern Asia converted to Christ. Whatever amount of truth was imparted, the immense success was largely due to accommodation and sympathy. Buddhist shrines, convents, celibacy, fasts, vows, vigils, pilgrimages, indulgences, priesthood, and images had all gone on before—perhaps from the earlier Nestorians—and they were easily adjusted to the new system. The convert might retain the beads, amulets, relics, bells, candles, so long familiar to him. The people found a sympathy and reality which they had long craved. The crucifix told of an infinite love, and Christ had more compassion than Buddha for human sorrows and the griefs of penitence. Instead of a future transmigration of souls, through beasts and birds, ending at last in Nirvanic annihilation, there was an eternal heaven of actual life, real bliss, holy society, and the fatherhood of God. If Xavier thought that purgatorial fires were needful for Europe, he seems to have covered them in Asia, and pointed out a direct road to paradise.

The Dominicans objected to his methods of accommodation. Treating even pagans as heretics, they established the Holy Inquisition at Goa, where its headquarters existed for two hundred and fifty years (1560-1812), and widely extended its agencies. The Jesuits enlisted in the unchristian work. Children were decoyed or stolen, and reared in their houses. Adults were forced to baptism. The machinery for tortures was active; dungeons were rarely vacant. Jews were victims;

the Nestorians of Malabar were quite repressed for a century. In our time the Protestants gain about six times more people in India than do the Romanists.

In 1549 Xavier and his little band entered Japan, where Buddhism prevailed. After an amazing conquest, he died (1552) in sight of China, where he had hoped to preach. The Inquisition kindled revenge in the Japanese heart; also converted princes used fire and sword against the Buddhists. The reaction was tremendous. Perhaps half a million Romanists in Japan were so rapidly destroyed that, in 1660, there was scarcely a remnant of the "Jesus-sect" left to relate the terrible slaughter. That island was closed against all foreigners for two hundred years. Japan, India, Siam, and China* bear witness to the apparent success, but the real failure of the Jesuits and Dominicans, and a persistent hatred, which has required the heroism of modern Protestant missionaries.

V. *The Propaganda*. The famous Congregation for Propagating the Faith was founded at Rome, in 1622, by Gregory XV, and afterwards enlarged, with branches in other papal countries. In it were inquisitors for destroying the true faith. Dominicans, Franciscans, and other monks were maintained by it as missionaries in all quarters. Troops of them came to explore the New World, and hold it for the pope. But in earnest work the Jesuits, who had their place in the Propaganda, surpassed all other missionaries.

VI. *Jesuit Theology and Ethics*. There were some departures from the system of Trent. Most of the order were Scotists. One of them, Louis Molina of Portugal (1535-1601) published the "Harmony of Grace with Free-will." He supported the theory of the *scientia media*, or mediate knowledge (prescience), by which God knows future contingent events before he forms his decree. He thus knows the forces which will control the acts of a free-willing man. It was also asserted that free-will, unaided by grace, can lead the soul to faith, repentance, love, hope, and morally good works; and, when

* Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit, was "the father of the mission in China;" was there from 1583 to his death in Peking, 1610. The Bible was poorly translated. The method of accommodation was carried to an extreme. In 1722-54 persecution reduced the nominal Christians from eight hundred thousand to one hundred thousand.

these are attained, God bestows sanctifying grace, on account of Christ's merits. The Dominicans, or Thomists, assailed these doctrines as Pelagian. The Jesuits, who were not all Molinists, claimed that they might pass as Semi-Pelagian. Popes and doctors could not settle the debates of parties. It was finally resolved, in 1606, that no decision should be given. It seemed wise to preserve the unity of the Roman Church by retaining two, if not three, different theologies.

Such a policy was in harmony with Jesuit ethics, for the order sanctioned these principles: 1. The end sanctifies the means. 2. Probabilism; an act is justifiable when some respectable theologian approves it, or when there is a probability of its goodness. 3. Mental reservations; in making a promise, or an oath, a man is bound only by his intention, which he may reserve in silence. 4. Philosophically, every violation of a divine law is a sin; theologically, the sin consists in breaking the divine law with a set purpose and a full consciousness of the wrong. Practically, any vice was excused by some theory of virtue. An intention of harmlessness offset fashionable sins. The attempt was to harmonize piety and secularity. The Book on Devotion, by Francis de Sales, was a "Christianity made easy" to worldly people. 5. The authority of the pope alone comes from God; that of a prince, from the people. Hence, if a civil ruler is a tyrant or heretic, and not approved by the pope, the people may depose or kill him. History shows that a ruler who did not please the Jesuits was in danger of assassination.

VII. *The Jansenists* made it their business to push to the front the doctrines of Augustine, plead for the Gallican liberties, and expose the ethics and theology of the Jesuits. Their earnest effort to reform the Roman Church was the noblest ever made by men who remained in it, unless we reckon with them the present "Old Catholics." Cornelius Jansen, a native of Holland, born in 1585, was a student at Louvain, where he became a professor of theology, and where the effort of Baius, in 1565, to restore Augustinianism had been repressed by the pope. His "*Mars Gallicus*"—a book against France for allying herself to Protestant states during the Thirty Years' War—won him the bishopric of Ypres in Flanders. Two years later he died (1638), leaving in manuscript the great literary work of

his life, the "Augustinus," in which he aimed to present the theology of Augustine, some of whose writings he had read thirty times.*

With this book Jansenism entered on its first stage. Despite all the efforts of the Jesuits and of Richelieu, it was soon published at Louvain, Paris, and Rouen. The Roman Inquisition condemned it; but this tribunal was powerless in France. In 1642 Urban VIII unwittingly sent forth a papal bull against it. Then the war between the bull and the book was opened. The one was not registered at Paris as infallible; the other was so widely and eagerly read that Augustinianism bade fair to prevail in France. For the one no Jesuit zeal was wanting; for the other a young doctor of the Sorbonne, Antoine Arnauld, took the pen which gave him the leadership in Jansenist polemics. The king often forbade controversy, but royal orders were futile among debaters and pamphleteers.

"The great Arnauld," born 1612, was the youngest and most brilliant son of the eminent lawyer whose pleadings in parliament had moved Henry IV to banish the Jesuits, in 1594, from France. On their return from an exile of ten years they had no pardon for the Arnauld family. Antoine mastered their theology, rejected it, ardently defended that of Jansen, and, in 1641, under a raking fire of Jesuit examiners, won his degree as Doctor of the Sorbonne. In the reformatory spirit of St. Cyran, he published a book on Frequent Communion. It was a plea for contrition of heart, inward purity, and the sacredness of the altar, the confessional, absolution, and vows of holy living. It could not satisfy a Protestant, but it struck hard at the laxity of the Jesuits; for those popular directors of the conscience lulled the souls of profligates with the opiates of casuistry, nurtured vice at the confessional, and made the

* The "Augustinus . . . adversus Pelagianos et Massilenses" (Semi-Pelagians), in three volumes, was the fruit of twenty years of labor. Jansen was aided by his fellow-student, Jean du Vergier, a native of Bayonne, who had there entertained his friend; he had refused the court favors of Richelieu and eight bishoprics: in 1620 he became Abbé de St. Cyran, by which title he is best known; had great influence as a statesman, a writer against the Jesuits, and an educator of a new race of pietists and thinkers, while a recluse in Paris; was a spiritual director of the Arnaulds and other Port Royalists; was imprisoned in 1638 by Richelieu, who died in 1642, and the prisoner was released, to die in ten months.

eucharist a consoler of sins. If the Jansenists held elements of Calvin's theology, and had his spirit of discipline, they carefully denied that they were Calvinists. They were Thomists in their views of the Church and the sacraments.

Already Jansenism had its school of reformers, pictists, and thinkers, called the Port-Royalists. They had their headquarters at the old convent of Port-Royal, in a deep valley near Versailles.* After La Mère Angelique Arnauld and her nuns returned to it, in 1648, the men lived near by at the Grange. They were recluses who took no monastic vows. Among them were the Arnauld brothers and several kindred; Le Maistre, the eloquent lawyer, and his brother De Sacy, who, in the Bastille (1666-8), translated the Old Testament into French, and portions of the New Testament; Nicole, Lancelot, and Blaise Pascal (1623-62), whose fresh genius threw brilliant light upon science, philosophy, and the evidences of Christianity.

There were three rivals in the educational and literary enterprises, which made the dissolute and military reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715) the Augustan age of French literature. 1. The Benedictines, revived and reorganized in the congregation of St. Maur, had their center at Paris and reformed convents throughout France. They collected fine libraries. They had excellent classical schools. By their works upon Oriental languages and history, their splendid edition of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and their genius for a broad culture, they rendered immense services to the Church and the literary world. 2. The Jesuits, whose range was narrower and spirit more sectarian. Not the classics, but the casuistries of Escobar, and the ethical theology of Suarez, enlisted their zeal. Their policy was to gain admission to all institutions, capture them, as at Montauban, and supplant all other teachers. 3.

* The two Port-Royals. One was the old Cistercian convent (1204), about sixteen miles south-west of Paris, in moral ruin when given to Arnauld's young sister, Angelique, in 1603, with her fourteen nuns. She reformed it, and helped to elevate the thought and piety of vale and city. Malaria and want of room induced her and eighty nuns to establish the Port-Royal in Paris, where they flourished from 1626 to 1648. This left Port-Royal of the Fields to St. Cyran and his friends until the nuns returned; then they lived at the Grange. In both houses were many of the Arnauld family and kindred. Other members had in one or both houses near relatives.

The Port-Royalists, who were in hearty sympathy with the classical Benedictines, while they promoted a more practical education. They made popular text-books for the schools to counteract the methods and teachings of the Jesuits. Port-Royal was a model for other seminaries. They soon had representatives in all departments of literature, from the criticism and satires of Boileau to the philosophy of Arnauld, who opposed the idealism of Malebranche; from the tragedies of Racine to the great Church history of Tillemont and that of Dupin; and from the letters of Madame de Sévigné* to the profound "Thoughts" of Pascal, the Moral Essays of Nicole, and the Commentaries of De Sacy and Quesnel.

Jansenism came into its second stage during the angry war of the Fronde (1648-54), by the notable five propositions which a Jesuit, Father Cornet, drew up and laid before the Sorbonne, in 1649, and asked whether they were heretical. He could not decide, nor could any body else, for they were obscure, ambiguous, double-faced. He did not say expressly that they were an abstract of Jansen's book. If sound, they might be credited to Augustine; if heretical, charged to the "Augustinus." One doctor found three senses in them and others none at all. They related to these points, briefly stated: 1. Just men have not sufficient grace to perform some commands of God. 2. The natural man never resists internal grace. 3. Responsibility depends on freedom from coercion, not freedom from necessity. 4. Semi-Pelagians erred in saying that man can resist or obey prevenient grace as he chooses. 5. They also erred in affirming that Christ died for all men.

The Sorbonne was divided. The Parliament refused to judge the propositions. Pope Innocent X† held them two years, and then declared them to be rash, impious, blasphemous, and heretical. The astounded Jansenists seemed to be

* "This Port-Royal is a Thebaid; it is a paradise; it is a desert where all the devotion of Christianity has fixed itself; there is a holiness spread over all the country for a league round about." (Letters of Sévigné, 1674.)

† This jovial pope was not superfinely moral. Of his sister-in-law, Domnia Olympia, it has been said that "the power exercised by this woman over Rome and the Roman Catholic Church would not be believed, if there were not other examples of as great baseness at the Court of Rome. She governed and she sold every thing; she ruled over the sacred college and the tribunals, and her will was omnipotent."

in a dilemma; they must assent to the decision, or deny the papal authority. But they did neither; they said that the pope might judge rightly as to doctrine (*de jure*), and yet err as to a fact (*de facto*); and they simply denied that the propositions, whether true or false, were in Jansen's book, in the Jesuit sense. The Jesuits said that they were in the book, in Jansen's sense. At the king's request, Grammont read the book and reported: "I have not been so fortunate as to find them, but they may be there, for all that, incognito!" Affairs reached this crisis; all the clergy were ordered to subscribe a formula asserting that the five propositions were in Jansen's book, and condemning them in the sense of Jansen. Nothing but royal and papal violence could overcome the resistance to this decree, for half of France seemed then to be Jansenist in sympathy, if not in theology.

Arnauld and sixty other doctors were on the verge of expulsion from the Sorbonne when the Letters to a Provincial, by Louis de Montalte, were running through a strictly guarded press. All means, but the effective, were used to detect the author, who narrowly escaped. "All Europe read and admired, laughed, and wept," says Macaulay. Not all, for the Jesuits were in "tearless wrath over his trenchant wit, keen satire, and merciless dissection of their ethics. Hallam affirms that by these letters "Pascal did more to ruin the name of Jesuit than all the controversies of Protestantism, or all the fulminations of the Parliament of Paris." The confessionals of the Jesuits were almost deserted, for a time; their cause seemed lost, but they were not in the habit of despair or surrender. They directed the young king's conscience without restraint to his vices, and he pleased them by measures of violence against the only party which was really true to the old Roman Church of Augustine's day. The Bastile was crowded with Jansenists. The dying Mère Angelique and Pascal saw the Port-Royalists, nuns and all, struck by a persecution which lasted eight years (1661-69). Then a good duchess interested her royal cousin in their sufferings; the new pope, Clement IX, no friend of Molinists, tacitly admitted the distinction between right and fact, and gave more liberty to the Jansenists until the century ended.

There dwelt at Rome a Spanish priest named Molinos—a

very different man from Molina—and his “Guide to Devotion” (1675) was rapidly passing into various languages. It set forth the same inward light and spirituality of worship which George Fox had taught in England. It reared the Quakers of the Roman Church, who, however, complied with its rites while denying that outward ceremonies were essential to a Christian life. Madame Guyon, noble, earnest in benevolent works, a writer of devotional books, mystical in her theories of the divine love, was the leader of the French Quietists. The ritualistic Jesuits felt tacitly censured so long as this free piety was tolerated. It somewhat resembled that of the Jansenists, and both these spiritual sects must be repressed together. It thrust Molinos into the Inquisition. It was condemned by the pope. The great Bossuet, so powerful at the royal court, turned the French law against the Quietists, or Mystics, and his young rival, Fenelon, was obliged to recant his mystical opinions (1699) and preach the doctrines of Rome.

A third stage of Jansenism came in 1694, with a new book—“The Moral Reflections upon the New Testament,” by Pasquier Quesnel, who was one of the exiles with Arnauld in Holland. This spiritual commentary, still highly valued and translated by Protestants, was heartily sanctioned by Cardinal Noailles and other French prelates, until the Jesuits loaded it with one hundred and one propositions, which Pope Clement XI twice condemned as full of Jansenist heresy (1708–13). This fresh assault was merciless. In 1709–10 the Port-Royalists, nuns and all, were driven from the sacred valley; the very dead were turned out of their graves, and the buildings leveled to the ground. The bull *Unigenitus* was enforced. Jesuitism had triumphed. Jansenism was repressed in France. It was not fairly represented by the later Convulsionaires, with their pretended miracles and prophets. It was not an utter failure; not in its contributions to literature, science, piety, theology, and Gallican liberty; nor in the Bible Society (1726), which flourished for thirty years; nor in the succession of men, who, in the next reign, carried the votes of the Sorbonne, and avowed its principles in Parliament. The Revolution was its terrible avenger.

Jansenism had its fourth stage in Holland, where the exiles found liberty. They gained the Archbishopric of Utrecht,

already quite independent, and became an organic body, with three hundred ministers. But their midway position was not satisfactory. Some of their clergy went over to the Protestants; more of them conformed to the papacy, and their number is now about thirty. They have twenty-five parishes, a theological school, about five thousand communicants, and a union with the "Old Catholics." They say, "We must hold fast to the unity of the Church, even if the pope never be brought to reason," and when the papacy returns to the principles of Augustine they will be in union with Rome.

V. THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

In a slow northern dawn the Scots had light from three universities,* classical schools, and the Lollards. James IV (1488-1513), who maintained the Gallican type of liberty, saw that most of the clergy and monks were ignorant, vicious, living upon a Church that owned about half the wealth of the land, and hopelessly unfit to rear the future guardians of freedom. His thought ran, as we find then nowhere else, toward compulsory education. In 1496 he secured a law that the eldest sons of rich men and nobles should be educated in Latin and philosophy, or be fined twenty pounds. In this he "builded better than he knew." The effects upon the reform may be traced.

Two things aroused the clergy: the discovery of a few Lollards to be punished, and the rough satires of Bishop Gavin Douglas, and of Sir David Lindsay, who exposed their sloth and sins, and helped to reduce their credit with the people. Feudalism on the Saxon Lowlands and clanship in the Celtic Highlands were still powerful. All classes needed culture, the refining arts of life, and vital religion. Rude in manners, ill-dressed, and wretchedly housed, as they may have been, the Scots had a large capacity for elevating principles, and the grip of their logic was hard to break. Their reformation was involved in

*St. Andrews founded in 1410; Glasgow, 1450, where John Major, an oracle in the sciences, had advanced ideas of liberty: and Aberdeen, 1495, where the national historian, Hector Boece, was worthy of the praise of Erasmus. John Erskine of Dun placed in the classical school at Montrose a Frenchman who taught Greek. John Knox wrote of the thirty-four strongly anti-papal articles, charged upon the Lollards of Kyle, in 1494, that by them it "may appeir how mercyfullie God hath looked upon this Realme, reteaning within it some spunk [spark] of his light, evin in the tyme of the grettest darkness."

political movements. They had to resist two foreign forces: the army of England, while she was growing Protestant;* and the snares of an old alliance with France, whose rulers became more papal. By maintaining independence they did not become Anglican; they threw off Romanism; they established Calvinism and presbytery, and for these they had another long contest with the Stuarts. Their religious independence was largely due to three facts: the educated gentry freed themselves from the endowed clergy, whose attempted reforms were not sufficiently radical; they organized for a thorough reformation of all Scotland; and they resolved to possess the vast estates and revenues which had passed to bishops and abbots. Hence lay-patronage and "Tulchan bishops." The reformed organization began mainly with the nobles. Its directors took a baronial title, "The Lairds of the Congregation," in 1557, and this body acted as if the nation were a republic, with a covenant as its constitution. By virtually suspending the powers of the crown, it saved Scotland. The Reformation became national, and yet with no royal sanction; popular, and not episcopal. The power of the laity was greater than in any other country. The reform had its marked periods.

I. *The period of individual effort (1525-55).* While a few gentlemen were reading the Bible to groups of neighbors assembled in a cave, or in the woods, Patrick Hamilton appeared. In him met the old and the new. A relative of the king and the young abbot of Ferne, he had studied at Wittenberg and Marburg, and now (1528) with the blessing of Luther and Lambert upon him, and a wife at his side, he preached with some freedom, and with great effect. The clergy plotted against him, sent the king on a pilgrimage to a shrine, decoyed the princely preacher into a religious conference at St. Andrews, betrayed him, stripped him of his wealth and offices, burnt him, and kindled a fire which would consume the papal power in Scotland. Truth, baptized in fire, shined all the more.†

* Henry VIII urged his royal nephew, James V, 1513-42, to reform the Scottish Church on his plan. But James had a French wife, Mary of Guise, and the French alliance was more valued by her than a union of the two British crowns by the marriage of Edward and Mary of Scots. Hence a war (1544-50) for the wooing of Mary, who was sent to France, and she wedded Francis II.

† Men inquired about the new doctrines with such eagerness that a gentleman said to an archbishop, "If ye burn more, let them be burnt in cellars, for the reik of Hamilton has affected as many as it did blow upon."

During the next fifteen years no reforming preacher came prominently forward. There were wars and martyrdoms; legislative attempts to exclude the writings of "the great heretic Luther," and the like of him; acts legalizing the reading of the Bible, and yet forbidding private opinions about it; discussions and conventicles; boxes of books entering the ports and the homes of the gentry; a score of noblemen urging reforms; Cardinal Beaton grasping at more lands and revenues, and swaying the realm by a power which ignored personal morals; popular cries against his outrages, and the flight of many who barely escaped the block. Among the exiles was George Buchanan, the Erasmus of Scotland, but her Luther remained as one "who never feared the face of man."

John Knox, a chief among the heroes of liberty in the British Isles, was born in 1505, near Haddington, where a good school prepared him for the University of Glasgow.* Between the years 1540 and 1545, he seems to have been ordained a priest, and to have taught in some school of East Lothian. He read his Bible, Jerome, and Augustine, threw off the scholastic theology, preached his new faith, was branded as a heretic, and hunted by assassins, and degraded from the priesthood. His outlook being dismal, he became a tutor in the houses of Douglas and Ormiston. The man to whom he was most indebted for truth and example was George Wishart, a brother of the Lord of Mearns, and the most advanced, learned, and eloquent reformer who had yet appeared in Scotland. In 1544 he went through the country from Ayr to Perth and Dundee, preaching in the fields during a pestilence in those quarters, and so rousing the people that they could not be restrained from assailing the convents of Dryburgh, Melrose and other towns. The English army encouraged such violence upon monasteries which aided the French regiments. Wishart traveled with mail-clad barons as his guards, and John Knox was at times his sword-bearer. But the preacher was arrested by the agents of Archbishop Beaton and burnt at St. Andrews.

This deed, along with political motives, and possibly the

*So David Laing, editor of the best edition of Knox's works. He cites the *Glasgow Register*. He finds no evidence that Knox studied and publicly taught philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, as M'Crie thought, and others have often stated.

advice of the English king, nerved a band of nobles to break into the castle of St. Andrews, and slay Cardinal Beaton, who died saying, "All is gone." He was licentious in his life, and reckless in the abuse of his power. He was the greatest and last of Rome's cardinal-legates in Scotland. "He fell, and the papacy [there] fell with him. To laud him as a religious man were idle, for he was not even moral." The nobles took possession of the castle, and with his patrons went Knox,* whom the outspoken preacher, John Rough, impelled into the pulpit quite in the style which Farel employed upon Calvin, at Geneva. There Knox, as chaplain of the garrison, administered the Lord's Supper for the first known time in modern Scotland. When the castle was surrendered to the French he was taken in chains to France, and was for nineteen months a galley-slave, in a most inhuman bondage. Liberated in 1549, he preached in England at Berwick and London. Edward VI made him one of his chaplains, and offered him the see of Rochester, which he declined. He had an active part in revising the Book of Common Prayer, and excluding from it the formula of transubstantiation. When Mary began her bloody reign, he was among the exiles on the Continent. At Geneva he was the minister to English residents. Rough, unbending, impetuous, yet full of humor, and often playful, he bound to him, for life, the polished and sedate Calvin. Each abhorred Jesuitry; each was "a hater of lies," able to win the best men as warm friends.† Knox did good service for the Church in his ministry at Frankfort to the English exiles, until their zeal for Anglican ceremonies caused him to retire. He had more success at Dieppe, where the Huguenots were organizing a Church upon the new model at Paris (1555). He reproached himself for keeping away from the conflict in his own country, and said, "I will arise and go to my father-land and work God's work; I will do or die."

* This was ten months after the murder, and there is no evidence that Knox was privy to it.

† Carlyle says of Knox, "Nothing hypocritical, foolish, or untrue can find harbor in this man; a pure and mainly silent tenderness of affection is in him; touches of genial humor are not wanting under his severe austerity; an occasional growl of sarcastic indignation against malfeasance, falsity, and stupidity; indeed, secretly an extensive fund of that disposition, kept mainly silent, though inwardly in daily exercise; a most clear-cut, hardy, distinct, and effective man; fearing God, and without any other fear."

II. *The period of organization (1555-75).* The Roman clergy still held the churches. The Protestants had generally attended them. Erskine of Dun invited the leading nobles to his house in Edinburgh to consider whether they should separate from the national Church. By conforming to it the regent, Mary of Guise, would hardly persecute them. Her secretary of state, young Maitland, a clear-headed man, argued for the practice, saying that Paul resorted to the Jewish temple to pay his vows. "But the temple-service was of divine origin," said Knox; "the mass is not." It was agreed that a separation must come. Then began the field-preaching and the conventicles in woods, private houses, public squares, anywhere, every-where that a preacher and a crowd could be found. The reform depended largely on an itinerancy. To this day Scotsmen are justly proud of the list of names borne by the reforming nobility. Among them were John Erskine of Dun, the restorer of Greek studies in this land of his lordly fathers; Archibald of Argyle, greatly honored in the North; Sir James Sandilands, who had been true to Wishart and suffered for it in prison, and in whose house, at Calder, Knox celebrated the Lord's Supper, as shown in the famous picture, for the first time after the Reformation began in earnest among the people; the Earl of Glencairn, who thought it no sacrilege to clear the images out of old Holyrood; and James Stuart, or Murray, afterwards called the Good Regent, and the victim of the plotters who shot him for his goodness. He was the illegitimate son of James V,* and the half-brother of Mary of Scots (now in France). He had abandoned the monastic life, and he became to Knox what Frederick the Wise was to Luther. "His house was compared to a holy temple, where no foul word was ever spoken. A chapter of the Bible was read every day after dinner and supper in his family. One or more ministers of the kirk were usually among his guests. . . . As a ruler he was inflexibly just." Such were the leaders who

* James V died 1542; his widow, Mary of Guise, was regent until 1560; their daughter, Mary, returned from France, 1561, as queen; she married Darnley in 1565, and Bothwell in 1567, and fled to England in 1568. Her infant son, James, was proclaimed king in 1567, with Murray as regent; Murray was assassinated in 1570; successive regents were Lenox, Mar, and Morton, till James VI assumed the government in 1578. He became king of both Scotland and England in 1603.

attended Knox and the itinerants at conventicles, and opened their houses and barns to the crowds of people.

After some months of preaching Knox went to Geneva with his English wife, Marjory Bowes, and her mother. They were formally admitted members of the English congregation which had recalled him. The Romanists, who had once summoned him to Edinburgh, but did not appear when he came, now condemned him in his absence, and burnt his effigy. "It was better to be burnt a thousand times in effigy than once in reality." His pen convinced them that he was still alive. In 1558 he and several scholars made the English translation called the Genevan Bible, long popular in Great Britain. There he published "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regimen (Rule) of Women." It very learnedly denied the right of women, especially such as Mary of England and Mary of Guise,* to rule a kingdom and ruin it. That first blast, and only one of the kind from him, was not forgiven by Elizabeth, who shut England against him, even when he was her best adviser. No other man more readily detected the plots against her throne.

Meanwhile the leading Scots, imitating "the bands" of their fathers, had framed their first Covenant, 1557, and pledged their all to the Reform. In it the word *congregation*, taken from Hebrew usage, was so applied to the reformed people that the chief subscribers were called the Lords of the Congregation. They were a lay-synod, the germ of the later assembly. They acted as the directors of an ecclesiastical republic within a persecuting kingdom. The aged priest, Walter Mill, was outrageously slain by the papists, and this deed made more Protestants. He was the last known Scottish martyr before the days of Claverhouse. The lords called for Knox, who reappeared at St. Andrews, in 1559, and a bolder advance was begun. The soldiers of the archbishop were ready to fire upon him if he entered the pulpit of the cathedral. The regent was near with

* "Maleficent Crowned Women, these two, covering poor England and poor Scotland with mere ruin and horror, in Knox's judgment, and may we not still say to a considerable extent in that of all candid persons since? . . . One ought to add withal that Knox was no despiser of women; far the reverse in fact; his behavior to good and pious women is full of respect, and his tenderness, his patient helpfulness in their sufferings, are beautifully conspicuous." (Carlyle.)

an army. The lords advised him to refrain, but he entered it in presence of a large assembly. Priests listened quietly to his sermon on the spiritual cleansing of the temple. Nobody injured him. Three days more he preached. One result was the authorities of the town set up the reformed worship, banished the images, and pulled down the monasteries. Thus St. Andrews became the first Protestant city of Scotland. The lords had their troops. They speedily took Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh, and other towns. They purged the churches in the iconoclastic mode, feeling what is ascribed to Knox, that "the best way to keep the rooks from returning is to destroy their nests." This image-breaking went far beyond the will of Queen Elizabeth, who aided the Protestant Scots against the armed forces of the Regent Mary and the French allies.

The Parliament, in 1560, carried the Scottish Church out of Romanism into Calvinistic Protestantism. Prelacy gave way to presbytery. Severe measures were enacted against the old system. Its intolerance was fought down by another intolerance which would clear the way for liberty. Knox was "by no means fond of public burning as an argument in matters of human belief; rather the reverse by all symptoms we can trace in him." Yet he thought that "one mass was more dangerous to Scotland than an army of ten thousand enemies," and the safest thing for a mass-priest was speedy flight. The Confession of Faith, drawn up by John Knox and five other Johns, was ratified by Parliament. But the Book of Discipline was adopted only by the First General Assembly, 1560, whose members were six ministers and thirty-four laymen.* The Genevan form of Presbytery was established, though with a distinct superintendency quite like the Lutheran, in order to overlook the work and to retain certain revenues which were vested in bishops. The superintendents were not prelates; laymen might serve; and yet they were bishops in law. In later years they had some broader powers, and were humorously called "Tulchan bishops," from the *tulchan*, or effigy of the calf used to illude the cow at milking-time. The office drew the revenues. Knox did not favor it. He wished the properties of the Church to

* All the reformed Churches had printed liturgies, and those on the Continent retain them. The Scots became averse to every liturgy when the Stuarts attempted to enforce on them an Anglican prayer-book.

be applied to the support of the ministry and educational institutions, and to see a school in every parish.

Mary of Scots, a widow, with Guisian advisers, returned in 1561, as queen of Scotland, and found it a Protestant realm. She conceded that fact. She must not interfere with the established system. She was allowed, perhaps not with the gentlest grace, to have her own chapel and priest. Her ministers of state were Protestant lords. Her most honest adviser was John Knox, and she knew it. She had been trained in the court of intrigue, inhumanity, corruption, and deceit, where Catherine de Medici presided, and still she did not pretend to renounce her faith for the sake of policy. Let her have the credit of that. But her great fault was that she allied herself secretly with the pope and the Guises to overturn the established system and restore the Roman Church. In principle she was not more tolerant than the boisterous nobles, who loudly complained of the mass in her chapel. She sent for Knox, a man of plain speech, rather rough for a courtier, not a believer in Machiavelli, but fully convinced that thorough Protestantism was the only means of securing to his country progress, culture, civilization, liberty, and the eternal salvation of her children. Calvinism and prosperity, or Romanism and ruin, one or the other, without compromise, must prevail. For the one he had openly honest measures, rigid as they might appear. For the other she had secretly dishonest politics, not less rigid, and even more terrible, and he knew it better than any other Protestant in all the British Isles. In their stormy interviews at Holyrood, when the queen wept, Knox said that "it was hard for him to see his own boys weep when he corrected them, and far less could he rejoice in her Majesty's tears; but as he was performing his duty he was constrained to let her weep on rather than hurt his conscience and betray the commonwealth by his silence." He and his compatriots were the northern champions in the great battle between Rome and the reform, and in it Mary went down, because she did not heed the advice of John Knox.* When her desperate career had brought her into an

* Mary's triumph must have checked the Reformation in Scotland, strengthened the league of the pope and Philip II, and opened a wider gate than Norfolk drew for the papists to enter England. Hence the grandeur of Knox's position. But if he had failed, heaven must have raised up other champions.

English prison, where the world has rightly mourned her fate, and when Knox was dying, in 1572, after the triumphs of his cause, he said: "I know that many have complained of my too great severity, but God knows that my mind was always devoid of hatred to the persons of those against whom I thundered the severest judgments."

The English ambassador said of his preaching, "The voice of that one man is able, in one hour, to put more life into us than six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears." When so infirm that his servant helped him into the pulpit, "he at first leaned upon it; but ere he was done with his sermon he was so active and vigorous that he was like to ding the pulpit into blads and flie out of it." At his burial, Earl Morton said that "he neither feared nor flattered any flesh." Both Knox and Calvin are said to have cherished the Old Testament spirit; yet their appeal was to the entire Bible, and especially to "Christ's Evangel."

III. *The period of reconstruction and advance to a purer Presbyterianism (1575-1592).* The Scottish Church needed a new charter, and it came through the second reformer, Andrew Melville. He excelled all other Scots in his learning. He had studied and taught in foreign universities. He began that struggle which ran on through sixty-five years, and contributed to the rebellion against Charles I in all Britain. In 1575 he began to attack the semi-episcopal system, and the jurisdiction of the state over the Church. He argued from the New Testament that a presbyter was rightfully the highest officer in the Christian Church, and that the presbytery (in any form of it from a session up to the general assembly) was the highest human power over the Church of which Christ was the sole king. He gained one point after another until, in 1592, the Second Book of Discipline was ratified by the general assembly and the Parliament. It greatly freed the Church from civil jurisdiction, cast aside the modified episcopacy, and gave to every congregation, or its elders, the right to elect its own pastor; although the lay patron, or lord, might retain the revenues if

The Protestant spirit was too mighty to be utterly silenced. The Regent Morton, 1572-81, threw the reformed Church of Scotland into great peril, but the revolution which he stirred up did not destroy it, and Melville proved to be the man for the crisis.

the people rejected the minister whom he nominated. This has been called the Great Charter of the Kirk.

IV. *The period of royal coercion and attempted conformity* (1592-1640). King James wished to be a royal theologian and an ecclesiastical Solomon. In 1590, at the general assembly, he "praised God that he was born in such a place as to be king in such a kirk, the sincerest kirk in the world. . . . Stand to your purity, and exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly." When he went to London, in 1603, to reign over both England and Scotland, he lost his Presbyterianism, and soon after his Calvinism.* "He had more theology than would have sufficed for a divine, with scarcely enough religion for a Christian." In 1610 he secured some changes in the Scottish Church, over which he felt that he was sovereign. "No bishop, no king," was now his maxim. By unfair methods Parliament restored episcopacy; and still later a general assembly at Perth was so managed as to pass the troublesome Five Articles, approving episcopal confirmation, kneeling at communion, observance of holidays (Sunday being one), private baptism, and private celebration of the Lord's Supper. To force all this upon the Scottish Church was now the effort. Soon there were in Scotland, with hardly a million of souls, the two archbishops, of St. Andrews and of Glasgow; eleven bishops; and nearly nine hundred parish ministers, few of whom wanted prelacy.

The tribulating devices of James were enough to test all faith and patience; but worse came with Charles I, and Laud, the English primate.† The bishops north of the Tweed had not been able to introduce the Anglican liturgy. A modified Prayer-book was now to be imposed on the Scots. The Sunday for its inauguration was in July, 1637. At St. Giles,

* James deserves credit for his patronage of learned men, such as George Buchanan and Isaac Casaubon. He and Christina of Sweden stand quite alone in this respect.

† Their rigors increased after their visit to Scotland in 1633. A Scot so figured Will. Laud as to make 666, the number of the beast. His full name would have given 1667. Luther's name, and many others, have been thus manipulated. Robert Baillie (1640) gave this analysis of Laud's religion: "Twa parts Arminian, one Poperie, and scarce a fourth Protestant." Some called him The Cardinal.

Edinburgh, the dean began to read it to an excited people, who felt that it brought doom to their liberties. The story is that an old woman, Jenny Geddes, rebuked him for saying mass, and hurled at him the stool on which she had sat. Missiles of all handy sorts were soon flying, and a riot occurred. "The kirk-doors of Edinburgh were locked, and no more preaching heard" there for a time. Elsewhere the Service Book was rejected with scorn. All Scotland was roused. Protests, petitions, twenty chief nobles, and more ministers, streamed into Edinburgh to let freedom loose in all Britain.

A first great result was the National Covenant of 1638, framed by the two most eminent leaders, Sir Archibald Johnstone (Lord Warriston), the wise lawyer of the kirk, and Alexander Henderson, the ablest and broadest theological Scotsman, a statesman in a country pulpit, "a cabinet minister without office," not so much a writer of books as a maker of history, and an author of public documents which could talk plain English. We shall see him suggesting and directing other new and vast movements. The covenant was thought to have sanction in the Bible.* It was signed throughout Scotland with a zest never yet forgotten. Any town council that stood off from it might look for a preaching committee with moral arguments, or the troops of Montrose with military persuasions. Such measures were needed mainly in the North, where the Aberdeen doctors imitated Erasmus, complimented the wisdom of Laud, tried to enlist men in a counter-covenant which the king sanctioned, helped to create the "Malignants," but went out of sight in the first war for the National Covenant.† Their party was continued in the Cavaliers.

This timely covenant enabled the general assembly of 1638 to restore presbytery. It marks Scotland's second reformation. It called forth armies to enforce and defend it. It saved Scottish liberty. Under its banners the patriotic Scots resisted King Charles, rescued their fortresses from his garrisons, forced

* The word *covenant*, so frequent in Hebrew history, was applied to this Scottish bond, which became a test of communion and a law to the conscience. Baillie said this covenant would "ever hang before the eye of God, the prime Covenantor."

† At Aberdeen, the Meroz of the time, the covenanting soldiers assumed the blue ribbon, rather accidentally, and not with a symbolical intention. Much later came the phrase of Hudibras, "Presbyterian, true blue."

him to call away his bishops, and, in 1640, swept down over the Tyne, and captured Newcastle. This event was a hinge in affairs. In arranging a peace, Henderson, Robert Baillie, and twelve other Scottish commissioners were in London for seven months. When they preached there the church was never empty. The Scots became known to the leading Puritans—such men as Pym, Holles, Hampden—and common interests of religion and liberty united them. Could they not frame a league?*

Perhaps no clergy have ever been more exposed to the extremes of censure and laudation than the ministers of Scotland from Melville to Rutherford (1661). They gained ascendancy over the lords. They took public affairs very much in their own hands, and led Scotland through great crises. Their religion absorbed every thing; their politics became religious; their piety patriotic; their nation was to them God's kingdom, and his moral government must be exemplified in their Church. They gave the pulpit a tremendous power in theology, morals, and politics, while they trained the people to search their Bibles and recite catechisms. They created a literature and a school of metaphysicians. In their presbyterial acts, sermons, pamphlets, books, we may "find things which we would rather not find." Yet if they need any apology we may quote their censor, Mr. Thomas Buckle, who was not in the habit of lauding the clergy anywhere. "They were the guardians of Scotch freedom, and they stood by their post. Where danger was, they were foremost. By their sermons, by their conduct both public and private, by the proceedings of their assemblies, by their bold

* Clarendon says that "when the whole English nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly in Germany and Poland and all other parts of Europe [during the earlier stages of the Thirty Years' War], no one ever inquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had that kingdom any mention in one page of any Gazette." But, says Masson, "Jenny Geddes's arm changed all that." Moreover, the Northerners seemed to think that the Scottish army was going south on a mission of reform. Mr. Row, in his *Life of Robert Blair*, tells how "there was nothing to be heard almost through the whole army but singing of psalms, and praying, or reading the Scriptures, in their tents and huts, . . . there being with the army many ministers." One Irish company "were all water-lappers and Bible-bearers." Near Newburn "old Mrs. Finnick came out and met them, and burst out, saying, 'And is it so that God will not come to England to reform abuses but with an army of twenty-two thousand men at his back?'"

and frequent attacks upon persons without regard to their rank; nay, by the very insolence with which they treated their superiors, they stirred up the minds of men, woke them from their lethargy, formed them to habits of discussion, and excited that inquisitive and democratic spirit, which is the only effectual guarantee the people can ever possess against the tyranny of those who are set over them. This was the work of the Scotch clergy; and all hail to them who did it. . . . Herein they did a deed which should compensate for all their offenses, even were those offenses ten times as great. . . . General causes made the people love their clergy, and made the clergy love liberty. As long as these two facts co-existed, the destiny of the nation was safe. It might be injured, insulted, and trampled upon. It might be harmed in various ways; but the greater the harm, the surer the remedy, because the higher the spirit of the country would be roused. . . . They were the champions of national independence. . . . It was, therefore, on patriotic, as well as religious grounds, that the Scotch clergy, during the seventeenth century, struggled against episcopacy.”*

The Parliament confided to the Church the founding and care of schools, but provided no funds to support them. The clergy tried to supply the defect. A presbytery taxed every plow of land for a school fund. In some parishes every healthy child must attend school, or its parents be disciplined by the kirk; the poor were offered education at the expense of the town. The reports of 1627 (Maitland Club) show either a sad decline or an old neglect. Of Mordington parish the report was, “There is ane greit necessatie for ane skule, for not ane of the parochie can reid nor wryt except the minister.” The spelling reform was slow, even in England. The majority of the Scottish parishes had either a school “deserted for want of means,” or “no maintainance for it,” or none at all. In 1633 the clergy, backed by Parliament, made an advance; schools began to be built and endowed. After 1688 the proprietors of every parish were required to furnish means of education to every child.

* Buckle, *Hist. Civilization in England*. London, 1872; Vol. III, pp. 113, 130, 194, *et passim*.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

1520-1660.

I. THE ADVANCE TO ANGLICANISM.

A GENERAL view of the entire movement will aid us in the history of its advances. In England the reformatory agencies were complicated. In the battle against Rome the human forces moved in two different lines, one led by a king, the other by spiritual reformers. Henry VIII lived in marriage with his deceased brother's wife, Catharine of Aragon, for sixteen years; he then applied in vain to the pope for a divorce (1527); he made his 'seven years' protest against papal infallibility in judgment, and ended it by wedding Anne Boleyn and renouncing allegiance to Rome. Thus he made the national Church independent. But this was not the genuine Reformation. Henry merely gave occasion for it in a peculiar mode and type. Without his divorce case it must have come in another way, even if he had fought it all his life, as he did when he dedicated to the pope his "Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther," and when the pope entitled him the Defender of the Faith (1521). He never really abandoned that faith. He contended for the essentials of it in the national Church. Thus he stood with the reformers against the pope, but against them in their radical principles. Hence there were within this anti-papal Church two parties—Anglo-Roman and Protestant—until the latter became supreme under Elizabeth. Then it was divided between Anglicans and Puritans. From the Puritans came the Presbyterians and Independents; and the latter gave rise to various branches of dissent. Thus the history of the entire movement presents more intricacy of politics, a closer union of Church and state, and a larger development of new ideas in ecclesiasticism, than we find in any other country during that age. We may sim-

plify it by outlining the direct causes, the stronger agencies, the leading actors, the marked stages of progress, the origin of new systems, and the permanent results.

I. *Attempts at reform within the Anglo-Roman Church* (1520-34). The scholars of the Oxford Circle were zealous for learning, conservative, happy in the king's favor, proud of Cardinal Wolsey as their representative, and generally content with his kind of reforms. He violated the *præmunire* by acting as papal legate; he sought to make the papacy supreme in England; he perhaps rekindled in Henry's mind the wish for a divorce; he aimed to be the director of European politics, if not pope, and he fell by his ambition, intrigue, and high notions of Church power. Yet he corrected some clerical abuses. He suppressed about twenty of the worst monasteries, and with their wealth founded the school at Ipswich and Christ Church College at Oxford. He had vast educational schemes. He read Thomas Aquinas, and would have his theology preached in splendid cathedrals. He took delight in all the arts of the Renaissance. He was the protector rather than the persecutor of young preachers who began to speak boldly. He chose to burn heretical books rather than their readers, and that was no slight advance.

Cambridge was sending out men more heroic, progressive, as fond of Erasmus but not so much afraid of Luther, whose writings crept in among them and were discussed at a house called the White Horse. They had sympathies for the poor Lollards who were hunted and burnt by scores. They saw no sensible reason for burning six men and one woman at Coventry because they taught their children the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments in their native language. One charge against Wolsey was that he had prevented the bishops from searching the university for "errors touching the Lutheran sect," and thus "the said errors crept more abroad and took greater place." He thus spared Thomas Bilney, who was "a great means of framing that university and drawing many to Christ," among whom was Hugh Latimer. And more, Wolsey transferred a dozen of these young men, whom Bilney was instructing in the Greek Testament, to his own college at Oxford, where one of the wardens said in 1528, "We were clear of heresy, without blot or suspicion, till they came."

They met in each other's rooms and studied Paul's epistles. They had a whole library of heretical books written by various reformers on the Continent. They were routed by the persecutors. Out of Cambridge went the leading reformers. We must notice three of them, Tyndale, Latimer, and Cranmer, together with Cromwell. Each represented a great agency in the Reformation.*

William Tyndale, teaching and preaching near Bristol, found the people ignorant, and the priests oftener at the ale-houses than in the homes of the poor. He tells us that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, unless the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue. He also says that the clergy "expound the Scripture in many senses before the unlearned lay people and amaze them, when it hath but one simple literal sense, whose light the owls can not abide. . . . Which thing only moved me to translate the New Testament." One learned man said to him, "We were better be without God's laws than the pope's." He replied, "I defy the pope and all his laws. . . . If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plow to know more of the Scripture than thou dost." Here, then, was his motive. He would translate the Greek Testament edited by Erasmus. His life became that of a hero, an exile, a wanderer, and he closed it in the persecutor's fire at Vilvorde, Holland, praying, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes" (1536). But he gave the English people the New Testament in their own language. Despite the efforts of men who were burning piles of copies in London and Oxford, groups of "Christian Brethren" were distributing it among the people.†

Hugh Latimer, the most popular preacher of the time, whose overflowing humor, logical tact, and telling anecdotes served to clinch the truths in porous memories, and who had something infinitely better than wit to dispense to a crowd which shed twenty tears for every smile, once said in a sermon before King Edward, "My father was a yeoman [of Leicestershire], and had no lands of his own; he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. . . . He kept me to school, or

* Others were Stafford, Fryth, Coverdale, Bradford, Cox, Clark, Goodman, Barnes, Becon, Parker, and Grindal.

† Note I.

else I had not been able to preach before the king's majesty now. . . . He kept hospitality for his poor neighbors, and some alms he gave to the poor." Hugh was then a bishop, ranking high among the magnates of the realm, but he thought a farmer as good as a baron, if he were honest before God. Neither college nor court made him less a man of the people. "To the last he retained his English heart, open, brave, and kindly, a yeoman in canonicals, a citizen in the pulpit. We love the dear old man, so loyal to his Master, so faithful to himself, so frank and unflinching to all around him." He was about forty years of age, and still at Cambridge (1526) when the Bishop of Ely came there to break up that nest of heretics at the White Horse. He created a great excitement, and forbade Latimer to preach longer in this university, or in his diocese. Wolsey interposed a second time in behalf of the Cambridge men. Citing Latimer before him he asked his name, and said, "You seem to be of good years, able to act wisely, and yet it is reported that you are much infected with this new fantastical doctrine of Luther, and such like heretics, that you do very much harm among the youth and other light-heads. Why doth the bishop mislike thy preachings?" Latimer explained how he had treated certain texts, and frankly answered all questions. Then the cardinal said, "If the Bishop of Ely can not abide such doctrine as you have here repeated, you shall have my license, and you shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he will." The cardinal then gave him a license to preach throughout all England!

So Latimer was preaching at Cambridge again in a style that reminds us of John Knox. King Henry had him in London, and soon made him one of the royal chaplains. He was not offended when the preacher wrote to him pleading for the circulation of the Bible, and saying, "Gracious king, remember yourself; have pity on your soul. Think that the day is at hand when you shall give account of your office, and the blood you have shed with your sword." Latimer then took charge of a parish for a time, but was soon a preacher at large. In 1530 Wolsey died under charges of high treason. The bishops began their terrible work. Bilney was one of the noble martyrs. Two men appeared at the critical hour, one to direct the affairs of state, the other those of the Church.

Thomas Cromwell, rising by merit and ambition, had been in the service of Wolsey, whose friend he was to the last. As a member of the House of Commons he sought to lift Parliament above the power of the clergy. As a counselor of the king he drove another wedge between England and Rome when he boldly said, in effect: "The pope refuses your divorce. But why ask his consent? Is he master in England? Frederick the Wise and other German princes have thrown off the yoke of Rome. Imitate them. Become once more a king, and govern in concert with your Parliament. Proclaim yourself the head of the Church in England." This daring advice was to become a policy, and change the face of Church and state. Conscience had little to do with it, and respect for the clergy had still less. Cromwell would transfer the allegiance of the bishops from the pope to the king. He said to Henry, "The bishops make oath to obey you, but they make another oath to the pope; the second nullifies the first, and so the pope rules." How secure this change? Cromwell had his plan. In 1531, armed with royal authority, he went into the convocation of bishops and told them that they were in a very unhappy predicament. "You have taken oath to support the pope; you have openly violated the law of *præmunire* by recognizing Cardinal Wolsey as papal legate"—he had done the same thing, but times were changing—"and now your goods are liable to be forfeited to the king, and yourselves to be imprisoned." They were alarmed and helpless. They begged the royal pardon, and promised to pay into the king's treasury an enormous fine (about six hundred thousand dollars of our present money). But they were not yet free. The document which conveyed the pardon to them styled Henry the protector and supreme head of the Church and clergy of England. This staggered them, for if they received it their oath to the pope was annulled. After earnest pleas and debates they agreed to the title qualified by the words "as far as by the law of Christ is lawful." But this required interpretation, and Parliament would settle it. This humiliating business over, the clergy returned to the persecution of such heretics as Latimer and the shippers of Tyndale's Testament.

Meanwhile Thomas Cranmer brought in his mode of solving the problem of the divorce. He was born in 1489, near Not-

tingham. His father was an honest gentleman, and he fond of hunting, racing, and military sports. Leaving his horse, hawk, bow, and fish-lines, he went to Cambridge, where "linguistic barbarism still prevailed," and by his reserved, manly nature won the hearts of all about him. He married honorably, lost his wife, returned to his studies of Erasmus and Le Fevre, and when Luther's writings came he said, "I must know on which side the truth lies. I will seek it in God's Word." He studied the Bible for three years without a commentary or any human system of theology, and gained the name of the Scripturist. He became a doctor of divinity, professor, and university preacher. He said to his hearers, "Christ sends us to the Scriptures, and not to the Church." He was not a bold man, with radical measures of his own. He depended too much on the will and policy of the king, and had the ideas of his age in regard to the treatment of heretics and non-conformists. He was well adapted to save a cause in critical circumstances. When Gardiner and Fox were at their wit's end about the divorce business, he said to them, "You are not in the right path; you are clinging to the opinions of the Church. There is a surer and shorter way to give peace to the king's conscience. The true question is this: What saith the Word of God? If God has declared such a marriage *bad*, the pope can not make it *good*. End these Roman negotiations." He suggested that the opinion of the universities be asked. This was done. Calvin, not yet at Geneva, was one of the men who decided against the marriage. But the universities were not agreed. At last Cranmer's opinion of Scripture, and Cromwell's idea of supremacy, prevailed. But Henry married Anne Boleyn even before the divorce was granted; conscience was not his real motive. Of her we think charitably, but her influence in the Reformation is apt to be exaggerated by those who esteem her as a martyr, not only to a tyrant's will, but to a pure and well-exemplified faith.

II. *Semi-Protestantism under Henry VIII (1534-47)*. The king had revolted against the pope, and the clergy had been brought to terms. In 1534 the Parliament confirmed the acts and position of the king, as "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England." The jurisdiction of the pope was abolished. Lollardism, learning, and partial reform had pre-

pared the nation to accept this state of affairs. Some men refused to take the oath of supremacy, chief of whom were Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More. They were executed in 1535. This outrage upon liberty shocked Europe. It broke the alliance which Cromwell was forming with the German Protestants. "Upon the news of their death reaching Rome, the pope cited Henry to answer for it, and in case of refusal pronounced him excommunicate, placed his kingdom under an interdict, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and commanded the bishops and clergy to quit the country." But Henry went on his way, not intending any radical changes in the creed or ritual. The Church was still the old one, without a pope, but with a king at the head of it. Cranmer was made archbishop, and he had his part in the burning of John Fryth, who was the first of this class of reformers to deny transubstantiation; he also sanctioned the execution of several other martyrs. The persecutors were checked and alarmed when Henry made Latimer Bishop of Worcester, and placed even more radical men over important sees. Cromwell took the lead in the dissolution of nearly six hundred monasteries, both for their reputed wickedness and their vast wealth. The shrine of Thomas à Becket, being rich and the resort of troops of pilgrims, was not too holy to be stripped and demolished. The confiscation of monastic property was too often associated with violence and rapine, and most of the wealth was used by the king, or bestowed upon his favorites. Ship-loads of books were sold on the Continent or destroyed. Acts of iconoclasm were frequent. The reformers began to rejoice in more positive methods of removing evils. "The Ten Articles" retained many errors, but they asserted that "the Holy Scriptures and the three creeds are the basis and summary of a true Christian faith; that penance consists of contrition, confession, and reformation, and is necessary to salvation; that justification is the remission of sins and reconciliation to God by the merits of Christ, and that good works follow after justification." The English Bible was to be placed in every church, for the people to read. "The Institution of a Christian Man," with all its errors about the seven sacraments, prayers to saints, and the Ave Maria, was a book that bore some great truths to the people. But this doctrinal system was too Romish for Protestants, too Prot-

estant for Romanists, and efforts to change it came from both parties.

Henry was drifting in the right direction until the year 1539, when two events threw him into the hands of the Romanists. (1) He had sent Anne Boleyn* to the block, and now his next wife, Jane Seymour, was dead. Cromwell secured his betrothal to Anne of Cleves, hoping thus to ally England with the Protestant states of Germany. Politically and religiously it was a grand scheme against the emperor. It might have hastened and strengthened the reform in France, saved Southern Germany to Protestantism, and averted the Thirty Years' War by forming a mighty league against the pope and Spain. But when Henry met this princess he felt deceived and soon set her aside by divorce. His terrible vengeance fell upon Cromwell, whose execution was another of the many outrages which history charges upon the king. Bishop Gardiner became the royal adviser, and with this astute politician the gentle Cranmer could do nothing; the Roman was too strong for the Protestant. (2) The mass had been assailed. The mass was the quintessence of Romanism. It was not merely opposed by preachers, but one lawyer ridiculed it and it was put to scorn in ballads. This did more to shock the popular mind than the cries of ten thousand monks and nuns who had lost their convents, refused to enter others, and roamed at large creating insurrections and "the pilgrimage of grace." Henry no longer shielded the more advanced reformers. He led a powerful reaction. Cranmer was barely spared, but he, like others, had to separate from his wife and children. Latimer and men of his stamp were forced out of their sees, for they would not subscribe the newly devised Six Articles. These had been indorsed by Parliament. They re-established transubstantiation, communion in one kind, clerical celibacy, perpetuity of monastic vows, private masses, and auricular confession. The persecution grew severer than ever before. Delicate women, like Anne Askew, were inhumanly tortured and burnt for denying the mass.

In 1540 Cranmer began to regain his influence. The rigors were softened. No preacher could be charged with errors in a

* Anne had favored the Protestants; her murderous removal was a blow to their cause. The circulation of the English Bible was the main stay and hope of the reform.

sermon if forty days had passed since its delivery. Milder punishments of supposed heresy were enacted. In 1543 Henry wedded his sixth and last wife, Catherine Parr, a warm friend of the reformers. She wrote "The Lamentation of a Sinner," and had the commentary of Erasmus translated and placed in the churches. When the king died, in 1547, the English Church was Roman in appearance. "Excepting the litany in English, he left the ritual very much as he found it, as he did nearly the whole frame-work of religious belief. He, however, was, humanly speaking, the instrument whereby the three great barriers to improvement—the papacy, monasticism, and spiritual ignorance—were broken down. The course of national events during Henry's latter years, prepared the country for that Reformation which it subsequently fully embraced. Even the Six Articles, and other ebullitions of papal intolerance, had this tendency, by irritating the reforming party, and rendering its opponents additionally odious. Henry himself, however, was only an unintentional pioneer of the Reformation."

3. *Protestantism in the reign of Edward VI.* (1547-53). Henry had described Bishop Gardiner as a willful man not meet to be about his son, whom men of a quite thorough Protestant spirit had educated. Edward, now in his tenth year, was a prodigy, and his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, was not only the protector of the state, but also of the reforming Church. Ridley was soon at court preaching against images with the earnestness of a Zwingli. One of the first new measures was a royal order for pastors to dissuade their flocks from pilgrimages and to remove images, pictures, and other objects of superstition. Still it is said these men were not Calvinists. The protector complained that the iconoclasts went too far. He had some revolts to quell. For the new heads of government soon repealed the Six Articles, put forth a Catechism and Book of Homilies, and the Book of Common Prayer; the latter being a purifying revision of the Roman liturgy. All this was but legislative reform. Visitors were sent through the land to see it introduced in the parishes. It was quietly accepted in many places. Yet there was opposition enough to call for strict measures. It is now affirmed that these sweeping changes were carried through with the despotism, if not with the vigor, of Cromwell. Gardiner was sent to the Tower; four other prel-

ates soon followed. Revolts in the country were put down by armies. The peasantry were in a sad condition; ignorant, landless, without labor, almost starving, they believed the priests who told them that their troubles were caused by Lollardy and the greediness of the new nobility for the wealth of the monks and clergy. It is too true that "the upstart nobles" grew rich by such property, and none took larger spoils than Somerset. He sought to win the people and be the judge of their causes. This contributed to his fall and execution. His place was filled by Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland, who married his son to the lady Jane Grey, the cousin of the king. The leading Protestants injured their cause by allowing this harmless and highly cultured princess to be regarded as the next heir to the crown. In the reaction she became a martyr, not simply to her purified faith, but to the ambition of her kindred.

No doubt poverty and ignorance drove many into heretical notions and made them rebellious. Sounder views would have come by means of model farming, manufactures, common schools, and such "preaching of a lively sort," as Calvin recommended to Somerset. Latimer coming out of the prison where Henry had left him, old and heroic, declining a bishopric, preaching at large, drawing immense audiences, growing bolder against Romanism, did more for the Reform than all the forces that fought down insurrections. He laid bare the spoils and tyranny of the nobles, he drove home that word "restitution," he exposed the dishonesty of the traders, and the people looked to him as the advocate of their social rights. The liturgy was again revised with the aid of Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, and John Knox. Of the latter Weston wrote: "A runagate Scot did take away the adoration of Christ in the sacrament, so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time." The efforts of Cranmer and Ridley culminated in the Forty-two Articles, afterwards reduced to Thirty-nine.

4. *The Papal Reaction* (1553-58). On taking the throne Mary promised to force no one's religion, but as soon as she dared she began to restore Romanism with a zeal that delighted the pope. The entire system built up by Edward was suddenly overthrown. Gardiner, Bonner, and their sympathizers were released from the Tower, and into it were sent Latimer, Ridley,

and Cranmer. Not until her marriage with Philip of Spain were the bloody acts of the tragedy begun. Care was taken to elect to Parliament members "of a wise, grave, and catholic sort." This body obtained the pope's absolution of the nation for its guilt of schism, and abolished all acts which made the sovereign the supreme head of the Church. The Latin service was restored. About one-half of the acting clergy were thrust out of their offices. Cardinal Pole, a branch of the royal house, had urged reform at the Council of Trent, had been threatened with impeachment for opposing Henry's divorce, and been in exile. He now ventured to return as papal legate, and was soon elected primate. Bishop Gardiner secured the passage of terrible edicts and laws. Bishop Bonner so applied them as to win the title of "the bloody." Yet his friends reported him as naturally a man of good humor. The fires of Smithfield and the ax at the Tower were in such active use during four years that nearly three hundred martyrs left their record of faith and triumph as one of painful glories of the English Reformation.

When Rowland Taylor, Vicar of Hadleigh, was cheerfully leaving his home with the sheriff, the streets were full of weeping people, who said: "There goeth our good shepherd from us." When he was gazed upon by another crowd, near the stake, the kindly folk kept their tearful eyes upon his genial face and his long white beard, saying: "God save thee, good Dr. Taylor! The Lord strengthen thee and help thee! The Holy Ghost comfort thee!" He was not allowed to speak to them. He kissed the stake, folded his hands, lifted his eyes to heaven, and waited for the consuming fire. But even this composed death was too merciful. His face was gashed, and head cleaved with a halberd. What were fagots to such men as these? Bonner asked a lad: "Do you think you can bear the fire?" The boy at once held his hand in the flame of a candle to show his power of endurance. The wife of John Rogers, with her ten children, could see her husband burnt at the stake, and still find some reason to bless God for a faith worthy of such witnesses. Bound to the stake with his friend, Latimer said, when the lighted fagot was applied: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as, I trust, shall never be put out."

Cranmer had been the decisive agent in the divorce against Catherine, thus branding the birth of her daughter Mary as illegitimate. This she could never forgive. But there were other motives. "To burn the Primate of the English Church for heresy was to shut out meaner victims from all hope of escape." He was "more than any other man the representative of the religious revolution which had passed over the land. The decisive change which had been given to the character of the Reformation under Edward was due wholly to Cranmer [?]. It was his voice that men heard and still hear in the accents of the English liturgy, which he compiled in the quiet retirement of Oxford." In an hour of weakness, and under the entreaties of friends he recanted. His enemies insisted that he should read his abjuration publicly in the Church of St. Mary. He evidently found out that he was to be burnt on that very day by his deceitful foes. He took his place before a hushed audience, and said: "Now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other act of my life; and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth which I had thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burnt." After renouncing the pope, and all his false doctrine, his voice was drowned in the reproaches of the bystanders. Upon this he was hurried to the place already consecrated to the memory of Latimer and Ridley, amid the insults of the friars, who kept continually reminding him of his recantation. When the flames began to ascend, stretching forth his right hand he held it therein, oftentimes repeating, "This unworthy right hand, this unworthy right hand!" so long as his voice would suffer him; and using the words of Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost. Thus perished Cranmer, nobly redeeming in death the irresolution that clouded the latter hours of his life. To his private worth even his enemies are compelled to bear testimony; while his readiness to forgive private injuries gave rise to the saying, "Do my lord of Canterbury an ill turn, and he will be your friend for life."

Already bands of men, who were to be the human hope of

the religious restoration, had fled to Geneva, Zurich, Basle, Strasburg, and German cities. Among them were Bishops Coverdale and Bale, with such clergymen as Grindal, Sandys, Jewel; Nowell, whose Catechism is famous; Whittingham, whose Genevan ordination was afterwards acknowledged when he became an English bishop; and John Foxe, the Church historian; also Dean Cox, who prevented the English liturgy from being conformed to that of Geneva, at Frankfurt, where John Knox was ministering to the exiles. Many of these refugees were strongly inclined to the Calvinistic type of reform. They urged its adoption in their native land when they returned.

Mary and Cardinal Pole died within a few hours of each other, in 1558, and their system fell with a crash. The people generally were sick of her reign. It had its political failures. The spirit of revolt was in the army. The country was sinking to a low point of defeat, disgrace, and wretchedness. Mary had overdone Romanism. Some one wrote to Bonner, "You have lost the hearts of twenty thousands that were rank papists within these twelve months." Humanity outgrows an intolerant religion. "Protestantism, burnt at home, and hurled into exile abroad, had become a fiercer thing," and when once more free it would carry all before it. Scarcely was Mary cold when bonfires were roaring in the streets of London, tables were spread in booths and stalls, and shouts rang, "Long live Queen Elizabeth!"

V. *The Reformation restored* (1558). Elizabeth, the child of Anne Boleyn, was not a better classical scholar than Mary, but she knew more of modern literature and languages. She could say "No" to Philip and to French suitors, in their native tongues, with astounding emphasis. By never marrying, she kept herself more free from Continental politics. Her idea was to make England independent of all earthly powers, raise the nation to a proud eminence, and bestow prosperity and happiness upon her people. This policy was her religion, and the essence of her life. Government was an art; conscience often gave way to wily diplomacy, and the end was made to justify the means. One of her first acts was to inform the pope of her accession. He replied that she had no right to the throne, for England was in vassalage to him. "Great

Harry's daughter" recalled her minister instantly from the papal court, left papal insolence to discover its vanity, and soon was counted with Coligny and William the Silent in the trio of champions who resisted papal leagues, and, with divine help, saved Protestantism in Europe.

By the will of the queen, and the votes of Parliament, the Church in England ceased to be Roman, and became Protestant. The old prelacy was continued in the new Anglicanism. Nowhere else was there a more national Church. The creed and liturgy were brought into the forms which have been scarcely changed since; the sources and tests of doctrine, polity, and discipline were to be the canonical Scriptures and the first four General Councils. The queen was not the visible head of the Church, but the supreme governor.* She insisted upon the obedience of the bishops to her will, and "uniformity of public prayers and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies." Her political servants enforced the oath of supremacy. Her bishops and all the clergy must put in force the act of uniformity. But some of the men, who had been in the foreign Churches, came back from their exile with a love for the simpler modes of worship and for presbytery. The one form now prescribed was not to their taste nor their consciences. Through forty-four years her two strong purposes were, to subject the Church to its "governor," and to suppress all dissent; the first succeeded, the second entirely failed. Young Puritanism was growing to manhood. "The Roman Catholics contested her right to the crown; and despairing of the restoration of the ancient [mediæval] faith, or even of toleration, during her life, they plotted against her throne. Hence their religion was associated with treason, and utterly proscribed; its priests were banished; its adherents constrained to attend the services of a Church which they spurned as schismatic and heretical." Anglicans claim that "the extreme tenets of Rome on the one side, and of Geneva on the other, were avoided." Strype thus describes her policy: "She would suppress the papistical religion, that it should not grow; but would root out Puritanism, and the favorers thereof."

* The title "Supreme Head" of the English Church was applied to Queen Anne, 1705, and to George I, 1717.

Thus we find the Church of England reformed, established, and endowed. The law acknowledged no other.* In it there was no schism until about the year 1569, when Pope Pius V excommunicated the queen and her supporters, absolved her subjects from allegiance to her, and bestowed her dominions upon the King of Spain! But England laughed at such impertinence. The papal thunders were silenced by the guns of her fleets and the storms of heaven, which sent the Spanish Armada to the bottom of the seas, and almost wrecked the Holy League. A few persons formed a Romish sect in England, and there were executions of Romanists for their constructively treasonable plots. The Jesuits were banished; their leader, Campion, was put to death. But they harbored at Douay and Louvain, in France. Their Douay Bible and Rheims Testament were English versions, and they made vigorous efforts to circulate them in Britain. They could favor such translations when there was an end to serve.

Since that time the Church of England has had only one suspension. Only once (1643) has the Book of Common Prayer been set aside, and prelacy been abolished. In order to trace the causes and events on some one line of facts, we take the following: The law enjoining uniformity brought Puritanism into activity; this led to non-conformity; part of the non-conformists became separatists; but the majority sought to reconstruct the Anglican Church first on the Presbyterian basis, and then, along with it, on the Congregational basis, of doctrine and polity.

II. PURITANISM FROM 1547 to 1642.

John Hooper was the boldest of the early advocates of the Anglican system. "It was his voice which first publicly proclaimed the principles of religious freedom. He stood alone among the English Protestants of his age in denying the right of the state to interfere with religion." While the Six Articles were in force he was an exile among the Swiss reformers. Returning in the reign of Edward VI, he preached before the king; and "called for the restoration of the primitive Church, and demanded the abolition of all vestments, crosses, and altars. It is a wonder that such a man should have been asked to ac-

* Note II.

cept a bishopric; but, next to Latimer, he was the greatest and most popular preacher of his day; and his zeal, not only for the Reformation, but for a further reformation, knew no bounds. And the king liked him. Hooper was a man peculiarly calculated to fascinate such an open, frank, and tender nature as that of Edward. . . . He had a generous human nature, a candid and truthful moral disposition. He loved his conscience more than any honors." He refused to take the oath of supremacy, though not disloyal to Edward, saying of all earthly powers: "It appertaineth nothing unto their office to make any law to govern the conscience of their subjects in religion. . . . The laws of the civil magistrate are not to be admitted in the Church." He told thousands of people that their consciences were bound only by the Word of God. He was imprisoned in the Fleet. Concessions were made to him; he should wear the episcopal dress only on important occasions. In 1551 he was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester, where, for four years, "he visited and preached as bishop had never done in England before, and seldom, if ever, since, and so won the crown of a martyr. Such was the man who sounded the first note of that controversy which was afterwards to test the English Church, and who laid the foundation of English Puritanism."

He and Ridley secured the use of tables instead of altars in churches. They boldly exposed the immoralities of their age; for lying, theft, perjury, profanity, and licentiousness demanded something more than the oath of supremacy, and the enforcing of clerical vestments. They and Latimer did their utmost to make faith productive of good works and holy lives, while the royal council were enforcing subscription to a creed, and imposing variant dresses upon the clergy. These reformers were martyrs in the reign of Mary. When she was gone, the Marian exiles returned to act a prominent part in the Elizabethan reform, and secure a larger measure of purity in doctrine and ritual. But Elizabeth checked them. Her sharp rebukes fell upon Archbishop Parker, who had implored her minister, Cecil, "not to strain the cord too tightly." She scolded Grindal, who had favored the "prophesyings," or meetings of the clergy for the discussion of theology and mutual enlightenment in Holy Scripture. They met a want among poor curates who

saw that the best preacher drew the largest audience. They wished to acquire more Biblical knowledge and be trained in the delivery of sermons. The prophesyings became rapidly popular. Ten bishops joined Archbishop Grindal in making them effective. Rules were prepared for conducting them. Lord Bacon afterward said that they were the best means of training up preachers to handle the Word of God. They might have grown into theological schools, if they had pleased the queen. She urged that "it was good for the Church to have few preachers; three or four were enough for a county; the reading of the homilies to the people was enough." Archbishop Whitgift required suspected clergymen to take an oath to assure their conformity, and a court, or high commission, punished with great severity those who refused it. The queen insisted upon *duties*; the advanced reformers pleaded for *rights*. They denied that it was a duty to wear the clerical robes, use the sign of the cross in baptism, and the ring in marriage; kneel at the Lord's Supper, bow when the name of Jesus was read, or perform any rite which they regarded as purely human in its origin, and popish in its associations. But these ceremonies, which they resisted more strongly than even Calvin had advised, were lesser matters, and they sank to their level in the great controversy. Far weightier was the question of diocesan episcopacy. At bottom was the question whether divine or human law should be supreme.

The chief leader of the Puritans, for a time, was Thomas Cartwright, in whom were many of the finest qualities of scholar and preacher. He was the first to give tangible form to the Presbyterianism within the English Church. He was a professor of divinity at Cambridge until removed by Whitgift, and often imprisoned. These two great and good men were champions in a controversy which agitated the whole land, and no small part of the Continent. They were both Calvinists in doctrine; and all candid historians admit that, in their time, Calvinistic teaching generally prevailed in England.* Whitgift agreed with Cranmer and Hooker, that prelatie episcopacy was not of

* This is shown by the fifty-four volumes of reprints by the Parker Society. Yet Arminianism was broached, in 1574, by Baron, a French refugee, and theological professor at Cambridge. This led to a controversy. In 1595 William Whitaker, a theological professor there, took the leading part, with Whitgift

divine appointment and right, but of useful policy, and held that Christ had left the external polity of the Church an open question. Cartwright advocated the exclusive and divine authority of the presbyterial system; he and his followers thought that the civil magistrates should exercise power in favor of a scriptural religion. They did not understand the later principle of toleration. But there could be no agreement, nor concession, so long as the crown enforced the Anglican system and ritual. The controversy took a new turn, in 1588, when Bancroft asserted the divine right of episcopacy, and it came to be heresy to deny the doctrine. He may be called the father of Anglican High-churchism.

Independent congregations had already been attempted in London, one in 1555, one by Richard Fitz, in 1568, and others by Robert Browne. In 1580 Sir Walter Raleigh spoke of the Brownists as thousands in number. But these and the Baptists were freely classed with the Anabaptists. Henry Barrowe opposed every form of nationalism in a Church, and urged separation from the Establishment. He and some others were put to death by Whitgift's court. Barrowe, Greenwood, and John Penry, "the noblest martyrs of independency," were not opposed to the coercive power of civil rulers in matters of religion, if that power were on their side. The Baptists, scarcely then organized, claim to have been "the proto-evangelists of the voluntary principle." They claimed such rights of conscience as Hooper had asserted. The first Separatists became pilgrims to Holland, and elsewhere. But most of the Puritans opposed separation from the national Church. They dreaded schism. They preferred to be non-conformists, and strive to bring the whole Church over to their views. It is easy now to admire the Independent, who refuses to conform and secedes from the Church—goes out like a man, and fights his battle on an outside field; but the law then punished the seceder. The one thing for a man to do, for his own safety, was to conform, stay in the Church and be quiet. Fines were laid upon all health

and other divines, in framing the nine Lambeth Articles, which assert strongly the Five Points of Calvinism. Fuller says that they expressed "the general and received doctrine of England in that age." But the queen would not sanction them. In 1604 the Puritans failed to get them inserted authoritatively in the Book of Articles.

ful men and women who absented themselves from "church, chapel, or any other place where common-prayer is said according to the Act of Uniformity." It is no wonder that some men went to an extreme of simplicity, and imputed sin to a written prayer, a painted window, an instrument of music, and a secular smile. But it is a wonder that, in a time of popular ignorance and need of preaching, when some families lived a dozen miles from a legalized chapel, hanging should be due to such men as John Penry, the Welsh evangelist, whose learning matched him with the four bishops of Wales, and piety exalted him far above its idle and vicious clergy; and who pleaded on his trial, "I have no office in that poor congregation; as for our meeting in woods, or anywhere else, we have the examples of our Savior, and of his Church and servants in all ages, for our warrant. . . . We know that meeting in woods, in caves and mountains, is a part of the cross and baseness of the Gospel, whereat it is easy for the natural man to stumble, but we are partly partakers of this mean estate for the Lord's sacred verity." His mantle fell upon Vavasor Powell, the Baptist preacher, whose successes were marvelous.

The Puritans began to differentiate their systems. Not reckoning the germinating sects whose ideas were extravagant, nor the mere politicians, we find four classes of Puritans, the first three still within the national Church. (1) Certain Anglicans, who were non-conformists as to questionable rites and ceremonies. Miles Coverdale, a translator of the Bible, the Bishop of Exeter until Mary's reign, declined to resume the episcopal office. He became a popular pastor, but was obliged to leave his flock on account of his non-conformity. The good old man dared not make public the times and places of his preaching. He died in 1568, the last of the bishops who founded the Church of England. A middle party could then do nothing. (2) The Presbyterians, of whom fifteen ministers, such as Cartwright and Walter Travers and a few lay men, met in 1572, and formed the Order of Wandsworth, the name being taken from the quiet village of that name near London. This has been called the First Presbytery in England, but these men met as presbyters of the national Church, and not as separatists. They wished to reform and reconstruct the Anglican Church, or presbyterianize it, by gradually introduc-

ing a mode of worship and discipline freed from mediæval rites. Their directory for public worship, drawn up by Cartwright, to be used as opportunity offered, soon proved acceptable to about five hundred parish Churches and pastors, when the queen's measures drove it into secluded corners. Two rival systems met in the pulpit of the Temple, London (1585-7), when Richard Hooker was sent to re-enforce Walter Travers in the lectureship. In the morning one preached conformity; in the evening the other set forth Puritanism; one affirmed, the other refuted, until Hooker became annoyed, and Travers was removed to Trinity College, Dublin. Both were scholars and gentlemen. One wrote the famous "Ecclesiastical Polity," which the moderate Anglicans have ever since honored as the noblest exponent of their system; the other wrote his "Ecclesiastical Discipline," which was thrice published and thrice destroyed by the ruling powers. English Presbyterianism lay in hopeless doom fifty years. It was sorely disappointed in James I, and persecuted by Laud. But, in 1638, it was electrified by the National Covenant of the Scots. It sprang to life in hundreds of parish ministers, and in the English Commoners who sent into the Long Parliament a majority of Presbyterians.

(3) The Independents, who were growing more pronounced in their opposition to both prelacy and presbytery. They were not willing to follow Robert Browne in his scheme of separation. They were non-conformists, like the Presbyterians, only striving for a congregational polity in the national Church. They united with the Presbyterians in the Millenary Petition to King James (1603-25), representing one thousand non-conformist ministers who "groaned under the burden of human rites and ceremonies," and asked for a more godly ministry, and purer doctrine. This brought the Hampton court conference, in 1604, where James discarded the Kirk of Scotland, which he had promised to maintain against all deadly foes. The Puritans were roughly handled by him. He felt the divine right of kingship, and said, "I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony. I will make them conform, or harry them out of the land, or else do worse." Whitgift said that "His Majesty undoubtedly spake by the special assistance of God's Spirit!" Such flatterers would tell

him that he was divinely inspired in detecting the Gunpowder Plot (1605), but mere human insight into the Spanish League was enough to have kept him from sending Walter Raleigh to the block (1618), to please the monarch who claimed the sway over the Americas. Sully called him "the wisest fool in Christendom." His son-in-law, Frederick, deep in the Thirty Years' War,* may have had a similar opinion. Yet it was well for England that her king did not involve her in the vast German ruin. If he was cowardly in military affairs, he felt brave in the hour when he was browbeating the Puritans. It was altogether a human spirit that moved him. Thenceforth there was no truce in the battle of forty-four years between the royal will and the Puritan conscience. The king's wisdom was seen in the new version of the Bible, proposed in the Hampton Conference by Dr. Edward Reynolds, a moderate Puritan, and an oracle in Biblical lore. It was a revision rather than a new version. It was authorized in 1611 by King James, whose part in this noble work may cause us to think gratefully of him, despite his vanity in theology, his absurdities in kingcraft, his profane oaths, and his drunkenness. We are more grateful to far better men, for Puritans and Churchmen sat down together before that truth which banishes partisan strifes, did honor to previous translators, especially the martyred Tyndale, and gave an English Bible to the whole English race of every creed and clime. In all the wide realms of Britain and her children it has been the ark of English speech, the bond of unity in the empire of language and the guardian angel of Saxon thought in father-land, and colonies, and independent states. "There is not a Protestant [of English speech] with one spark of religiousness about him, whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible." Older versions had given fire to the poetry of Shakspeare, and the new was not quite to the taste of Lord Bacon. It had the merit of being free from partisan comments. It had a long race with the Genevan version. Scots and Puritans, while bending to the literary law of the "survival of the fittest," still complained that they "could not see into the sense of Scripture, for lack of the spectacles of those Genevan annotations."

(4) The Separatists. The Brownists failed. In 1596 Henry

* Note III.

Ainsworth was one of the exiles who founded an independent Church in a lane of Amsterdam, Holland, and published a confession of faith, not forgetting to say that it was the official duty of civil rulers to "suppress and root out, by their authority, all false ministries, voluntary religions, and counterfeit worship." They had brethren in England who did not wish to be rooted out. In the shire of Nottingham the followers of such laymen as William Brewster and William Bradford organized a few Churches on a congregational basis. They had serious difficulty both in living in England and getting out of it. Some of them escaped to Holland, and founded a Church at Leyden, having as their pastor John Robinson, the scholar, deep thinker, and modest inquirer, who said, "I am verily persuaded the Lord hath more truth yet to break forth out of his holy Word.* For my part, I can not sufficiently bewail the condition of those reformed Churches which are come to a period in religion and will go, at present, no further than the instruments [leaders] of their reformation." Here was the mother Church of the Pilgrims, who received his blessing and sailed in the *Mayflower* for New England (1620), which became the main refuge of non-conforming Independents and Separatists.

The Puritans won political ascendancy in the reign of Charles I (1625-49). He was crowned at the age of twenty-three. He had scholarship and exquisite taste in the fine arts. His wife, Henrietta, was a more intense Romanist than her father, Henry IV of France. "I will have no drunkards in my bedchamber," said he; and he brought the royal court into decency. The divine right of kings and the divine right of the king's bishops were prime articles in his creed and motives of oppression. The vicious distinction between a public and a private conscience made him a deceiver of the people. He was ruined by a Jesuit casuistry and wretched sophisms which excused a falsehood. His word was not a bond. "He lied on system; other Stuarts liked lying, but he approved of it, and the vice cost him his crown and his life." He ruled for nearly twelve years without a Parliament. "Out of a pious care for the service of God" he republished the "Book of Sports," which his father had issued to counteract Dr. Bound's

*Only on the Calvinistic path did he expect any new light.

Puritan work on the Sabbath. The royal license now was, "that after the end of divine service our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting. . . . May-games, Whitsun-ales, Morris-dances, and the setting up of May-poles and other sports therewith used. . . . We bar from this benefit and liberty all such known recusants as will abstain from coming to Church or divine service, being therefore unworthy of any lawful recreation." Thus the sports were forbidden to Puritans!*

The royal will found ready executors in William Laud and Sir Thomas Wentworth (Earl of Strafford); one directed the Church, the other began with reforms in the state, but ended with rigors intolerable. Both worked hand in hand for the absolutism of the crown. Wentworth's severest tyranny, along with some of his best reforms, was in Ireland. As a bishop and as primate (1633-45) Laud brought into his Church the spirit which disowns the title of Protestant. Eager for "the unity of dismembered Christendom," he seemed to think that Rome would be the true center of it, if the papacy were reduced to a patriarchy. He refused a cardinal's hat so haltingly that the offer was renewed. He loved the title of "Most Holy Father." He favored clerical celibacy by example and precept. He turned out a few Jesuit school-masters and burnt a book in which were prayers to "the Blessed Virgin Mary," but prudent Romanists were not annoyed. His watchwords were ritualism and uniformity of ceremonies. If the Puritans addressed the intellect, he would reach the heart though the eye. He externalized religion. He was an actor in the chancel. He magnified the altar above the pulpit. He was a sacramentarian. The son of a clothier, he had an inborn love of clerical

*In contrast with the "Book of Sports" the Scots had a rule which had come down from Knox's First Book of Discipline: "The Sabbath must be kept strictly in all towns both forenoon and afternoon, for hearing of the Word; at afternoon upon the Sabbath the Catechism shall be taught, the children examined, and the baptism administered." Such was the Scottish Sabbath-school in that age. Laud suspended some clergymen for not reading the "Book of Sports" (a mere pamphlet) in their pulpits. One parson read it, and then read the fourth Commandment, and said, "This is God's law; that is man's injunction; choose between them." Fuller tells of the "grief and distraction" which the sports caused in honest men's hearts. It is little wonder that the Puritans went to an extreme of rigor in Sabbath-keeping.

robes, surplices, and attitudes. He gave prominence to images, candles, crucifixes. "If he was a fool, he was honest." He adhered to his few principles with unflinching courage. No Stuart perfidy in him, for he was too conscientious ever to promise liberty of conscience to a non-conformist. Without Wolsey's genius, he was like the great cardinal in political ambition, and in a liberal patronage of art, literature, and charities. He repaired cathedrals. He founded an almshouse in his native Reading. With vast pains and cost he added thirteen hundred valuable manuscripts to the new Bodleian library. He made endowments for Oriental studies at Oxford, his *alma mater*. He established a Greek press at London. But the Puritan, who got a bursary, or continuous alms, was one whom favors might convert. Laud allowed a canonry to "the ever memorable John Hales;" but if Sir John bade Calvin good-night at Dort, he might possibly bid Arminius good-morning at Windsor. In his narrower theology Laud went beyond Arminius, and yet he was ready to mark any strict conformist as sufficiently orthodox* for royal favors.

Laud was chief policeman and detective of the Puritans. Spies in their chapels, conclaves, and even private houses, reported their defects. Meeting-houses were closed, and the key of knowledge lodged with the nearest rectors. The congregations of Dutch and Huguenot refugees must conform or disband. The Puritans must not print nor import their favorite books, especially the Genevan Bible. They must have no door of escape. Shiploads of them were prevented from sailing to New England. Thus he anticipated Louis XIV in the most refined cruelty of his policy. If only a few men were severely punished, the methods were enough to irritate and rouse, but not sufficient to quell, a race of heroes. To crop the ears of Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scot, and whip, brand, and set him in the pillory, and keep him in prison nearly twelve years, was not the best way to answer "Zion's Plea against Prelacy," nor to make his more famous son, Robert, a

*In Laud's register, names marked O were orthodox in dress, liturgy, and loyalty; those marked P were Puritans, unworthy of favors. When Bishop Morley was asked what the Arminians held, he replied, "The best bishoprics and deaneries in England." Still Bishops Davenant, Carlton, Joseph Hall, and Ussher led a school of Calvinists, and had theological sympathies with the Puritans.

high-churchman. Harsher treatment of rough, abusive, brave Presbyterian Prynne did not annihilate his folios. People who still had ears uncropped, began to hear what such crying events meant, and meditate thereon.

In 1640 the Long Parliament began its record of thirteen years with a mighty and Puritan will. The House of Commons held the sway. In it John Pym soon struck the decisive blow by impeaching Wentworth for high treason, as "the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country." By this master-stroke the Commoner became the leader, the "King Pym" of Parliament. The next month (December) Laud was sent to join his friend in the Tower for the same crime. One of these prisoners was executed the next May; the other in 1645, when a release of the aged prelate would scarcely have imperiled liberty. But the majority of Parliament thought of justice, and not policy. They made "Laud a martyr, and gave occasion to the reaction which canonized him." Meanwhile, the victims of these oppressors had been released from long imprisonments. Dr. Leighton was carried out feeble and sightless. Other less worthy men were hailed with louder shouts by the advocates of a free press. Parliament, not always just and merciful, was trying to save England by bringing the king to the terms of the constitution. Unwilling to submit, he was trying to save himself and his prerogatives. The condition of the Church and events in Ireland made religion the burning question of the time. The idea of uniformity did not perish with the removal of Laud. It rather grew stronger. It enlisted more advocates. But it must find a new basis, and that was earnestly sought by moderate Anglicans, Puritans, and Scots.*

III. THE REFORMED CHURCH OF IRELAND.

The Roman Church in Ireland, completely papalized, had followed the downward course of Christendom, and sunk

* The age showed a passion for uniformity. "It tried to uniformize men's heads by dressing them out in full-bottomed wigs; and trees, by cutting them into regular shapes. Yet even trees, if they have any life, disregard the Act of Uniformity." (C. J. Hare.) The Quakers, by conscientiously adhering to the common dress of the people, came to have a uniform fashion. Beneath all this was the vice of making indifferent things a matter of conscience. This was common to the best religious bodies of that period, until real liberty of conscience began to assert itself.

extremely low in servility, ignorance, superstition, and sorrow. She gave birth to no efficient reformer. The first reformatory efforts were mechanical. Henry VIII wished to wrest Ireland from the pope. In 1535 he sent over George Brown as Archbishop of Dublin, an honest man, who had been the provincial of the Augustinian monks in England, but who was now a follower of Luther. Henry's supremacy was acknowledged by the Irish Parliament. Nearly four hundred convents were dissolved, and their revenues turned into the king's treasury. The images were removed from certain churches. There was scarcely any spiritual reformation.

In Edward's reign John Bale and four other bishops were sent to introduce the English Bible and liturgy, but these were not translated into the Irish language. Most of their work was undone by Mary. The first efforts of Elizabeth were little more than failures, for the people were ruled rather than taught. She restored the Anglican system there, and sent over a press and Irish types, hoping "that God in mercy would raise up some one to translate the New Testament." The hope grew bright in 1573, when Bishop Walsh and his assistants began the work with zeal, but he was mortally wounded by a wretch who had been disciplined for a gross crime. William O'Donel completed it, and in 1602 published the New Testament in Irish. The light gleamed, but the surrounding darkness was thick and full of blackest deeds. Riot, rebellion, war, anarchy, took their course until the northern province was almost a desert.

The savage chieftains of Ulster, furious for a liberty which they knew not how to use, were conquered and deprived of their lands. The province was opened to settlers. One design was to break up clanship. Many English and more Scots went over and formed the Plantation of Ulster. They were the main basis of the really Protestant churches of Ireland. Great troubles grew out of the differences in race, language, and religion, and the strifes for estates and offices. Yet the settlers did much to introduce better farming, manufactures, and comforts in homes. The northern natives began to be more quiet and thrifty. English law was enforced, crime was decreasing, and the strings of the Irish harp were tuning to a new civilization. But who should handle the harp? The Protestants were

far in the minority; by birth they differed in race, country, and religion, and all the powers of Romanism and the Irish chieftains were against them. In the deep problem were three questions: how to unite or comprehend English and Scots in the Anglo-Irish Church; how to secure favor for them, and missionary progress among the native people; and how to maintain over all politically a Protestant government. The solution of the first was attempted by Ussher; the second by Bedell; the third by the new model of Parliament (1613), and by Wentworth with his Thorough Scheme.*

James Ussher was born in Dublin, 1581; taught to read by two blind aunts who could recite nearly the whole Bible; at eighteen the victor in debate with an acute Jesuit; and at twenty-one a preacher and lecturer on theology in the new University of Dublin, which had reared him in the highest scholarship. He became a master and an author in the wide domain of history and patristic lore. To unify, reform, and elevate the Protestant clergy in Ireland was his noble effort. They needed it, if we may believe half that is reported concerning their dissolute lives. In the diocese of Kilmore "both parsons and vicars did appear to be poor, ragged, ignorant creatures," and one-third of them lounging somewhere away from their parishes. So elsewhere. In large rural districts the Protestants claimed churches without pastors, long without any services, and going to ruin or utterly desolate. They are reckoned by hundreds.

Ussher proposed a scheme of Comprehension, by which all the Scots and Anglicans might unite in one Church. But he was too nearly a Presbyterian to suit the Anglicans, too strong a royalist to please the English republicans, and portions of the English liturgy were not acceptable to the Scots. He was not a skillful administrator—certainly not of the Laudian type. The scheme promised well in Ireland, but it failed across the

* In this first actual Irish Parliament there were present one hundred and twenty-five Protestants and one hundred and one Romanists. A representation, according to their constituencies, would have given the Romanists a vast majority.

Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, meant, by his scheme of Thorough, to make Charles I the absolute monarch of the British Isles, so that all estates, personal liberties, courts of law, universities, churches, parliaments, and offices, would be fully under his control. He would be the Richelieu of absolutism in Britain.

channel. It recognized ordination by presbyters, and bishops as superintendents, not as prelates. In 1615 he drew up the notable Irish Articles, which were adopted by the first reformed convocation, and authorized by the chief officers of the realm. They were so Calvinistic as to do service in the Westminster Assembly. For twenty years they were the creed of the Anglo-Irish Church.*

An Irishman said of the clergy sent over by James I: "The king's priests are as bad as those of the pope." Not all were so worthless. Unwittingly he drove over better ministers from the Scottish kirk, which he had praised and then persecuted. Ussher, as bishop of Meath (1620-5), and then primate of the Anglo-Irish Church, favored them and gave them charges as pastors or missionaries. They readily adopted his Articles. They were not required to use the entire liturgy. Among them were Robert Blair, who had left a professorship in Glasgow, and John Livingstone, who had been thrust out of a Scottish pastorate. They were leaders in the most remarkable spiritual revival that Protestantism had yet known. It began about 1623, and widely extended through Ulster. People went forty miles to hear them. Some prominent Irishmen were converted. In Blair's autobiography he says: "This blessed work of conversion was of several years' continuance. . . . Preaching and praying were so pleasant in those days, and hearers so eager and greedy, that no day was long enough, nor any room great enough, to answer our strong desires and large expectations." But these efficient preachers were threatened. Primate Ussher, who knew of mischief plotted at London against himself, said to Blair: "It would break my heart if your successful ministry in the North were marred. They [at London] think to cause me to stretch out my hand against you; but all the world shall never move me to do so." The threat came from Laud. In tedious ways bishops Echlin and Bramhall deposed five of them. They and several other ministers, with one hundred and forty emigrants, took the *Eagle Wing* for New England, 1636; but their little ship was beaten back by storms

* "The intellect of Ireland," says Dr. Killen, "now awoke from the slumber of ages, and exhibited abundant proofs of its versatility and vigor." Educated Romanists, some of them trained abroad in Jesuit seminaries, proved skillful in controversial theology and history.

from mid ocean. Some of the preachers held services in Irish barns and farm-houses, waiting for the political sky to clear; others settled in the land of their fathers, and thus escaped the coming massacre.

Livingstone had already assisted in a similar revival in Western Scotland. In 1630 he administered the Lord's Supper to a crowd in the kirk of Shotts, near Glasgow. On Monday he reluctantly preached, and to his sermon, as a means, nearly five hundred souls ascribed their conversion. David Dickson found the work wonderful at Stewarton and Irvine. Fleming says that, "like a spreading moor-burn, the power of godliness did advance from one place to another, which put a marvelous lustre on those parts of the country, the savor whereof brought many from other parts of the land to see its truth."

Ussher had greatly rejoiced in one co-laborer. In 1629 William Bedell, a native of Essex, a traveler, fine scholar, and saintly preacher, in his sixtieth year, became bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh. He taught ignorant priests how to use their own language in Church services. His catechism, prayers, and summaries of Scripture, in Irish, were widely circulated. His Irish version of the Old Testament was kept from the press by the policy of Laud. About fifty years later it was published at the expense of the eminent Robert Boyle. Bedell had the key to the Irish heart. But his good work was checked by Wentworth's tyranny in ousting land-owners whose titles were defective, and enforcing the black oath on Protestant non-conformists. So violent was the feeling against the royalists, that Ussher's house was sacked by the Irish in 1640, and he retired to England, where he spent the remaining sixteen years of his life in preaching and authorship.

Early in October, 1641, Ireland seemed to be quiet. Wentworth had been executed. Laud was in prison. To his Anglicanism the Protestants, happily or hopelessly, thought they must all come at last.* But suddenly, on the eve of October 23d, "being St. Ignatius Loyola's day," they were under a

*The Anglo-Irish Church had then four archbishops and about sixteen bishops. The Scotch and English Protestants were about two hundred and twenty thousand; Irish Romanists probably one million two hundred and forty thousand. It was estimated that during 1641-52 fully six hundred thousand people in Ireland perished by massacres, war, pestilence, and famine.

massacre which ranks with the Sicilian Vespers and the St. Bartholomew. Hallam thinks that "the primary causes of it are to be found in the two great sins of the English government: in the penal laws as to religion . . . and in the systematic iniquity which despoiled the people of their possessions." It may have been plotted by exiled Irishmen in Spain with the help of the Jesuits. The pope thought it a "well-arranged movement by the prelates and other clergy." The leaders in it were Irish chieftains. The swift rumors of it had a rousing effect on Scots and Puritans, as they heard that bands of papists were roving about sacking and burning houses of Protestants, stripping them of all clothing, chasing them over the moors, and denied every mercy by those who believed the priests when they declared it to be a mortal sin to give relief to the English. Thirty preachers are reported to have been murdered in one district, and when the rebels found a Bible they said: "This book has bred all the quarrel." The numbers slain, or caused to perish, are reckoned by Warner, a Protestant, at from eight thousand to twelve thousand; others estimate four times those figures, and some twelve times as many.

Amid all the fury the reddest hand was slow to strike the good bishop Bedell. The old man of seventy was engaged by the savage chieftains to send to the government a statement of their grievances, some of which were real and intolerable. Refugees filled his house, barn, church, and even the churchyard. His very fences made his premises a sanctuary for nearly two months. Then the fiercer rebels demanded that he should drive away the Protestants, whom he fed. He refused. They cast him into prison for three weeks. An exchange of prisoners brought his release. He soon died, in 1642, and the Irish chieftains followed him to his grave with their troops. They fired a volley of shot over it and said in Latin: "May the last of the English rest in peace." A priest is reported as exclaiming: "Would to God that my soul were with Bedell!"

The first reformed presbytery in Ireland was organized in 1642, at Carrickfergus, by the chaplains of the Scotch troops, who came over to defend the Protestants. It soon had twenty ministers and Churches, with Belfast as a stronghold, with the Scottish Confession and Covenant of 1638, and a rapid increase by means of the Solemn League.

NOTES.

I. *English Versions of the Bible.* Tyndale's New Testament was printed in 1526. Coverdale's entire Bible, 1535; this was reproduced as Matthew's Bible, 1537, and as Taverner's Bible, 1539. It included Tyndale's version. It was revised and issued as Cranmer's Bible, or the Great Bible. Every parish was enjoined by law to have a copy of it. The Genevan Bible was produced by Whittingham (who had married Calvin's sister-in-law there), Knox, and other exiles, at Geneva, 1560. The authorized English version of 1611 resulted from the Hampton Court Conference, 1604, when forty-seven translators, or revisers, were appointed, with authority from King James. They were divided into six classes, each rendering a certain portion, and revising all the other portions. It aimed to preserve the excellences of all previous versions.

II. The laws of England presumed, 1st, that the civil rulers were sound Christians; 2d, that their duty was to maintain, purge, and cleanse the Church, and repress false doctrine; 3d, that the people were, or should be, all members of the Church; and, 4th, that the Old Testament laws against idolatry, blasphemy, and the like offenses, were still applicable to all errorists, and to many non-conformists. No little of the preaching before the queen and Parliament was in support of these points, as may be seen in the sermons of so good a preacher as Edwin Sandys, an exile at Zurich, a bishop, 1559-76, and Archbishop of York, 1576-88, who preached that the liberty of professing diverse beliefs was dangerous to the commonwealth. "One God, one king, one faith, one profession, is fit for one monarchy and commonwealth." His sermon on "Take us the little foxes," is more severe than that of St. Bernard on the same favorite theme. Sandys thus divides: The foxes are the enemies of the Church, with their fraud and force, their heresies and slanders; they must be taken *to* the Church and *to* Christ, or *from* the Church, if refractory—*by* ministers, *by* their Gospel nets, example of life, and discipline; and *by* the civil magistrate, or ruler, by civil punishments of four kinds, death (Deut. xiii, 5; Lev. xx, 10; xxiv, 16; 2 Chron. xv, 13), by exile (2 Sam. xiii, 37, 38), by confiscation of goods, and by imprisonment (2 Chron. xxxiii, 10-13). Calvin was never more theocratic than the Anglicans who thus argued, nor had he more of the Old Testament spirit. See the model "Index to the Publications of the Parker Society," under Magistrates, Law (Human), Power, Witchcraft, Heresy and Heretics, with the columns of references. Yet these good men wrote against Persecution of the Church, as may be seen under that word. Their Church, as did others, found errorists guilty, and delivered them over to the secular arm to be punished. This was a casuistic way of relieving the conscience, or an evasion of the old law, *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*.

III. *The Thirty Years' War in Europe*, 1618-48. It was a great German revolution against the house of Hapsburg and the empire, at a time when politics, social enterprises, and literature were subordinate to religion, as the one engrossing interest of all Christendom. It was, at first, mainly a

war between Romanists and Protestants. The parties were, (1) the Romanists, aided by the emperor, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Poland, and certain German states; (2) the Protestants, supported by the evangelical German states, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, England sympathetically, and France after 1634. France made the war less religious, and more political than it had been for a century. This complicated war had four stages: 1. The Palatine, 1618-25. Frederick V, of the Palatinate, and son-in-law of the English James I, failed to retain the crown of Bohemia. Protestants of Bohemia deprived of all rights, and banished or slain; the Emperor Ferdinand II, reared by Jesuits, showed no mercy; the country ruined; less than one-fourth of four millions of people left in it. The Palatinate laid waste; it finally fell under the Romanists. 2. The Danish, 1625-29. Christian IV nobly stepped forward in behalf of Protestantism; but his failure left the Germans at the mercy of the terrible emperor. 3. The Swedish, 1629-34. Gustavus Adolphus was the heroic Protestant champion against the imperialists, Tilly and Wallenstein; dying in the battle of Lutzen, 1632, he left the great cause to be advanced by the wise Oxenstiern. David Leslie and other Scots, and certain Englishmen, fought under Gustavus. 4. The French, 1635-48. Richelieu, more of a statesman than cardinal, took the Protestant side, in order to give France and her king the dictatorship in Europe, and break the union of Austria with Spain. He and Cardinal Mazarin, the great Huguenot general, Turenne, and his fellow Calvinists, thus did very much to save Protestantism outside of France. The Peace of Westphalia, 1648, had these main results: (1) Southern Germany chiefly Papist; Northern, Protestant. (2) Calvinists placed in law on an equality with Lutherans. (3) Protestants and Romanists to be equally represented in the imperial diet; they became more tolerant of each other. (4) The old empire broken; the diet so composed that a union of German states was hopeless; petty princes made absolute; certain states lost. (5) Foverty and desperation in Germany; *e. g.*, in one district only three hundred and sixteen families out of seventeen hundred and seventeen remained, and they were in wretchedness. Magdeburg was sacked and burnt by Tilly, and thirty thousand people perished. Trade, industry, education, literature, came almost to an end; and when a great papal general could slay forty thousand wretched peasants, and then wait to sell his services to the Protestants, we might ask if humanity and religion had not ended. (6) France gained lands and power; and Louis XIV would soon declare himself master of Western Europe, and endanger Protestantism.

CHAPTER XXI.

COVENANTING TIMES IN BRITAIN.

THE main theme in the ecclesiastical history of England, from 1640 to 1662, is the introduction, establishment, and overthrow of presbytery. It carries with it the history of royalty, Anglican episcopacy, independency, various sects, free thought, and the republican commonwealth. It is bound together with the first grand debate in Christendom on toleration; a subject as worthy of special treatment as that of persecution, for it bears directly on the history of modern Christian denominations and of religious liberty.

I. THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

The origin, intention, and results of this measure enter largely into British history. It was a growth. Its roots were the Scottish desire for religious uniformity and the Puritan hope of a military alliance. In the basis offered by Henderson for the treaty of Ripon, October, 1640, was this: "It is to be wished that there were one Confession of Faith, . . . and one form of Church Government, in all the Churches of his majesty's dominions."* That wish could not be idle in those times.

In May, 1641, John Pym worked through the Long Parliament, with its Presbyterian majority, a Protestation, not unlike the National Covenant of the Scots, and for the union and peace of the three kingdoms. It was meant for general subscription. "Whosoever will not take it is unfit to bear office in the Church or commonwealth." The king did not oppose it, nor the abolition of the High Commission and Star Chamber. But when he saw impeachment threatening his favorite bishops

* Henderson had no idea of yielding presbytery; for he here asserts it to be *jure divino*, and episcopacy unwarranted by Scripture and not at all adapted to Scotland.

(thirteen of them were soon in the Tower), he found the chasm widening between him and Parliament. On which side would he find the Scots? He might count on Montrose and the Cavaliers; but what of Argyle and the Covenanters? They were to act a grand part in the history.

Charles was in Scotland at the very time when "poor Ireland was in a welter of misery." But he failed to bind the Covenanters to his cause. They were looking to Henderson for a new Confession of Faith and Platform of Church Government, "wherein possibly England and we may agree." Henderson wisely waited for the outcome of the Grand Remonstrance of the English Commons. In it was the demand for "a general Synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this Island, assisted by some from foreign parts professing the same Religion with us, who may consider all things necessary for the peace and government of the Church." This demand was not met until King Charles had turned the critical point of his career by his attempt to arrest the Five Members—Pym, Hampden, and their compatriots; had gone from London, and left Parliament the master of the realm; had set up his standard at Nottingham, August, 1642, to fight hard on his way to ruin; and, the next September, had read the decree for abolishing English prelacy at the end of fourteen months.* It was after Charles had fired the first shot at Edge Hill, and fought on in the night frosts with neither victory nor defeat; after he denied to the Presbyterians a toleration which might have carried the Parliament over to his side; after he broke off negotiations for peace, at Oxford, by refusing to abolish episcopacy, and by insisting upon the delivery of all munitions of war to him—that the demand for a general synod took shape in the ordinance of Parliament calling for the Westminster Assembly. That body was to organize July 1, 1643, and be ready to aid Parliament in reform-

* Parliament received two notable petitions in November, 1640: that of fifteen thousand Londoners for the abolition of the English hierarchy, and that of seven hundred clergymen for a reduction of its prelatic powers. In February, 1642, the bishops were excluded from the House of Lords, with the constrained assent of the king. The act abolishing prelacy, but not disestablishing the Church, was passed September 10, 1642; yet it was not to take full effect until November 5, 1643. It was celebrated in London with bonfires and the ringing of bells.

ing and settling the government, liturgy, and doctrine of the Church of England, and in procuring "a nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other reformed Churches abroad." Of course, "Reformed" meant Calvinistic.

And still, how were the Scots to be brought out of their political neutrality? How bind the Covenanters to the cause in which John Hampden was shot on Chalgrove field, and died praying, "O Lord, save my bleeding country?" Members of both the Parliament and the assembly at Westminster were sent to Edinburgh to treat about "Scottish assistance to Parliament and uniformity of religion." The commissioners on both sides faced squarely the long mooted questions. Would Philip Nye's Independency do for Scotland? Not at all, said the Scots; "no divine warrant therefor." Could presbytery be extended over all England and Ireland? Possibly, in some very mild form, yet barely so, thought Nye and Harry Vane, who wished to get off with generalities. But was not the very first, wisest, and most needful thing, at present, an alliance for civil liberties? "We had hard debates," says Baillie; "the English were for a civil league, we for a religious covenant." But religion and civil affairs were then quite inseparable.

The result was "The Solemn League and Covenant* for the reformation and defense of religion, the honor and happiness of the king, and the peace and happiness of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland." The Scottish Church was to be especially defended. The desired reformation was declared to be "in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches," so as to secure "the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, Confession of Faith, form of Church government, directory for worship and catechising." The leaguers were to "endeavor the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness."

* It was Henderson's expansion of the National Covenant. It is quoted here as it was amended slightly at Westminster. Vane wanted the phrase "according to the Word of God" inserted, so that questions of polity might be brought to that test, and not be taken as already settled by "the best reformed Churches."

This was certainly a frank avowal of intentions. The Long Parliament had determined to remove prelacy, and the Scots meant to presbyterianize the entire British dominions.* The document passed their General Assembly with unanimity, applause, and unusual emotion. The Covenanters were to aid the English Parliament with an army, and have six members in the Westminster Assembly. Aptly did Baillie write, "This seems to be a new period and crisis."

Not merely a crisis, but an epoch, was in the heart of that League, for it was the boldest, broadest, and most republican attempt of British Protestantism. Popes, diets, kings, had sought ecclesiastical uniformity within large realms, by decrees or by crafty devices; it was now attempted on a more popular basis, by the voices and votes of the people, or by their chosen representatives in Parliament. Would the attempt succeed?

II. THE GREAT STRUGGLE IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

Within the national Church of England were three parties—the Prelatic, Presbyterian, and Independent—each striving for the mastery. They were not willing to adopt Ussher's scheme of comprehension—that of union without uniformity. They were not ready to separate, and be three different Churches, for the day of toleration had not come. They were giving us one more example—the last on a grand scale by Protestants—of the error in employing political force to secure religious uniformity. Nothing is explained by cheaply denouncing them as harsh bigots. Their wisest leaders meant to be reasonable, conscientious, just, kindly affectioned, and apostolic in faith and polity. Their very heroism touches the chord of admiration in human nature. They deserve the candor of critical history. They were honestly contending for principles radically different, and laying bases for denominational separatism in the right of dissent and the liberty of belief. Hence our interest in the open conflict of those principles, and the dramatic movements which they caused.

1. The Westminster Assembly, like the Council of Nice, shaped the ecclesiastical events of an epoch. We have seen how it was "ordained" by the Long Parliament. That body

* Baillie says, "The chief aim of it was the propagation of our Church discipline to England and Ireland."

named one hundred and fifty-one members—ten of them lords, twenty commoners, and the rest English divines—all intended to represent the three parties within the Church, and the counties of the realm. The king defiantly forbade them to convene, and scarcely a prelatist attended.* In face of his threats sixty-nine members met in Westminster Abbey, July 1, 1643, and from that date, through five years and a half, the assembly sat in co-operation with a dominant Parliament, to which it was entirely subject. It was to give advice, but was expressly forbidden "to exercise any jurisdiction, power, or authority ecclesiastical whatsoever." Its specific work was to define and defend doctrine, and to frame a polity for the Church, but its counsels extended to the repression, even the burning, of bad books, and the printing of Bibles at a low price; to clerical and social scandals; to the case of preachers routed by the king's troops, as many of its members had been by Laud's bishops; to the settlement of "godly ministers" in vacant parishes; to the condign punishment of such crimes as "the blasphemies of one Paul Best, . . . contained in books, treatises, and notes of his;" to university reforms, which were easiest rooted at Cambridge, the *Alma Mater* of two thirds of its English members; and to various public affairs of the realm. It was grandly patriotic until the king's Jesuitry wrought mischief. When Presbyterian London was rejoicing over the victory at Naseby, won June 14, 1645, the assembly turned a fast into a thanksgiving-day, had "a short dinner" with the Lord Mayor and city council, and by "the communion of salt" helped forward the weary discussion on Church government. This was not the last of the conciliatory dinners. It paused in the tough debate on predestination to pray that "our forces in the siege of Chester" might valiantly storm the city that day, and the Calvinists

* Professor Mitchell (Min. West. Assembly, p. 30) says, "Had the king only allowed the Royalist divines to attend its meetings, some happier and for England more lasting compromise, as to the future constitution of the Church, might have been devised." Ireland had two members in the Assembly. Parliament invited New England to send Reverends John Cotton, of Boston; Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, and John Davenport, of New Haven, but they did not go. The Assembly had no delegates from "the best reformed Churches" of the European Continent, but held correspondence with some of them, and the Presbyterians at one time hoped that their Covenant would serve as the model for a grand league of them all.

there did it with a masterly freedom of will. Thus, creed-makers were acting a vigorous part in the greatest of English revolutions for constitutional liberty.

By order of Parliament, the assembly began a revision of the Thirty-nine Articles, and amended fifteen. It might not have formulated a new Confession, if Henderson, Baillie, and four other Scots, had not entered as members, with all privileges except voting, as soon as the Solemn League was adopted and subscribed by the Long Parliament (September 25, 1643), and made international. Even moderate Episcopalians would hardly sign this covenant in order to qualify for a seat in the assembly. Of the members of that body—the average being scarcely eighty—the Presbyterians were the decided majority; next were the Independents, and a few were Erastians.* They were soon ordered to frame a Church polity for England, and “a Confession of Faith for the three kingdoms, according to the Solemn League and Covenant.” While they were at work, the nation was in the heat of war and debate, and the English Church was in sad confusion.

2. The parliamentary order for a general subscription to the Solemn League was a test of the public sentiment of England. It was a tremendously solemn thing for the nobles, gentry, clergy, and commoners of all sorts, over eighteen years of age, to sign it, and swear to promote the sweeping changes which it demanded. Yet Parliament repeatedly ordered this to be done. It was adapted to Scotland, but in England “it was a sublime blunder for a noble end.” The Scots regarded its aim as a reformation; the Anglicans as a revolution.† It confirmed the system which was the birthright of the Scots; it would overthrow the Church polity under which the Anglicans had been born. But it did not go forth alone. It was preceded, attended, and followed by other parliamentary acts which galled

* Note I.

† “A very Solemn Covenant, and Vow of all the people; of the awfulness of which we, in these days of Custom-house oaths, and loose, regardless talk, can not form the slightest notion.” (Carlyle, Cromwell under 11th Sept., 1643.) Baillie tells how the Scottish pastors were required to read and expound it to their people the first Sunday after they received it, and the next Sunday cause it to be sworn to and subscribed by all men and women, on pain of confiscation of goods, and such other penalties as Parliament should inflict. But in England the “refusers” were simply to lose their civil and military officers, or be reported to Parliament.

many of the people. Soldiers too often enforced them with violence. By order of Parliament the Book of Sports had been burnt by the hangman; instead of the old bonfires, May-poles, and feasts, were preachings and fasts; organs, choirs, altars, crosses, pictures, were going from the churches; the old merry Christmas, with its Advent sermon, mistletoe boughs, and mince pie, was turned into a fast-day, and the joy was taken from Easter; clerical vestments and liturgies were to be discarded as relics of popery; and people who went not to church, or walked in profane ways, were under the discipline of Parliament, which knew not where to stop with its injunctions. The conscientious Anglicans had reason to complain, and their complaints were mingled with those of profligate men against the Parliament. The ruling party thought, as Savonarola, Calvin, and Pope Sixtus V had thought, that rigid law might produce righteous habits; that restraints upon vicious freedom were means of virtuous liberty; that the cleansing of the temples would promote holier services; and that they held powers ordained of God for enforcing the Ten Commandments. They believed that England was not exempt from the divine government. They undertook to administer it, and, whatever their mistakes and excesses of authority, they proved that some wholesome results were attainable. In towns where Parliament was obeyed, public vices were checked; gambling houses were closed; drunkenness was not seen in the streets; profane swearing was hushed; the Sunday rest promoted thrift on other days; and, if the villager heard psalms every morning from private houses and sermons every evening through chapel windows, he was none the worse for them in life or limb, family or property. If he was called a Roundhead, for clipping his hair short, which was not a Westminster fashion, or if he imposed a Scripture phrase, as a name, on his child, these were but the trifles of a style; they were not the essentials of Puritan civilization. The public manners of the Cavaliers were more elegant, but their morals were less elevating in the towns where the king held sway.

The Solemn League brought a new test to the clergy. In 1640 the Parliament had begun the long process of ejecting "scandalous and malignant ministers" from their livings. To be an earnest prelatist or royalist was to be a malignant. We now delight in the Meditations of Bishop Joseph Hall and the

great Polyglot Bible of Bryan Walton, and wonder that such good men were ousted. Young Jeremy Taylor, in his rectory at Uppingham, was so disturbed by Parliament that he became a chaplain in the king's army, and then a schoolmaster in Wales, when not in prison, and his eloquence streamed forth in books, and rose for toleration.* The general rule was that if a parson was not immoral, negligent of duty, intensely prelatic, or loudly royalist, he might remain. But now he must swear to the Covenant and all its tremendous requirements. Such excellent pastors as Thomas Fuller and John Pearson would not take the oath, and they were ejected or they retired to the king's towns. Moreover, ejection was a game that a king could play. His soldiers retaliated, and "plundered ministers" filled Westminster with cries of distress. Young Baxter, a Presbyterian, was routed from Kidderminster. He served for about three years (1642-6) as a chaplain in the armies of Parliament. He subscribed the Covenant, but on his return to Kidderminster he kept the parish from taking it, lest men should "play fast and loose with a dreadful oath." After the death of John Pym, in December, 1643, the Independents cared less and less for the Solemn League. Cromwell and Milton seemed to forget that they had ever signed it. Every renewed attempt to enforce it helped to organize the opposition which finally broke the power of the ruling party. Unavoidably it made covenanting a test of conscience. It promoted two opposite results, the Westminster Confession and the English resistance to the Westminster polity.

3. Oliver Cromwell was rising to the leadership of the republicans, who disliked the Covenant for its high tone of royalism and Presbyterian uniformity.† As a thrifty farmer of dropsical lands in the fen country of Huntingdon; a member of the Parliament of 1628; a patriot on the side of his cousin, John Hampden, and Sir John Eliot; and a serious thinker, who groped through dark sorrows of spirit and found relief in Calvinism, he had meditated deeply on the great

* His "Liberty of Prophesying" was not published until 1647. Hallam over-estimates its influence in behalf of toleration.

† Born at Huntingdon, 1599; studied a few months at Cambridge; read some law in London, and married there, 1620; and for twenty years was chiefly engaged in improving his marshy estates.

subjects of the time. Politically he was the greatest outcome of Puritanism. He had least of its peculiar formalisms, most of its large public spirit, and all its revolutionary daring. More boldly than the lordly Argyle he could repeat the maxim, "The safety of the people is the supreme law," and work directly against the king without a fear of treason. Enthusiasm made him heroic; intense as lightning where he struck, but not leaving so narrow and brief a light on his track. His life is the enigma of Puritan ethics. In his powerful letters, prayers, and homilies to his troops, he presents a new type of saintliness; most busy in secular affairs and yet a consecrated layman, with devotion spontaneously on his lips; apt to take his own convictions for the dictates of Jehovah, and talking hopefully of the speedy reign of Christ on earth. In more easy society he is an English squire, thickset, broad-faced, rather slovenly, given to short and eloquent remarks, with unusually good sense in all affairs of common life; a shrewd manager of men who come to expect his commands over them; or in leisurely hours, with intimate associates and a mug of beer, his large fund of humor overflows in jovial words and acts of buffoonery. When he shall rise into power his personal ambition will bewray itself, willfulness trench upon chartered rights, and craft be used as an art of statesmanship; and yet England has no other man who will do so much to place her upon a constitutional basis and achieve her greatness.

With these powers in him he took his seat in the House of Commons (1640), and "that man there with a slouched hat" threw his great soul into the public cause of liberty, which was the talk in ale-houses and court-rooms in every parish and every shire of the long-enduring England. He subscribed three hundred pounds to reduce the Irish rebellion. He got permission to raise two companies of volunteers (1642) at Cambridge, and if that was treason, let the king make the most of it. He became the chief organizer of military associations in Eastern England. He drilled sectaries into good soldiers, and the newspapers said of them, "not a man swears but he pays his twelve pence; no plundering, no drinking, disorder, or impiety allowed." And he defended these *Ironsides*; "they are no Anabaptists; they are honest, sober Christians, and they expect to be used as men." But not much signing of the

Covenant by them; they and he rather wanted independency, and the army type of it began to have a vast influence. A series of victories was bringing him the rank of merit over parliamentary generals of higher titles.

4. The learning and polemics of the time. When religion whetted the sword, it was likely to sharpen the pen. The Church became unusually militant. There were charities, faiths, hopes, blessed communion-days, and happy marriage-bells; songs of children and holy meditations of men and of women. But almost every sentiment and thought took on learning and rushed into print. Devotion sought the press. Piety journalized. Britain had never known such a day of authorship. Its enormous books are now more easily praised than read. Publishers must have been ruined or patrons were generous or readers were countless and voracious. Literature was martial. The muse of Milton was pugnacious. Hobbes and Cudworth were girding for the combat in philosophy. Love of peace did not keep Baxter out of polemics. Every prominent man had an enemy who had written a book. Controversy, doubtless, increased the intelligence of the people. There was a war of pamphlets on the divine right of Church government—a subject never so ventilated before.* There were quartos of sermons and lectures and verbose folios of theology, whose fuel of debate wanted compression to make the fire enduring. There were Confutations of Sects, Refutations of Heresies, Pleas, Replies, Defenses, and yet nobody seemed to be triumphantly refuted nor contentedly defended.

Surprise has been expressed that so many members of the Westminster Assembly were authors. But authorship may have been the charter to a seat. Dr. Stoughton says that the assembly divines "had learning—Scriptural, patristic, scho-

* Bishop Joseph Hall's "Defense of Episcopacy" brought out an answer by *Smectymnus*, a name formed with the initials of five assembly divines, S. Marshall, E. Calamy, T. Young (the chief author), M. Newcomen, and W. Spurstow. They and all the Scots argued for the *jus divinum*, divine right, of presbytery. Twisse, Reynolds, Palmer, Gattaker, and others were for the *jus humanum* of presbytery, but were outvoted. Scarcely a man of them kept his hands out of the public press, and all had strong voices of debate. One literary episode by an assembly divine was Thomas Thorowgood's "Jews in America; or, a Probability that the Americans [Indians] are of that Race." That still lingering theory bears hard on the Jews, and wrecks the logic of history.

lastic, and modern—enough and to spare; all solid, substantial, and ready for use.” There sat men whose homiletic power was exhaustless; Richard Vines, able to make thirty good sermons, and Dr. Tuckney thirty-two, on or about a single text, and Thomas Manton preaching a folio on the longest Psalm. Commentators were blest with “enlargement.” Joseph Caryl on Job reached twelve quartos—still readable with Job’s patience. William Greenhill’s five quartos on Ezekiel did not cover the last twenty chapters. Dr. Gouge, an oracle in the London pulpit, flooded Hebrews with thirty years of lectures. With such large Puritan measure other subjects were meted. The venerable William Twisse, moderator of the Assembly until his death, in 1646, built against Arminianism his “Defense of Grace,” and thus dryly stored his supralapsarian theology in a huge Latin folio, which persuaded Bishop Sanderson back into the Calvinistic way, and probably never found another man to read every word of it. Edmund Calamy wrote less, but was one of the moderate Calvinists and one of the many popular preachers in the assembly. Many items of knowledge compacted in our Biblical manuals are drawn from the vast storehouses of such Hebraists as Lightfoot, Rabbi Colman, and John Selden, the Erastian lawyer, who was fond of bantering the clerical members, and bringing their “little English pocket Bibles with gilt edges” to the test of the originals. Gillespie was a match for him. Greek met Greek in drawn battles. The young scribe, John Wallis, developed into the famous Oxford professor of mathematics, a liberal theologian, a champion against Thomas Hobbes (who thought he had squared the circle), a forerunner of Isaac Newton, and one of the founders of the Royal Society. He shared in the progress of science from the time when “Smectymnuus” ridiculed the saying of Galileo, that “the earth moves.”* As to progress in theology, few now deny an advance previous to the Westminster Assembly, and in it the Presbyterian, Dr. Edward Reynolds, thought

*The slow progress of modern astronomy will be seen by these dates: Copernicus died, 1543; Tycho Brahe, 1601; Kepler, 1630; Galileo, 1642; Gasendi, 1655; Isaac Newton, 1727. One of the first English defenders of Galileo was John Wilkins, about 1640. He was a Solemn League clergyman, married Cromwell’s sister, wrote on Natural Theology, discovered a planet, thought the moon might be inhabited, and that a journey thither was among future possibilities, and ended his life as Bishop of Chester (1688–72). Jeremiah Horrocks,

there would be further light on the prophecies, "but in truths doctrinal, and especially evangelical, to cry up new lights, and astonish the people with metaphysical fancies, is to introduce skepticism into the Church of Christ."

5. A turning-point at Marston Moor. Church politics were not discussed solely in the dry light of reason. They hung somewhat as great causes often do, on the logic of musketry. Prelacy was staked on the triumph of the king. Independency had apostles in the Ironsides. Presbytery had a hopeful eye on David Leslie and the Scottish Covenanters, marching South in January, 1644, "up to the knees in snow," to fight for the Solemn League. With a glorious victory to the credit of the plaided Scots, divine-right presbytery might take a speedier sweep through the Assembly and Parliament. Baillie wrote: "We trust God will arise and do something by our Scots army." And again more naively, and with a sincere trust in Jehovah, he would not "haste till it please God to advance our army, which will much assist our arguments." Those arguments were with the Independents on Church polity. If properly assisted they might bring "a gracious reformation both in Church and state, not only to these dominions, but also to others abroad, whose eyes and hearts are much towards our motions," and thus covenanted presbytery might unify all Protestant mankind. It was a grand hope. What of the assistance by "our army?"

About seven miles west of York, on a July evening, 1644, was fought the disorderly battle of Marston Moor, the bloodiest of the war. Cromwell, who seems to have led the forlorn hope in the dark hour of confusion and rout, described it as "an absolute victory obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally." There were four notable results: (1) A rapid decline of the king's cause. All the east half of England was soon in the hands of parliament. (2) The military power of Cromwell was increased. In England he stood forth as the hero of Marston Moor. In London the news ran that the Ironsides won the day and that the Scots fled. (3) The credit of

a young Lancashire curate, found that Kepler had erred in calculating the transit of Venus, in 1639. He preached his sermon on Sunday afternoon, hurried to his room, and had only half an hour to see what no other man saw, the planet traveling across the disc of the sun. So the clergy did something for science.

the victory went to the Independents, and greatly affected ecclesiastical interests. Worse news soon came to managing Baillie, for in the south-west the two Presbyterian generals, Essex and Waller, were sorely beaten by the king. And still worse, in Scotland, Montrose, with a rabble of wild Highlanders and savage Irish, scattered the Covenanters, made a larger raid than usual, and wintered in the glens. The next September, 1645, he was utterly defeated at Philiphaugh, and he wandered abroad five years plotting conquests on other lines. So the Covenant was safe once more in Scotland, while south of the Tweed it had to wrestle with army-independency. (4) An absorbing theme was speedily flung into the Westminster Assembly—that of toleration.

III. THE GRAND DEBATE ON TOLERATION.

The first really great debate among Protestants on religious toleration was in England. It is one key to the history of this period. The discussion ran from theologians and statesmen through all ranks of the people. It reached camp-fires and ale-houses. It affected all public interests. A literature, surprising in quantity and spirit, was employed in ventilating an old question. From the times of Wyclif and Sir Thomas More there had been, here and there all over Europe, a man pleading for liberty of belief. The demand came from every persecuted sect. "Men begged to be tolerated long before they learned to tolerate." When all Churches and citizens should have their turn of adversity, the sacred and the universal rights of liberty would burn deep into the common consciousness. Thus the public spirit of Christianity, lost for ages, would be regained. How it was restored is nowhere more clearly seen than in English history. We may know what our present religious liberty is worth, if we study the conflicts of an epoch, when the very word *toleration* had all varieties of meanings, and men, who had some true notion of it, tried to fling light into the chaos of writers and parties, or, thinking that it meant the sanction of all opinions, fought it bravely, and with a zeal for the dominance of a faith. The parties, not all of them organized, may be grouped about their principles. We shall specify none but those who admitted the right of the state to punish overt crimes, and (unless we except Roger Williams) recognized some vis-

ible form of the Church, with its right to discipline erring members.*

1. No National Church, and unlimited toleration by the state, or rather absolute liberty of faith and worship. (Among the English Separatists in Holland was Rev. John Smyth, who probably immersed himself, felt so averse to liturgies that he thought the Bible ought not to be read publicly in churches, nor psalms sung from a printed page, gave an Arminian shape to his vague theology, and at Amsterdam (1608-9) gathered a flock of English Baptists, who began to be more clearly distinguished from the Anabaptists.) With their next pastor, Thomas Helwisse, they put forth, in 1611, a Declaration of Faith, in which they said: "The magistrate is not to meddle with religion or matters of conscience, nor compel men to this or that form of religion, because Christ is the king and lawgiver of the Church and conscience." Professor Masson regards this as "the first expression of the absolute principles of liberty of conscience in the public articles of any body of Christians." When some of them returned Helwisse gathered in an obscure retreat the first congregation of Arminian Baptists in London. King James and Parliament may have tried to find it, if the poor working-man, Leonard Busher, was a member thereof, and if they meditated on his "Plea for Liberty of Conscience," printed in 1614, for the enlightening of their minds. Similar tracts followed, probably from the same conventicle. If these lowly people did not virtually unchurch all non-immersers, their voices deserved a more careful hearing in high quarters. But their pleas were not the first, in England, on that subject. In 1601 Lord Bacon advocated the toleration of Romanists. Not later than 1605 some writer, who was answered as a "Puritan Papist," argued strongly for the abolition of all civil laws which restrained the freedom of conscience, faith, and worship.

* There were sects which, unrestrained, would have produced social, civil, moral, and religious anarchy, and become bad citizens. The broadest Tolerationists who are worthy of our notice did not mean to indulge them in crimes openly committed in the name of "pretended conscience." They raised the question whether such criminals should be punished as religionists or as citizens by the state. Their answer virtually was: Let the Church discipline her voluntary members with excommunication as the extreme penalty; and let the state justly punish criminals as citizens, but not make mere non-conformity a crime. Such a theory was as startling in that age as its opposite would be to us.

This principle found a louder voice in Roger Williams, who was more than a year in England (1643-4) getting a slender charter for his Rhode Island colony, and very active in relieving the wants of the poor in London. He was now growing out of "the Baptist way," and was a progressive seeker, rather hopeless of finding any true Church on earth, but fascinating in his magnanimity towards all men, if we must not except the poor Quakers.* As the guest of the younger Harry Vane, he could talk eloquently in high circles. His stormful books† threw out such flashes of Welsh fire as these: "No National Church instituted by Christ. Evil is always evil, yet permission of it may in case be good. It is the will and command of God that . . . permission of the most pagan, Jewish, Turkish, or Antichristian consciences and worships be granted to all men in all nations; they are to be fought against only with the sword of the Spirit, the Word of God. The civil power owes three things to the true Church of Christ: Approbation, Submission [of the believing rulers to membership], and Protection. The civil magistrate owes two things to false worshipers: Permission and Protection." Leaving this advice to England, humane Roger shipped for America. What fire his "bloody tenet" drew will presently appear.

2. A National Church with unlimited toleration. Such men as Williams and John Goodwin (not Calvinistic Thomas in the Assembly, but the unformulated Arminian) could scarcely hope for more than this in England. Parliament was not likely to adopt the voluntary principle of Church support. In his radical books John Goodwin shot far beyond his calmer, inde-

* Baillie wrote: "My good acquaintance, Mr. Roger Williams, says there is no Church, no sacraments, no pastors, no Church-officers, or ordinance in the world, nor has there been since a few years after the apostles." Williams was then the chief, if not the founder, of the sect of the Seekers after truth and a Church. The Quakers were as eager for liberty of conscience as he was, but he came to think them "insufferably proud and contemptuous unto all their superiors in using *thou* to every body. . . . I have therefore publicly declared myself that a due and moderate restraint and punishment of these incivilities, though pretending conscience, is so far from persecution, properly so called, that it is a duty and command of God unto all mankind." Thus, in 1672, good Roger wrote.

† The Bloody Tenet [Bloody Tenet] of Persecution, 1643. Certain "Queries" to Parliament and the Westminster Assembly, 1644. When next in England, 1652, he published "The Hireling Ministry none of Christ."

pendent brethren, and he alarmed the camp of Baillie, who fairly described him thus: "He is a bitter enemy of presbytery, and is openly for a full liberty of conscience of all sects, even Turks, Jews, Papists." But this did not mean full license of immorality. On this ground we shall find John Locke.

3. A National Church with no toleration provided by law; that is, uniformity required by law in the Church, and the religious freedom of dissenters left to the discretion of the rulers of the state or the State-Church. Thus conformity was essential to good citizenship; the one was virtually identical with the other. This had all along been the Anglican theory. Laud had reduced discretionary tolerance to a minimum. Religious dissent was construed as political rebellion. The king's party would, if possible, restore prelacy on this basis. If any other party then in Britain held this principle it must be sought among the advocates of presbytery. Some of them will appear in our next class, but there were extremists in their ranks. None of them understood the word *toleration* in our sense as a "permission for the free exercise of a religion different from that established." We do not readily understand it in their sense. They thought that it involved indorsement, sanction, the legalization of error, and even of overt crime by both state and Church. They thought that religious error deserved punishment by the civil laws, that a "pretended conscience" was no shelter for it, and that a Presbyterian conscience was attainable by all honest souls. To grant freedom to a heretic was to approve the heresy. To require popular conformity and yet allow personal non-conformity was to make the law a dead letter; it was driving the law into suicide.

What was their notion of intolerance? Simply the mental and moral condemnation, or even hatred, of error? If so, it was a righteous sentiment common to all just men. Error in religion was like pain in Mr. Coleman, whose severe illness evoked the prayers and visits of the Assembly divines, or like the indwelling sin of the saintly Rutherford; intolerable, unsanctioned, and yet not a thing to be repressed by the laws of Parliament. Or did they mean the judicial punishment—not merely Church excommunication—of the errorist by the state? Candor must attribute the second sense to one party of the Presbyterians. The Scots had it in their laws, and the English

had it in the polity of Cartwright. The magnanimous Henderson, in his proposals for the treaty of Ripon, 1640-1, argued that by his scheme of union on the basis of presbytery, "all heresies, errors, and schisms, abounding under episcopal government, shall be suppressed" by the agencies and laws of Church and state. In their Covenant they had sworn to attempt the extirpation of all such evils, lest they should "partake in other men's sins." Parliament had ordered the Assembly to devise measures for uniformity, and the Presbyterians there meant to do it in the face of all sectaries who were defining toleration in alarming senses. They were not the men to shirk that hard but welcome duty.

Their Epiphanius was Rev. Thomas Edwards, with his "Gangræna," or expository catalogue of one hundred and seventy-six errors and heresies, which he urged Parliament to repress by law, at the earliest moment. In his view, the vast jungle of them grew rankest on the soil of Arminianism and in the moisture of Independency; they flourished most wherever Calvinism and presbytery were feeblest. Scotland alone had no legal climate for them; and was not the remedy for the errors of England simple enough? "Oh, let ministers oppose toleration, as that by which the devil would at once lay a foundation for his kingdom through all generations." And Satan's masterpiece was in the scheme of the Assembly Independents, "holy men, excellent preachers, moderate and fair men," who sought the "allowance of a latitude to some lesser differences with peaceableness." Edwards thus uttered the convictions of a troop of special pleaders who rushed into print. His books were in demand, but he was too rancorous to be the leader of a winning party.

The real leaders of this party regarded the national Church of England as a ship on which mutiny was rising; absolute authority must be used until the danger of anarchy was laid. Then the religious differences which remained might be indulged at the discretion of wise rulers, and thus have no sanction of law. The view was not unreasonable in that age; and there were judicious, kind-hearted men, who could be intrusted with such a discretionary toleration, if monarchs would permit.

4. A National Church, with limited toleration by the state. This was the middle ground of that day. On it all dissenters,

regarded as evangelical, should have liberty; but dangerous errors, though held with a "pretended conscience," should be repressed by the civil law. This was the theory of the Calvinistic Independents, from the time of John Robinson to that of John Owen, who would have civil rulers restrain and coerce the open deniers of essential truths. It was in full blast in the state Churches of New England, where Thomas Shepard wrote, "It is Satan's policy to plead for an indefinite and boundless toleration," and other good men used stronger terms.*

Baillie thought that the Independents in the Assembly, "most able men and of great credit, feared no less than banishment from their native country if presbyteries were erected in England." Perhaps they did. During the earlier debates on Church polity they put forth the famous Apologetical Narration (January, 1644), in which they stated their principles, told of their experiences in exile, and besought Parliament "to allow them to continue in their native country, with the enjoyment of the ordinances of Christ, and an indulgence in some lesser differences, as long as they continue peaceable subjects." Baillie says, "We were mightily displeased there with, and so was most of the Assembly." This Apology was one stimulus to the many writers and preachers against toleration and the sects.† It drew many a heavier craft into the dreary ocean of debate.

When Army Independency was flushed with the triumph at Marston Moor the majority of the Assembly, alarmed at the increase and boldness of the sectaries, urged Parliament to show some vigor in repressing them, according to the terms of the Covenant. One result was that the "Bloody Tenet" was officially burnt. Herbert Palmer, in a fast-day sermon before Parliament, referred to other books which demanded freedom for all religions as worthy of the fire. One of them was John Milton's "wicked book, deserving to be burnt" for its abom-

* "Even in the New England colonies, where Congregationalism was the rule, there were not only spiritual censures and excommunications of heretics, but whippings, banishments, and other punishments of them, by the civil power." (Masson, *Life of Milton*, III, 109, to whom I am much indebted in these sections.)

† The Assembly Independents justly complained that they were included among the "sectaries" whose opinions were described in volumes by Prynne, Edwards, Paget, Featly (episcopal), Baxter, and our friend Baillie in his "Disuasive."

inable doctrine of divorce. Milton was soon in the troubles of law. He threw out the most famous of his tracts, the "Areopagitica; or Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing." It was to do effective service in the long battle for the freedom of the press. It marks the time, 1644, when he had no more lofty praise for the Westminster divines, and went over to the Cromwellian Independents. Eloquent for civil and religious liberty, he wanted no tolerance shown to popery and open superstitions, for they were destructive of true religion and free governments.

This vigorous movement against the sectaries and books in their interest roused Cromwell. He came to Westminster and moved the House of Commons; and Baillie tells how he suddenly obtained an order for considering "the accommodation, or toleration, of the Independents—a high and unexpected order! . . . This has much afflicted us." The order meant this: Let the Presbyterians and Independents endeavor to unite on a Church polity; if union is not possible, let them try to find some safe way of indulging tender consciences, so that they may have freedom under the coming establishment; and let it come soon, for England has no Church government. Presbyter Marshall had a hand in this expedient to hasten forward the Assembly's work. The parties could not agree on a polity, but their mutual love and admiration increased. Most of the Presbyterians in the Assembly and Parliament were more disposed to indulge the lesser differences. With all his ardent words against toleration, Baillie wished errors to be put down without "secular violence." When Rutherford sent out his book against "Pretended Liberty of Conscience," with the old logic for taking the little foxes, he left room for the treatment of pious non-conformists with forbearance. Still later his "Lex Rex"—Law is King—showing that royalty is not of divine right, was a noble defense of popular liberty.

The Marquis of Argyle, on a visit at Westminster, June, 1646, delivered and printed a speech, which made a great and happy impression on the Londoners. Doubtless he spoke for the more indulgent Presbyterians when he said: "We must beware of some rocks on the right and left hand, and hold the middle path. Upon the one part, we should take heed not to settle lawless liberty in religion, whereby, instead of uniformity,

we should set up a thousand heresies and schisms. . . . Upon the other part, we are to look that we persecute not piety and peaceable men, who can not, through scruple of conscience, come up in all things to the common rule [of faith and polity]; but that they may have such a forbearance as may be according to the Word of God, may consist with the Covenant, and not be destructive to the rule itself, nor to the peace of the Church and kingdom."

All parties in the Assembly agreed on the doctrine, which came for the first time into a public Confession of Faith, that "God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are in any thing contrary to his Word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship." This must be read in the light of their time if we would know what they meant by it. The majority of them also declared that the civil magistrate (ruler) "hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order . . . that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, . . . and all the ordinances of God be duly settled, administered, and observed;" also that "tolerating a false religion" is a sin forbidden by the Second Commandment.* This old doctrine of civil authority went for the last time into a Protestant creed. It was meant to work in the interest of true liberty, which had to come by eternal truths and on fortified lines, and liberty happily survived the rigorous means and methods of guarding it.

IV. THE WESTMINSTER SYSTEM ESTABLISHED.

1. *The Westminster Formularies.* The construction of the four things mentioned in the Covenant went on quite simultaneously, and were ratified by Parliament in the following order:

(1) The Directory for Worship, to take the place of the English liturgy, but far less liturgical. With this was the

*The last phrase quoted was erased, and the articles on the powers and duties of the civil magistrate were greatly modified, in 1788, by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Other Presbyterian Churches in America and Great Britain have also far more mildly defined the authority of civil rulers in matters of religion. One of them officially declares that civil rulers "ought not to punish any as heretics or schismatics," nor "in the least interfere to regulate matters of faith and worship." On this important subject there has been a general departure from the Westminster theory.

Psalmody, by Sir Francis Rous, an old, most honest member of both Parliament and Assembly.

(2) The Form of Presbyterian Church Government, to supplant the episcopal system. It was the first and last topic of debate, and was never completed satisfactorily to any of the parties.

(3) The Confession of Faith. This seems to have been based very largely on the Irish Articles of Archbishop Ussher. Its framers had each vowed to "maintain nothing in point of doctrine but what I believe to be most agreeable to the Word of God." They did not absurdly divorce theology from logic and philosophy. They formulated doctrines which, they thought, "by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture." They gave a more full and scientific expression to their beliefs than ever had been given by Protestants. They avowed a widely branched theology. The area of formulated doctrines must equal the field of popular discussion. Whatever the framers regarded as the chief errors of all ages found a protest in the Confession. Between the members were germs of nearly all the doctrinal differences which still lie within Calvinism. They had sharper, longer, more scholastic discussions on theological points than has usually been represented.* Their extremest definitions were quite moderate in those controversial days. The Confession was meant to be conservative; a fair, honest compromise between the parties. John Selden did not believe it all—certainly not its predestination—yet he and others voted for it, as he said, not personally, but conventionally, or as a system. Thus men of that day, such as Baxter, accepted it; and men of variant theologies in our time continue to eulogize it as "the outline of a perfect system of divinity." Dr. Daniel Curry, well known as an earnest Methodist, with no sanction of its peculiar doctrines, frankly says that it "is the clearest and most comprehensive system of doctrine ever formed. . . . It is not only a wonderful monument of the intellectual greatness of its framers, but

* This fact comes to light in the long-lost and recently published "Minutes of the Westminster Assembly, 1644-49;" edited by Professor A. F. Mitchell, D. D., and Rev. John Struthers, D. D., Edinburgh, 1874. On limited atonement, or the Saumur theory that Christ died hypothetically for all mankind, though efficaciously only for the elect, Baillie tells of "a long and tough debate; yet, thanks to God! all is gone right, according to our mind."

also a comprehensive embodiment of nearly all the precious truths of the Gospel."

(4) The two Catechisms. The Larger, so full of practical theology drawn out with over-minuteness, was chiefly the work of Dr. Anthony Tuckney, the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge. The Shorter, in which were the compressing hands of John Wallis and Herbert Palmer, is a remarkable specimen of exact verbal expression and scientific definition.

2. *Presbytery established in England.* During the years 1645-1649 there were two movements, contemporaneous and opposite; one largely political, the other ecclesiastical. By one the Presbyterians were losing military control and popularity; by the other they gained the establishment of their Church polity in law. In the one were these events:

(1) The failure of the attempted treaty with the king at Uxbridge (January, 1645) was a severe blow to the Presbyterians. He would not take the Covenant, but they were committed as royalists.*

(2) By the Self-denying Ordinance of Parliament none of its then existing members could hold any executive office, civil or military. Cromwell, who had moved it, was excepted, and the rule did not apply to future members. The existing Presbyterian generals were practically cashiered. The new elections to fill vacancies in Parliament brought in good civilians of their party, but not military men, and among the new members were several of Cromwell's best army officers—some of them were lawyers—who could both vote there and command on the field of battle.

(3) The New Model of the army, on the plan of the Ironsides, was intended to clear it of partisan and club-house generals, and fill it with men who would fight as patriots and not as sectarians, and not be afraid of hurting the enemy. They need not take the Covenant. Lord Fairfax had the chief command, but the genius of Cromwell was pre-eminent. In this army was John Bunyan, "not yet writing his 'Pilgrim's Pro-

* Not unreasonably; for, though they had just sent Laud to the block (January 10, 1645), they were conservative as to the monarchy, and the king still held nearly half of England. The country west of a line drawn from Carlisle to Oxford and Portsmouth was mainly royal; nearly all east of it was parliamentary. Also Montrose was not yet routed from Scotland, and Ireland was mainly royalist.

gress' on paper, but acting it on the face of the earth, with a brown match-lock on his shoulder." Cromwell reported: "Presbyterians, Independents, all have here the same spirit of faith and prayer; they agree here, have no names of difference; pity it should be otherwise anywhere! . . . And for brethren, in things of the mind we look for no compulsion, but that of light and reason. In other things God hath put the sword in the Parliament's hands. . . . If any plead exemption from that, he knows not the Gospel." The newspapers said these sentences were "very remarkable," and so do we. Lingard says of these Ironsides: "They divided their time between military duties and prayer; they sang psalms as they advanced to the charge. . . . The soldiers of God proved more than a match for the soldiers of the monarch." This intended irony was quite the truth in their victory at Naseby (June, 1645), which went to the further credit of army-independency.

(4) The agents of Charles made a secret treaty with the Irish (August, 1645), by which he was to grant the Romanists in all his realm full liberty, and they were to send him twenty thousand soldiers. He wrote to the pope for the papal sanction of this scheme. At this very time he was trying to bring Parliament to terms of peace, and saying, "I will never abrogate the laws against the papists." The plot was not detected for two months. The Independents had the treaty read in Parliament. The London newspapers were alive with indignation. "Kings often deal like watermen; look one way and row another." His army was soon disbanded, and the Irish did not come. This was not the last of his double-dealing. While offering to come to London and treat with the Presbyterians, he was secretly proposing to the Independents liberty of conscience if they would uproot presbytery. "I am not without hope," he wrote, "that I shall be able to draw either the Presbyterians or Independents to side with me, for extirpating the one or the other, that I shall be really king again." The Presbyterians might have abandoned all hope of covenanting him, if he had not made a new move.

(5) Acting under the advice of a French agent, sent by Cardinal Mazarin, who hoped to reinstate Charles by means of the Presbyterians and papists, he secretly wandered to the camp of the Scots at Newark, and put himself in their hands. They

told him that they had no part in the French scheme. They could not endure a league with Romanists. Both he and they wished they were miles apart. In London, the Independents were enraged. They felt outwitted. They saw what must come if the king bent to the Solemn League. A crisis hung on his nod. The majority of the House of Commons would no longer trust him. They would risk any thing rather than his license of popery. They requested the Scots to say what was owing to their long-unpaid army, and to retire from the kingdom. The Scots found that the king had no intention of taking the Covenant, nor had they of selling him, commercially, if he refused. At last they surrendered him to the commissioners of Parliament, with the understanding that "no harm should be done to his person." The much-needed arrears were paid them. "They got their money, but more than their money's worth of abuse," then and ever since. But on their homeward way (January, 1647), with the curses of royalist women flung at them, they took comfort in thinking that the uncovenanted king was in the hands of the English Presbyterians. Would they bring him to terms?

The wonder is that, in this stream of events, presbytery was legalized in England. We need not wonder that it had to depend on law, rather than love for the system. By acts of Parliament, extending from January, 1645, through nearly four years, it was formally established.* The local churches were, if possible, to be reorganized with Presbyterian sessions. The five millions of English people were expected to worship according to the Directory, for "the indulgence to tender consciences shall not extend to tolerate the Common Prayer." The ten thousand parishes were to be grouped into presbyteries, or classes, and these into provincial synods. As to representation, there was a consistent plan. The congregations were to be represented in their sessions; the sessions, in the presbyteries, by delegates; the presbyteries, in the synods; the synods (about sixty) in the National Assembly; and the assembly, in the hopefully future council of Pan-presbyterianism. A grand scheme, if England's people and other mankind would take to it heartily!

The only provinces where there was any depth of earth for

*Parliament did not ratify certain chapters of the Westminster Confession relating to Church courts and the civil power.

the system were London and Lancashire. The citizens of London were so resolutely Presbyterian that they could storm the doors of Parliament when it seemed to flinch from the Covenant, and many of the one hundred and twenty parish ministers were as heroic. Yet the twelve presbyteries of that province were annoyed with the growth of sects; with the increase of private meetings, eleven in one parish; with preaching by women and ignorant men, and with the failures of Parliament to repress them. The system was more thoroughly rooted in Lancashire, and had there a longer existence. One part of the vast plan was to fill all the university chairs with such professors as were described by Dr. Anthony Tuckney, when he was urged to appoint "only the true godly" as teachers in Cambridge, and he replied, with admirable sense, "No man has a greater respect than I have to the truly godly; but I am determined to choose none but *scholars*. They may deceive me in their godliness; they can not in their scholarship." Another effort was to endow good schools in every parish. There may still be found in rural districts of England, here and there a school with a small endowment for the master who shall teach the Shorter Catechism.

3. *Historical reasons for the failure of the system in England.* The want of suitable pastors, of subscription to the Confession, and of the Church's right to make her discipline final,* and the towering influence of Cromwell, have been alleged. They had their effects. But the real causes lay deeper.

(1) The polity was not an English product. It was an importation, an exotic, for which there was no popular demand. It came as one of the accidents of a great political revolution. The people could not separate it from political measures, when it was forced on them by Parliament. Prelacy was their birth-right, and they were not in a mood for lectures on the divine right of presbytery.

(2) It cost too much; cost deep sorrows and poverties, for all Anglican parsons, who refused both Covenant and conformity, had feelings of the human kind, and some had families, with all the human liabilities to starvation and wretchedness, when turned out of their homes. The Anglican Fuller says that "many were outed for their misdemeanors; some were

* Note II.

guilty of scandalous enormities." But "many others were rigorously cast out for following their preceding judgments and consciences," and he was one of the best of them, "being punished for the same with the loss of my livelihood." From 1640 to 1653 about sixteen hundred clergymen were permanently ousted, for various reasons, by order of Parliament. One-fifth of their former livings was granted them. Not all of them were Episcopalians. Those who were termed "malignants" suffered worse things than ejection. The best men felt that sharpest pain which comes from a sense of wrong done to them, and a right taken away by force.

(3) By failing to offer toleration, the leading champions of presbytery missed their grandest opportunity. They let slip their last fair chance in 1647, when they had won the captive king almost to their terms. They would disband the army, for the first civil war had ended. They would restate him on his throne and exempt him from the Covenant, if he would give their system a trial of three years. To check this movement, the generals of the army contrived to get possession of the king, led their troops nearer to London, and said in their manifesto to its council, "We desire no alteration in the civil government. As little do we desire to interrupt the settling of the presbyterial government." They asked that every good, upright, moral citizen might have liberty of conscience and worship. Assure us of our rights as soldiers, and of a speedy settlement of national affairs, and "we shall be most ready to disband, or to go for Ireland."

To have Cromwell "go for Ireland" on such terms, seems to us reasonable. But Parliament did not grant them. Extremes demands came from the army. The generals sought to bring the king to their terms. Parliament was pressed on two sides, and swinging between the demands of the army and the dictation of a London mob. Charles escaped to the Isle of Wight, and was placed in Carisbrook Castle. There certain Scots visited him, and entered into their Engagement to enthronize him, and thus have presbytery royally established in England for three years, and secure a repression of the Independents and all the sects.* The Engagers were to co-operate

* "Scotland is in a disastrous, distracted condition; overridden by a Hamilton majority in [its] Parliament. Poor Scotland will, with exertion, deliver its

with bands of insurgents in England, Wales, and Ireland. These uprisings in various quarters simultaneously, might draw the army away from London, break it into fragments, and ruin Cromwell. Then came one of the most desperate political strokes. Just when the king's hopes of mastery were reburied; when he was making tools of men whom he would certainly deceive; when the second civil war had begun; when every great liberty was in peril; when moderate Presbyterians were disposed to grant a wise toleration; when the Independents, who had controlled the House of Commons for some weeks, had sent their military members to the separate fields of war; and when the Westminster Assembly had done its main work, and dwindled into a mere committee for examining ministers, the extremists of Parliament struck a fatal blow to their own cause. They passed an ordinance, in May, 1648, condemning to imprisonment all persons found guilty of maintaining openly certain opinions, such as these: that presbytery was Antichristian, or infant baptism unlawful;* also punishing with death, without benefit of clergy, all persons found guilty of willfully teaching, writing, or printing opinions contrary to the legalized doctrines of the Trinity, Atonement, Inspired Canon, Resurrection, and Final Judgment! It was not so bad as an old law of the High Commission, and yet it amazes us. It was an intended *coup d'état*. But the political stroke recoiled on Parliament. Another step will show an effect of it.

(4) The new system was too deeply implicated in the royalist politics of the second civil war. The Scottish Engagement was a renewal of the former attempts to treat with the king on the basis of covenanted uniformity. It rent the Northern Covenanters into two parties, and, says Baillie, "it was the great and only question for the time." The Duke of Hamilton led some twenty thousand Engagers down to Preston (August, 1648), where Cromwell drove him "into as miserable ruin as his worst enemy could wish." Elsewhere the insurgents were put down. The second civil war in England had a

'king from the power of sectaries;' and is dreadfully uncertain what it will do with him when delivered! Perhaps Oliver will save it the trouble!" (Carlyle's Cromwell, Letter LXI.)

*This would have put several officers of the army, such as Fleetwood and Hutchinson, and more of its chaplains, into prison.

swift end. It was transferred to Scotland. Argyle, David Leslie, and other anti-engaging lords who wanted no uncovenanted king, were at the head of the Protesters and Whigs of the West. On their side was the General Assembly of the kirk. Cromwell went up to aid them in their struggle. The Engagers were severely repressed for a time, but the two parties had long strifes in the kirk. Argyle was chief in the new government, and friendly to the advanced party in England. So Cromwell, and not Charles, was the gainer by the plot.

The king's hope was now in a treaty with Parliament. But neither he nor it was trusted when liberty was at stake. The Ironside army was at hand. Colonel Pride administered his notable purge. About one hundred and forty Presbyterian and royalist members of the House of Commons were barred out or frightened away. Scarcely sixty members were left. They may be termed Cromwellians. Their High Court tried, deposed, and beheaded the king, January 30, 1649, for treason. John Milton was the first eminent man, outside of Parliament, who boldly justified the deed in his "Tenure of Kings," and that judgment has been confirmed by a long train of judicial writers. But the apology for "the royal martyr" at once took the extreme form of a marvelous worship, which exalted his sufferings into a parallel with those of Christ, and still asserts that—

"A monarch from his throne
Springs to his cross and finds his glory there."*

English presbytery, on the basis of covenanted uniformity, made no further advance. With all its excellent men, great principles, large aims in theology, discipline, and education, it lay entangled in the meshes of politics. Its mistake had been in its methods. It had all along been in the control of a Parliament which was mighty in deposing an old ecclesiasticism, but was not apostolic in using political force to establish a new system.

V. THE COMMONWEALTH AND BRITISH CHURCHES.

Early in 1649 the government of England began its career as a commonwealth, with no king, no House of Lords, no Westminster Assembly, and not much Scottish Covenant, but

* Keble's Christian Year.

with a simpler Engagement* for binding the people to its interests; with the House of Commons which held on to its power through four longer years (some absent members returning); with a Council of State, whose secretary of foreign tongues was John Milton; with Oliver Cromwell very soon as commander-in-chief of the dictatorial army; with presbytery in existence by law rather than life; and with an outlook that was extremely dismal. All affairs, civil and religious, were at a crisis. Levellers, communists, and fifth-monarchy men had to be promptly taught, by military scourging, that their millennium had not dawned. The motto of the new republic might well have been England against the world, for, so far as it could yet hear, the exterior old world was in tremendous wrath, since the ax had fallen on the divine right of kings. Prince Charles Stuart, in his twentieth year, sheltered in Holland by the president, his brother-in-law, was hastily recognized as England's king by most of the chief European powers. The next news might be that he had landed royally either in Ireland or Scotland, for in both he had been proclaimed king.† In a large degree Cromwell's sword and Milton's pen were to reverse this dismal outlook.

1. *The policy in Ireland.* In August, 1649, Cromwell was sent to Ireland, where Derry and Dublin were the chief places in the hands of the commonwealth. He had to fight Protestants and papists, and he kept the latter mindful of that "most barbarous massacre that ever the sun beheld." He began with the storming of Drogheda. If the three thousand defenders of its garrison were chiefly of English blood, they were leagued with native Celts, who rarely gave quarter. He had not been a cruel warrior, and but one direct witness started the charge that even the unarmed towns-people were willfully ordered to be

* "I do declare and promise that I will be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, as the same is established, without a king, or a House of Lords." After January, 1650, it was required to be subscribed by all the men of the realm. It practically set aside the Covenant.

† Three parties were pressing Charles II with treaties on different bases; the Anglicans, on condition of restored episcopacy; the papists, on that of full toleration for themselves; and the Covenanting Presbyterians, on that of the Solemn League. The two last probably knew that they must provide against the Stuart facility of lying, and they felt able to manage him. If not, their blindness is amazing to us.

slaughtered. There was a butchery too terrible for our defense.* But Cromwell's report softens the reddest colors of the accusation. Of his troops he says: "Being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any *that were in arms* in the town." If all the military officers were slain the small remnant of the soldiers who surrendered were nearly all shipped for the Barbadoes. He said: "I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future; which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions which otherwise can not but work remorse and regret." The Irish royalists were appalled. When other cities were taken by less severe methods, he challenged the papal clergy, who had published accusations against him, to show an instance of one man, by his orders willfully slain, or banished, or deprived of his lands, who was not in arms, or busy (as the priests were) in arming the people; and who had not thus forfeited his life and property.

Ireland was effectually conquered. A new religious policy was inaugurated by Cromwell as lord-lieutenant, and as protector. (1) The leaders of the Romanists were treated with great severity. Cromwell undertook to settle their rebellious nobles and landed gentry in Connaught; shut them in there as political lepers, and apportioned their houses and lands to his unpaid soldiers, to Englishmen who had advanced money for the Irish war, and to all Protestants, even Bohemians, who would come. More successful was the scheme of banishing, on twenty days' notice, the Jesuits and all the papal clergy. If they remained, they were liable to death for treason. More than a thousand of them went into exile. Some were imprisoned for years. Only one Romish prelate remained on the island. This rigor would have its reaction. (2) The Estab

* Carlyle says: "Terrible surgery this; but is it surgery and judgment, or atrocious murder merely? That is a question that should be asked and answered. Oliver Cromwell did believe in God's judgments, and did not believe in the rose-water plan of surgery—which, in fact, is this editor's case, too. . . . An armed soldier solemnly conscious to himself that he is the soldier of God the Just—a consciousness which it well beseems all soldiers and all men to have always—armed soldier, terrible as death, relentless as doom; doing God's judgments on the enemies of God! It is a phenomenon not of joyful nature; no, but of awful, to be looked at with pious terror and awe."

lished Church had been too remote from the Long Parliament for the actual abolition of its episcopacy. Some of its clergy had joined the Covenanters. Its intense royalism did not suit Cromwell. The liturgy was repressed. But some of its most heroic clergy used it during all his time. He granted pensions to several bishops, especially the non-resident Ussher. (3) The Presbyterians had flourished in Ulster during the covenanting years. They had adopted the Westminster standards. They were sincere monarchists. Their presbytery sent forth a declaration,* strong and severe, in which they denounced "the insolencies of the sectarian party in England," and the execution of the king as "an act so horrible as no history, divine or human, ever had a precedent to the like." They had the Covenant renewed in their churches the next Sabbath. Those who refused were brought under discipline. A colonel who subscribed only the moral part of it was required to acknowledge his sin and offense publicly, and tear out his qualification. The ministers were in this mood when one of Cromwell's generals required their names to the engagement for the commonwealth. A few qualifiedly signed it. The rest pleaded conscience and Covenant, and refused. A prison did not bring them to terms. They were told that "they must be gone." Some of them went to Scotland. A heroic twenty-four, dressed as laymen, slipped about among their parishioners, rarely lodged at home, won favor as honest men, preached in barns and glens, prayed always for "the lawful magistrate," and hoped for royal times. Better times came without the royalty, and one of their knights thus gave the reason: "For Oliver, coming to the supreme ordering of affairs [1653], did not force any engagement or promise upon people contrary to their conscience, knowing that forced obligations of that kind will bind no man. . . . Thus ministers in the country began to enjoy great liberty in their ministry, and their brethren in Scotland began to return in peace to their parishes." Henry Cromwell, acting for his father, was firm, just, conciliatory to all Protestants. Although presbytery was not openly allowed, its eighty ministers retained their Church sessions, received aid from the

*In imitation of "the worthy ministers of the province of London," who published their protest ten days after the king's death. Milton officially answered the Irish declaration with needless sarcasm.

civil government, organized new Churches in several counties, and joyed in their prosperity. (4) Cromwell made earnest efforts to supply Ireland with preachers, such as he thought were godly men, more intent on practical Christianity than upon Churchism. The trouble was to find evangelical men, who were in sympathy with his toleration and republicanism. Among the volunteers who came were Quakers. They got a foothold, but were roughly handled.* Most of the one hundred and fifty ministers who were allowed stipends were Baptists, nearly all of them tradesmen, mechanics, army officers, with discordant theologies. The more learned of them planted no enduring Churches. The independents were quite largely and more ably represented, while John Owen and Stephen Charnocke remained. Under the protectorate Ireland prospered as never before, socially, civilly, in farming and trading, in wealth and peace.

2. *The policy in Scotland.* By acts running from February, 1645, through four years, the General Assembly and Parliament of Scotland had joyfully adopted the Westminster formularies, each as "a part of the covenanted uniformity." The immense fact in the civil and religious history of the Scots, through forty longer years, is their absorbing devotion to the international covenant. It did not stand alone. It carried with it a system of theology and Church polity, and the Protesters long insisted that the three kingdoms were morally and politically bound to adopt the entire system, and put down every thing in conflict with it. They sincerely felt that the Lord had entered into that Covenant with his peculiar people. On its basis he was supposed to govern the British Isles and dispense his mercies and judgments. By it they urged "the crown-rights of the Redeemer" and the liberties of the Church. It explains the almost theocratic position of their divines in all affairs, even military. It was made a test of admission to the Gospel ministry, to the Lord's Supper, to the best social privileges, and to civil rights. Even a more rigid test was applied, by the

*The Journal of their Irish apostle, an Antrim trader who traveled over all the British Isles and in America, for his faith, was read by John Wesley with this comment: "His opinions I leave; but what a spirit was there! What faith, love, gentleness, long-suffering! Could mistakes send such a man to hell? Not so. . . . I scruple not to say, 'Let my soul be with the soul of Wm. Edmundson!'" (Wesley, Journal in Ireland.)

strictest party, to civil and military services.* It rang out in the war-cry, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." It made heroes. It was to have its noble army of martyrs. Its enemy was treated as the enemy of Scotland and of God. The supporters of Argyle righteously scorned the advances of that brilliant anti-covenanter, Montrose, when he returned in the interest of Prince Charles, for he sought to give them a king without the covenant, and with a liturgy. He was seized and hanged at Edinburgh.

They could forgive the house of Stuart if the prince would be their covenanted king. He made the promise. They proclaimed him. They invited him to Scotland. In June, 1650, on an anchored ship not far from Aberdeen, he swore to the great Covenant. A Frenchman said: "They compelled him to adopt it voluntarily." His forwardness in the matter surprised, but did not quite satisfy, the good divines who took him in charge for a much-needed spiritual and Presbyterian training. He landed. He heard their sermons—six on one fast-day—closely aimed at the Stuart iniquities. The General Assembly arranged "to congratulate his home-coming and to motion his renewing of the Covenant." They suspected that one oath was not enough to bind a Stuart of that epoch. He was still too profane and too fond of his roistering companions. He must sign a declaration of profound sorrow for his father's deadly opposition to the Covenant and his mother's papal idolatry and of deep sincerity in all his oaths. Before he shall be brought to that point they will be devising measures against that so-called "army of sectaries and blasphemers," marching north under the chief layman of the Independents, who are saying in London that any man able to see as far as a bat at noon "may well judge that Charles Stuart loves the Covenant as well as a Scotch presbyter loves a bishop."

* A leading Protester, Rev. James Guthrie, when executed by the agents of Charles II, in 1661, said of the Covenants: "These sacred, public oaths of God . . . are still binding upon these kingdoms, and will be so forever hereafter." He spoke for his party. While the Protesters controlled the General Assembly, their *Act of Classes*, 1649, debarred four classes of men, especially malignants and engagers, however patriotic or wise, from civil and military services. By it Parliament and the army were purged. Scores of officers and thousands of soldiers, eager to resist Cromwell, were ejected. Military defections were ascribed to a defective expurgation of "ungodly malignants."

Cromwell* struck for Edinburgh. Never had he such a month of failure as that of August, 1650, with defeat at the walls and starvation on the hills. He fell back to Dunbar and seemed to be entrapped. But Leslie's twenty thousand Covenanters rashly assailed half as many Ironsides, and were utterly wrecked. This victory gave Southern Scotland to the commonwealth. The north held out for the prince, who was crowned king the next January. During the war Charles suddenly dashed into England, hopeful that the men of Lancashire would rise in his cause. He rode into Worcester with only sixteen thousand soldiers, saw Cromwell with thirty thousand republicans at the walls, fought bravely on the fatal day (September 3d), escaped in the disguise of a peasant, and became an exile on the Continent for eight and a half years. Cromwell wrote of the victory: "It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy." It assured to the commonwealth the mastery of all the British dominions, and a friendly recognition by nearly all the European powers.

What was Cromwell's policy toward the kirk and state of Scotland? While he was there the leading ministers certainly did not fail in any conscious duty of rebuking him as a covenant-breaker and provoker of divine judgments. Nor did he fail in sharp replies: "I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken." Their mistake was in thinking that he had come to break down presbytery, to give "the Sectaries" a boundless toleration, and not simply to abolish covenanted Stuartism. When the last thing was so well done as to deserve a national thanksgiving, and General Monk was left to keep political order, they were surprised at the moderation of the conqueror. He claimed that he was promoting "the real ends of the Covenant," the mutual liberties of the Church and the state. For the first time Scotland was organically united to England, and with many beneficial results to her civil welfare.

The kirk lost one liberty. The loss may be traced to the distressing feud between her sons. One party was deposing the radical ministers of the other, yet none would stay deposed. Which side would Cromwell take? The Westland Whigs,

* Lord Fairfax had declined to go and thrown up his commission. This left Cromwell to be commander-in-chief.

never lured into covenanted Stuartism, were a link between him and the Protesters or remonstrants who had been most severe upon him. He remembered Argyle, and favored mainly the strict party; as Carlyle puts it, "He favored, above all things, the Christian-Gospel party, who had some good message in them for the soul of man." Its preachers, now a minority, were regarded as more spiritual by many of the people who crowded to their services. With them began the sacramental fasts, with an almost unbroken series of sermons for three or four days, every month, and with the most devout covenanting. The Resolutioners had excellent ministers, more of them, more liberal in policy, and equally sound in theology.* But they did not think that piety was absolutely essential to patriotism. They highly valued both, and were all covenanters. They would not cease to pray for the king. They controlled the General Assembly of 1652, when the Remonstrants protested against its lawfulness, and were threatened with discipline if they did not withdraw their protest. The next year the assembly met, but Colonel Cotterel, with his troops, ordered the members to go home and never meet again. It did not meet again for thirty-seven years. This was their one lost liberty under Cromwell. Both parties deplored it, but were not reconciled. One of their historians says of their fierce controversy: "It put ill blood into our Church-life, which a century and a half did not expel."

Hetherington says: "No further violence was used by Cromwell against the Church of Scotland. . . . No other part of Church government and discipline experienced the slightest interruption; or rather, every other part was thrown into more intense and vigorous action. The whole vitality of the king-

* Out of the confusion we may form this group: 1st. The Hamiltonian Engagers, who won control of the General Assembly in 1651, and by a resolution of the kirk commission gained the repeal of the Act of Classes, became the *Resolutioners*. Among them were Revs. Baillie, David Dickson, and Robert Douglas. 2d. The leading Protesters and Whigs remonstrated against the repeal on the grounds that the Act was the safeguard of their liberties, and that the kirk commission exceeded its authority; and they became the *Remonstrants*. Among them were Lord Warriston, Revs. James Guthrie, Samuel Rutherford, Principal Gillespie, and John Livingstone. 3d. *The Middle or Peace Party*, led by Revs. James Durham and Robert Blair, whose special effort, in 1656, ended thus: "All means that the skill of man could invent were essayed, but in vain."

dom seemed to be poured into the heart of the Church, and all the strong energies of the Scottish mind were directed to religious topics in a more exclusive manner than they had ever previously been." The ministers of both parties engaged less in politics. They had few debates with the Independent, Baptist, and Quaker preachers, who gathered hearers about the English garrisons. They advanced their own cause with marked earnestness and ability. Much of their Biblical and theological literature is still highly valued. Many of them were deep, as well as devout thinkers; genial, large-hearted neighbors; hard-working pastors, rearing metaphysicians on the catechism, and heroes for the coming battle with the truthless king for whom they prayed; and saintly divines who might yet be willing to take the stool of penance, then found in the kirks for common offenders, if that could wipe out their mistake in trusting and recalling him. Cromwell was their greatest human friend, and some of them knew it, when he sent Rutherford to teach theology at St. Andrews, and gave a similar chair at Glasgow to Patrick Gillespie, the Whig preacher who stood quite alone in praying aloud for the protector.

"This seems to me to have been Scotland's high noon," says the chronicler, Parson Kirkton, whose coloring has paled somewhat before the actual records, yet has outlines of facts in the Lowlands. "Every parish had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a Bible. . . . Aged men and women went to school, so as to read the Scriptures." Not so much profane swearing in Kirkton's parish as Cromwell had reported about Edinburgh. "Nobody complained of our Church government more than our taverners, whose ordinary lamentation was, their trade was broken, people were become so sober." Fair waiters in grog-shops not so common as formerly. The peasants were theoretically released from feudalism; thousands of people were actually set free from a worse bondage. "I verily believe," says Kirkton, "there were more souls converted to Christ in that short time than in any season since the Reformation." Nothing else more clearly shows the divine favor, and Scotland's debt of gratitude, to the men of the Covenant.

3. *The policy in England and Wales.* The remnant of the Long Parliament became selfish, unjust, and intent upon voting

itself perpetual. It might recall the royalist members, and then the exiled Charles. In April, 1653, Cromwell and his military council expelled it. The nation rejoiced. Men of business looked hopefully to the dictator. His plan of governing the British Isles by an assembly of about one hundred and fifty men, chosen for their godliness, lasted one month. When the bare majority of radicals were about to sweep away Church patronage and tithes, and adopt the voluntary principle of Church support, Cromwell secured their resignations.* A council of military officers and civilians, in December, 1653, brought in a written constitution which made him Lord Protector. It required Parliaments. Two were summoned (1654-56), but they ran against his will, or wisdom, and each was roughly dissolved. So that Cromwell was the actual ruler of Britain for five years, aiming to be a protector of the ancient freedom and of all the popular liberties which had been gained by the revolution. The higher classes had long sought the freedom of making laws; he wished all ranks of society to have the freedom of living happily under the best laws that were made. Edmund Burke has said, "The government of Cromwell was, to be sure, somewhat rigid; but for a new power, no savage tyranny. The laws, in general had their course, and were admirably administered." The protector, with royalists plotting against him, and even assassins on his path, was less severe than the Rump Parliament had been in punishing men for complicity with insurgent Stuartists. The heavier restraints were laid on the Anglican clergy, and in 1655 they were threatened with hard punishment if their sermons and prayers continued to be seditious. When they grew more respectful to the one man who kept the poor Stuart out of England, they had more liberty. Evelyn tells how gladly he attended their liturgical services in private houses in London. At Oxford, three hundred Anglicans met regularly without any disturbance. Elsewhere there was no active repression of their meetings, when

* This was the *Barebones Parliament*, so named from Praise-God Barbon, a leather merchant, and leading Baptist of London. In it for the first time members for England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales sat together. It has been ridiculed as a house of fanatics. But in it were men wise enough to propose measures which, in our century, have been enacted for the relief of debtors, mitigation of capital punishment to murder and treason; prison reforms, and speedier trials in courts. Its members were largely Independents and Baptists.

they were not suspected of conspiracy. The protector had no flattery, nor much favor, in the sermons and prayers of the sturdy Presbyterians.*

Cromwell aimed at a Church policy which would heal divisions, and not perpetuate sects. He desired the comprehension of all evangelical Christians in an establishment, with the old revenues, with a simple creed, and without prelacy and liturgy; also, safe toleration to all dissenters. The people were not inclined to such a plan. He said, "I have had some boxes and rebukes on the one hand and on the other; some censuring me for presbytery, others as an inlet to all the sects and heresies of the nation. . . . Here is a great deal of truth among professors, but very little mercy. When we are brought into the right way, we shall be merciful as well as orthodox." The results of his efforts may be thus outlined:

(1) A Committee of Triers, chosen from different counties, and consisting of twenty-nine ministers and nine laymen, examined all candidates for the parishes of England and Wales. The design was to restrain the existing irregularities. In it were Presbyterians, more Independents, and a few Baptists and Episcopalians. Any five could approve, and any earnest Protestant who would preach the Gospel and conduct public worship without liturgy and prelacy might continue in his charge, or receive a new appointment. Thomas Fuller and George Bull, defender of the Nicene Creed, were among the Anglicans who chose to submit to the rule, rather than desert their flocks. There was also a Committee of Ejectors. Baxter thought that six-sevenths of those turned out were guilty of such sins as drunkenness and profane swearing; also, that most of the ministers retained were so faithful that many thousands of souls blessed God for them. It has been said by disinterested writers, that the Church of Christ never possessed abler or purer ministers than those of the commonwealth, or men who gave themselves up with greater ardor to the work to which they

* John Livingstone, in London, 1654, prayed thus before the protector: "God be gracious to him [Charles] whose right it is to rule in this place, and is unjustly thrust from it. . . . Let our prayers come forth in the appointed time, for doing him and his family good. As for these poor men [Cromwell and cabinet] that now fill his room, Lord be merciful to them." It was not Cromwell, but Charles II, who banished Livingstone, so that his last ten years (to 1672) were spent in Holland.

had consecrated themselves. They gave a new character to the religious life of the country. Nor were they the demure, sad-faced, splenetic race which figure in certain overdrawn histories. The best of them had their pleasantries at home, and often a dash of sacred wit in their sermons. They did most to make their age decent, until they were ousted by Stuartists who made it dissolute.

(2) The Presbyterial system was scarcely disturbed in the provinces of London and Lancashire.

(3) In other counties the moderate Presbyterians and Independents united in associations on a plan which suited Baxter and Owen. All evangelical, upright ministers, coming into the arrangements thus far noticed, drew support from the revenues of the Establishment. Both the presbyterial and congregational forms of Church government were allowed.

(4) The schools and university chairs were filled by men whom the Triers approved. John Owen certainly did not degrade the scholarship of Oxford while he was its vice-chancellor.

(5) Papists, prelatists, and Unitarians were not allowed to proclaim openly their distinctive views, but they were not hunted down for their quiet opinions. If any sects were not allowed liberty of peaceable worship, it was because their wild deeds endangered the public safety. Even the Ranters, who set up the light of nature as the Christ in man, were quite safe in their own conventicles. The press had never been so free in Britain. The Jews, excluded for about three centuries, were readmitted into England. The general rule was the toleration of opinions.

The foreign policy gave England a high rank among the nations. A great Protestant league was planned. One effort was to secularize politics and war, by first securing religious rights. "Cromwell was courted by all the powers of Europe, and the star of the Stuarts seemed to have set forever." Blind Milton's pen was mighty in the defense and relief of the Waldenses. England lost this position by the death of Oliver Cromwell, in September, 1658, and by the dissensions of parties. He had not won the heart and loyalty of the nation to the Republic. His eldest son, Richard, had not the genius to control the divided republicans, nor to unite the officers of the army. They set up the old Rump Parliament, and to it he

resigned the protectorate. These acts thickened the confusion. Royalists of every kind were joining hands. The English Presbyterians had the balance of power, and they lost a grand chance of saving the Free Commonwealth and themselves, when they opposed the republicans. Milton had said to them. "Woe to you, first of all, if ever the progeny of Charles shall recover the kingdom!" But they relied on the word of the second Charles, who was secretly promising every party whatever it asked. They co-operated with the Anglicans and the Scottish Resolutioners.

England was almost in civil war, when General George Monk stepped to the front as the chief actor in the drama. He was "cold-blooded and taciturn, zealous for no polity and for no religion," audacious in lying, and able to deceive the very elect. The leading Scots evidently knew his errand when he left them. He marched south with his troops. On his way he had the support of Lord Fairfax, who decided the fate of England by drawing to him the regiments of the republican Lambert, in Yorkshire. The Independent wing of the army was foiled; the Anglican and Presbyterian wings of it were in power. In February, 1660, Monk was in royalist London with his army, and master of the realm. There he plainly declared himself for a free Parliament. The city was joyous with bell-rings and bonfires. Presbyterian members, long ago expelled by Colonel Pride, entered the old Parliament, and dissolved it by their votes. In the new Parliament, or Convention, the Presbyterians were so strong as to hope for the settlement of monarchy on the basis of the Solemn League and Covenant, with a toleration of moderate episcopacy. But on this point they failed, and yet they could not read their doom. In the Declaration of Breda Charles offered a general pardon to all whom Parliament did not specially except, and freedom of religion to all who did not disturb the peace of the kingdom. He was called to the throne without sufficient guarantees to popular liberty. On his thirtieth birthday, May 29, 1660, he entered London.

4. *The Restoration.* It was twofold: that of Charles to the British throne, and that of the Anglican Church to its former Establishment.* Duped men soon had their eyes opened. Sir

* There was also the restoration of court vices. See Note III.

Harry Vane and the Marquis of Argyle, with others less known, found no royal pardon; they were executed for alleged treason. Pastors and university professors who did not conform to Episcopacy, soon found no liberty to hold benefices. The canons of Laud's time were applied to many of them. If they did not use the liturgy, parishioners could bring suit against them. It is a mistake to date the ejections with the St. Bartholomew of 1662, for that was the culmination of a gradual process. Scarcely was the king on his throne when Independents and Baptists were ousted in Wales, and they, along with Quakers, were imprisoned. In 1660 John Bunyan was flung into Bedford jail, and Philip Henry arraigned for not reading the Common Prayer. These are but samples. Baxter, who had never been a republican, was so alarmed that he sent an address to Charles, entreating that "the king would never undo the good which Cromwell and others had done." His plan of Comprehension, like that of Ussher, did not please the bishops.* Chancellor Clarendon's scheme for the toleration of dissenters did not suit the Presbyterians, who knew that the half-popish and sensual king would let in the papists. For months the Presbyterians were favored and coaxed. The only man of them who accepted a bishopric was Dr. Edward Reynolds. Baxter declined one. A few conformed sufficiently to retain their parishes. The most heroic of them girded themselves for hard endurance, when the hangman burnt the Solemn League and Covenant, May 22, 1661, by order of the Cavalier Parliament.†

This Parliament, with no lack of prelatic advice, reversed the covenanting times. It passed act after act against the Puritans, who refused to conform, and became dissenters. On St. Bartholomew's day, 1662, about two thousand ministers, chiefly Presbyterians and Independents, were ejected from their livings with no allowance for their support, not even the tithes nearly

* On a colossal monument at Kidderminster are these words: "Between the years 1641 and 1660 this town was the scene of the labors of Richard Baxter, renowned equally for his Christian learning and his pastoral fidelity. In a stormy and divided age he advocated unity and comprehension, pointing the way to 'everlasting rest.' Churchmen and Non-conformists united to raise this memorial, A. D. 1875."

† The English history is here traced into the next period: that of the Scots will come in Chapter XXIII.

due them. The Conventicle Act of 1664 forbade all their meetings for worship. Next year the Five Mile Act punished them for living within five miles of any corporate town, or teaching a school. An Anglican has said that "the Act of Uniformity cast out many of the best fish from the net; all the bad, all the unscrupulous, might abide in it unmolested." Another ascribes to it, "in some measure, that decay of godliness which the succeeding age lamentably attested." Baxter says that "hundreds of able ministers, with their wives and children, had neither house nor bread. The jealousy of the state and the malice of their enemies were so great that the people who were willing, durst not be known to give to their ejected pastors," lest they should be accused of aiding schism and plotting insurrections. One was turned out of doors because he could not pay his house rent; another spun thread to earn a support. "God did mercifully provide some supplies, so that few either perished, or were exposed to sordid, unseemly beggary."

Most of these ministers would accept no toleration which brought liberty to the papists. Hence they refused the indulgence offered by Charles, in 1672, and that of King James (1685-8), who was an avowed Romanist. James seemed to favor religious freedom when fifteen hundred Quakers were released from prisons, and eight thousand Protestants were relieved of penalties upon non-conformity. Dissenters now found a surer basis for denominational existence. They grew in numbers and reared hundreds of chapels in England.

The great revolution had passed through its first stage and been checked by the Stuart Restoration. It was cast down, but not destroyed, by the gross immoralities brought in by Charles, and the Romanizing spirit of James. Its second stage will come when William of Orange shall sail into England and restore what was best in the commonwealth of Cromwell.

NOTES.

I. *Names of the three parties in the Westminster Assembly*: 1. *Presbyterian*. This title refers strictly to a Church polity and not to a theology. It was not applied to the adherents of this party where they were known as "the Reformed Churches" of different countries, as of France or Scotland. But where they appeared as a party, or sect, or denomination, as in Eng-

land and Ireland, they were called Presbyterians. Thus the name passed to America. It now covers several Reformed Churches in Europe, and some in America, which are not purely Calvinistic. 2. *Independent*. In the Assembly "the five dissenting brethren" objected to being called Independents, for the term might include various sects. It came to be applied to all the Calvinistic Congregationalists of Britain. 3. *Erastian*. Thomas Erastus (Lieber, 1524-83), of Heidelberg, gave name to the theory that pastors are simply teachers, not rulers; that the Church, as a spiritual body, has no right to inflict censures; that as an external organization she is a department or mode of the state; hence ecclesiastical offenders are to be punished as citizens by the civil power. Erastianism came to mean any supremacy of the state over the Church.

II. Parliament ordered (October, 1645) that a person suspended from the Lord's Supper might carry an appeal through the Church courts to Parliament. The last step was called Erastian by the assembly, as it took from the Church the power of making its own discipline a finality. "This," wrote Baillie, "has been the only impediment why presbyteries and synods have not been erected; for the ministers refuse to accept of presbyteries without this power." This was true of the thorough Presbyterians. But the majority of English ministers thought that the whole business of covenanted uniformity was still more Erastian, as it was enjoined and enforced by Parliament. Yet, if they must have presbytery, they wanted some check upon its ecclesiastical courts. They were born with the idea that Parliament had the right to judge such cases of appeal. The tendency in England was Erastian; in Scotland it was theocratic, for the kirk practically directed the civil power, although the Scots held that the Church and state were widely different institutions.

III. Taine (Eng. Lit.) says of the Stuart Restoration: "The violent return to the senses drowned morality. In this great reaction, devotion and honesty, swept away together, left to mankind but the wreck and the mire. The more excellent parts of human nature disappeared; there remained but the animal, without bridle or guide, urged by his desires beyond justice and shame. . . . It was the fashion to swear, to relate scandalous anecdotes, to get drunk, to gamble, to prate against preachers and Scripture. . . . These people were misanthropic and became morose; they quote the gloomy Hobbes, and he is their master." The theaters, which Parliament had closed, were reopened, and the roisterers, led by Dryden and attaining a disgusting coarseness in Wycherley, made manifest the decay of purity and the fall of genius. The great plague and fire (1665-6) scarcely checked the rioting.

PERIOD VI.

NATIONAL CHURCHES AND DENOMINATIONS.

A. D. 1660—1878.

THE CRISIS OF PROTESTANTISM BY THE SCHEMES OF LOUIS XIV—PROTESTANTISM GRADUALLY FREED FROM POLITICS AND WAR—PROGRESS THROUGH TOLERATION TO RELIGIOUS LIBERTY—FREE THOUGHT IN DEISM, CRITICAL RATIONALISM, SKEPTICAL PHILOSOPHY, AND THEORETICAL SCIENCE—REVIVALS OF SPIRITUALITY—METHODISM—GREAT REVOLUTIONS—CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN AMERICA—ADVANCE OF CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY IN EUROPE—MISSIONS—ACTIVITY OF THE LAITY IN CHRISTIAN WORK—THE NEW AGE OF SCIENCE AND INVENTIONS—SOCIETIES FOR MORAL REFORM—A SPIRIT OF UNION AMONG PROTESTANTS.

CHAPTER XXII.

PROTESTANTISM IN EUROPE.

1660—1878.

WHEN Louis XIV assumed absolute power in France and said "the state is myself," religion was again involved in war and politics. The period of his fifty-four remaining years (1661-1715) was the Augustan age of French literature, art, science, and glory; but it was the Decian age to French Jansenists and Huguenots. It brought European Protestantism to a new crisis. He began it with great powers and lofty notions of kingship by divine right, but he had no personal morality, no fidelity to his wife, no regard for national treaties, no practical religion. For years his court was profligate. His chief aims were absolutism on the throne, the grandeur of France, and her unity in religion, the supremacy over Western Europe, and possession of the crowns of Spain and the empire. He asserted the old Gallican liberties. While at strife with popes

he was the political champion of Romanism. A general view of Europe, from 1661 to 1697, will show the critical state of Protestant affairs.

I. THE CRISIS OF PROTESTANTISM.

In France the papal clergy had already secured harsh measures against the Protestants. The art was to take gradually from two millions of Huguenots, the rights and privileges which the Edict of Nantes declared irrevocable. Their national synod, which had met last in 1660, was not again permitted. During fifteen years they were deprived of one liberty after another, until certain trades and kinds of labor were closed against them, their schools forbidden, and half of their Churches suppressed. They were learning the roads to exile. France was losing industry and wealth. Persecution was not a wise policy for the king; he must use the plea of conscience. Neither the Jesuit casuistry of Father La Chaise nor the eloquence of Bossuet had roused that faculty in behalf of Church unity. The so-called conversion of the king, and whatever reform there was of him and his court, were mainly due to Madame de Maintenon,* once a Protestant, but now a zealot for the Roman faith, and yet to be his wife by a secret marriage. In 1676 her influence, with that of the famous preacher, Bourdaloue, began to tell. The king now pleaded, or pretended, conscience in his persecutions. A large fund was raised for the conversion of the Huguenots, and used in buying and bribing them. Their ruin was more certain by means of the *Dragonnades* (1681), or the plan of quartering dragoons of soldiers in towns, to lodge with Huguenot families, devour their substance, annoy them, force them to conform, and answer to no law for their outrages. The cruel edicts reached their highest point, in 1685, with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The reason given was, "It remains useless, since the better and greater part of the pretended Reformed have embraced Catholicism." A monstrous lie! The papal and Spanish courts expressed abhorrence of these cruel measures.

All Huguenot pastors were ordered to leave the kingdom in fifteen days, or be sent as slaves to the galleys. But their people must remain, for even the right of fleeing into exile

* Frances, granddaughter of the Huguenot T. A. D'Aubigné.

was denied them. Troops were posted on the roads and frontiers to prevent any from escaping, and those who had gone were ordered to return! Thus the quietest people, the best farmers and artisans, in France were left with no rights or liberties. Despite the most stringent measures, about eight hundred thousand of them managed to escape, during the next ten years, and find welcome in other lands. In Germany and Holland they restored life to cities almost depopulated by wars. There and in England and Ireland they became the best manufacturers. In America, and even at the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, they were prosperous colonists. They built churches in foreign cities; and such exiled pastors as Saurin, Lenfant, and Beausobre won distinction in Christian literature. These dispersed Huguenots told their touching story with voice and pen. They roused Europe against a king who had yet "to sit thirty years longer on his throne, and bear the burden of his crime."

Meanwhile the power of Louis threatened Protestantism in other lands. His military successes were dreaded by the Waldenses, and by the reformed Churches of Switzerland and of all the Rhine countries.* In England there was a shameful truculence to the French king. Charles II wanted money; Louis granted it freely, and dictated the terms, one of which was that Romanism must have freer course in the British Isles. Charles did for it all that he dared; and when dying, in 1685, received absolution from a Roman priest. More boldness was to be expected from James II, for he was an avowed papist. His real advisers were a council of Jesuits and Romanist peers. When Huguenot refugees were treading the streets of London, and collections for them were taken in the English churches, James forbade the clergy to censure the conduct and character of the French king. Jesuits and monks opened schools in London. Pamphlets in defense of Romanism were widely circulated. Rosaries and crucifixes were publicly sold under royal patronage. Chapels were built. Roman priests gained a foot-

* Complicated wars brought distress to the Protestants of Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. The Emperor Leopold, in 1674, oppressed the Hungarians; two hundred and fifty Protestant preachers were banished, slain, or sold as slaves in the galleys of Naples. His son, Joseph, granted them toleration, and joined the league against Louis XIV.

ing at Oxford. James offered an indulgence to all non-conformists, putting them and the Romanists on the same level. Few of them were deceived into the scheme. The stout Whigs kept him from many acts of tyranny. The Scots were once more groaning under prelacy, and they feared that popery was coming. The papal clergy had returned to Ireland, and soon there were three thousand priests and a dozen bishops there against five hundred Anglican ministers. The government and army were in the hands of papists. Ireland was rapidly falling from prosperity into wretchedness, and James seemed bent upon rooting Protestantism out of it. Many Presbyterians were sailing for America. The pope looked for a restoration of the papal system in all Britain. But he knew not the temper of the sturdier British Protestants. They had experienced enough of Stuartism. They were weary of a king who took money from Louis to undermine their religion and liberties. They knew where a better one might be found. They shouted when a jury cleared the seven bishops who were arraigned for not reading the king's last indulgence. The soldiers exulted in the acquittal. "This prosecution united all classes in opposition to the government. The great majority of the peers, both lay and spiritual, the universities, the clergy, the dissenters, the army, the landed gentry, the merchants—all, in short, who called themselves Protestants—were firmly knit together to oppose the king and his Romish advisers."* They felt a keen hostility to Louis XIV. Seven patriots went over to Holland with an invitation to the Prince of Orange, who was now the center of unity against the king of France.

William of Orange† had brought the Dutch Republic out of anarchy, and become its president. Louis had made a war of six years (1672–8) upon it. Rather than submit to him, the people had resolved "to open their dykes, to man their ships, to leave their country, with all its miracles of art and industry, its cities, its canals, its villas, its pastures, and its tulip-gardens, buried under the waves of the German Ocean, and bear to a distant climate their Calvinistic faith and their

* Hale, "Fall of the Stuarts," p. 129.

† Born 1650; son of Stadtholder William II and Mary, the daughter of Charles I of England. 'n 1677 he married Mary, the daughter of James II of England.

old Batavian liberties." They did burst the dykes; the lands were flooded; the French retreated in haste; and the Peace of Nimwegen, 1678, secured to the republic its independence, and to its young president the confidence of Protestant Europe. Thenceforth he was the one powerful man in the way of Louis. Cool, far-sighted, bold in his designs and persistent in executing them, Calvinistic in faith, with a large belief in freedom, he battled diplomatically with the French king for the control of Europe. Each was intent upon binding England to his cause. Louis had the Stuarts on his side; William gained the people. Louis flung himself into a war upon Germany; William was invited by "the seven patriots" to take the English crown. Ranke says that "resistance to Louis XIV had now become a European necessity; but it never could have been successful without the adhesion of Great Britain;" and he thinks that William was moved to seize the English throne in order to rescue it from a popish king and ally it to the Protestant powers of Europe.

In October, 1688, William sailed down the Channel, with an army, aided by "a Protestant wind," and landed at Torbay. The West of England declared for him. He pushed on towards London. James II fled to France. A convention was summoned. The next February William and Mary were the joint sovereigns of a nation which they had conquered without bloodshed. English freedom was saved. Anglican uniformity was lost forever. We shall elsewhere trace the results of the Toleration Act.

Louis had ordered his generals to burn every town and village of the Palatinate. They made it almost a desert, and one hundred thousand families wandered by the light of their burning homes over the frozen fields, and perished, or found refuge in other lands. Some of them came to America. By this time the barbarities of Louis had caused a general horror. The German diet summoned all their states to vengeance, and he was denounced by the emperor, Leopold, as the enemy of all Christendom, and as deserving of a crusade as the Turk, who had just been driven out of Poland by the brave Sobieski. Against Louis, who sought to establish James II in Ireland, William organized the Grand Alliance (1689-90), in which were the emperor, Spain, Savoy, the German states, Holland, Eng-

land, Denmark, and Sweden. In it were papal powers, fighting against Louis as the common enemy of mankind. Thus William was secularizing war and politics, and not merely saving Protestantism, but also political liberty. He conquered Ireland, and drove his father-in-law out of it. He fought hard and long on the Continent, and brought Louis to terms by the Peace of Ryswick, 1697, where each champion agreed not to foster rebellion in the country of the other, and William and Mary were recognized as the lawful sovereigns of Great Britain. To them England owes much of greatness and liberty. To Louis France has ascribed many of the poverties and sorrows of that age, and the national woes of the next century. He outraged humanity in the name of a faith; he failed in the great purposes of his life; he died amid a court full of unbelievers, and out of that infidelity sprang Voltaire and Rousseau. The Divine Providence was against him. His failure was a check upon the Roman Catholic reaction. He started the forces of that terrible movement, the French Revolution.

From this time religion will be less involved in political struggles. Protestantism will be more separate from the secular history of nations. We shall find two classes of Churches; the established or national, and those not connected with the state. We shall now follow the lines of the religious Establishments and leading denominations.

II. THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE.

Probably more than one million of Huguenots remained to endure the terrors of the Revocation, and of military inquisition. Their bodies, books, Bibles, houses, churches, academies, colleges, theological seminaries, the very toys of the children, were objects of violence. Boys and girls were persuaded or forced into convents and training schools. Nuns and Jesuits converted them. Resistance was worse than useless. Flight was next to impossible. "As patient as a Huguenot," became a proverb. It is estimated that fully two hundred thousand of them perished on the scaffold, in dungeons, in the dragonnades, in the galleys, in butcheries by soldiers whom they fed, by cold and fever and starvation. Against them were kings, parliaments, edicts, laws, bishops, priests, Jesuits, and armies for seventy years. Jansenists, and even the

Waldenses, were struck wherever the persecuting arm could reach them. And still the great body of them lived on chiefly in the mountains, forests, dens, and caves of the earth. In Languedoc and Cevennes they held their "assemblies of the desert." Certain escaped pastors heard of these bold meetings, and crept back to their native land to perform their ministries. Their labors were full of romance and faith. They could not supply the demand for preaching, and they brought into the service the best men at hand, carpenters, weavers, and shepherds. These pastors were marked for vengeance. Many of them suffered in prisons and died on scaffolds. The shots of a regiment often broke in upon the psalms of an unarmed assembly, and three or four hundred people lay dead among the rocks. The captains of these troops were often elegant gentlemen from the polished court of a king whose conscience Fénelon tried in vain to touch with humanity.

Claude Brousson, a lawyer of Nismes, refused to sell his faith for a seat in the Parliament of Toulouse, defended the Huguenots at the bar until he saw that all pleadings were useless, and then he devoted his eloquence to their cause in another way. He went into the Cevennes. While grape-shot were raking down his brethren he was ordained to preach. Now he suddenly enters a village, holds a meeting on the mountain-side, preaches, shakes a few hands, and hurries away to another band of faithful souls who will gather at midnight in a ravine to hear the good Word, which is dearer to them than their scanty bread. After wonderful toils and escapes he is tracked into Bearn and arrested. The judges who see him tortured turn pale and tremble. The hangman, who has kept nerve while executing two hundred other men, would flee from his prayers if he could. But he performs the horrible service, and writes, "Certainly he died like a saint." In a few years all the ordained pastors were gone. Many of the lay teachers, men and women, became enthusiasts. In the retreats of the Cevennes there were fanatics, claiming to be inspired. Their dreams and visions were mingled wildly with Holy Scripture. They uttered their predictions of doom upon Rome and France. About ten thousand peasants took up arms and were the Camisards of a desolating war. Their five hundred villages were destroyed. Turretine, the famous theologian of Geneva, was

obliged to explain that they did not represent true Protestantism. Yet they were human beings led by brave captains, such as Cavalier and Ravel, and they deserved the aid sent to them from Holland and England. They failed in their desperate effort; but when Louis saw that foreign Protestants might take up their cause, he allowed his agents to be a little more humane.

In France there were two spiritual dangers which thirty years of woe made evident. The uneducated, unordained preachers tended to fanaticism and such inspirations as those of the Camisards. Also more intelligent, timid, and wealthy Protestants, who had maintained their secret worship at their homes, were attending the Romanist churches to avoid suspicion and for respectability. Between the excesses of the fervid and the concessions of the fearful the cause might be utterly lost. The man who brought the remedy was Antoine Court. Born in the Vivarais, in 1696, a child of the Church in the Desert, he had read the Bible, thought deeply upon its truth, and from the age of seventeen had been one of the preachers. He had the grace of strong sense, marvelous courage and endurance, true politeness and ready eloquence, prudence and the ability to win confidence. His plans and successes are indicated in the title since given him, "the Restorer of the Protestantism of France." He did not take part with the enthusiasts. He began with little prayer-meetings wherever he could hold one. Long afterwards he wrote, "It was a great thing, when by every sort of care and urgency I could induce six or a dozen persons to meet in some cave, or on a deserted grange, or in the fields, to worship God, and hear what I had to tell them. What a consolation it was, in 1744, to meet ten thousand people in those very spots where I once could gather only fifteen, thirty, sixty, or, at most, a hundred souls."

Thus he was forming congregations. In 1715 he held his first synod of six preachers and a few laymen. He restored the Bible to its proper place in their minds and ministries. He was only a layman. He sent one of them to Switzerland to be ordained, and from this man Court received ordination. The Church of the Desert was reorganized. Elders were appointed. Annually a synod was held in a cave or lonely

hut, anywhere to prevent discovery. The pastors itinerated; rarely did one of them stay a week in one place. They assumed various names and all sorts of innocent disguises. The infidel Louis XV issued edicts still more terrible. His zeal disgusted his immoral courtiers. But the good work went on. Young men were ready to enter the Gospel ministry even in France. Court went to Lausanne in Switzerland, in 1730, founded a theological school, and during the remaining thirty years of his life trained men for the field-work in Southern France. Paul Rabaut was one of the heroic souls there educated. He sometimes preached to ten thousand people. His voice began to be heard in the high places of civil life. It was part of his mission to secure more respect and sympathy for his people, and more lenience from the governors, one of whom often conferred with him.

One event had a powerful effect. In 1762 the aged Jean Calas, once a merchant in Toulouse, had a son who joined the Roman Church, grew melancholy, and hanged himself. The priests buried the suicide with great display. The father was tried and executed on the unproved charge of having put his son to death for being a Romanist. Other members of the family were banished or sent into convents. Voltaire published an account of the whole affair, with a strong plea for toleration. The court of Toulouse reversed the sentence against Calas, for the brutal injustice was evident, and the judges must save themselves from the public indignation. The Protestants now assumed a bolder position. The Governor of Languedoc, confiding in Paul Rabaut, granted to them all that was possible under the laws, ignoring the severest edicts. In a few places there were outbreaks of violence against the reformed; the last meeting attacked was near Orange, in 1767, but the prisoners were ordered to be released. Dungeons began to be opened; old men and women, who had spent more than half their lives in them, were set free. A son of Antoine Court, a fine scholar, had a powerful influence at Paris. Suddenly it came to light that in the largest cities there had been Protestants worshiping in private houses for nearly a century. They had kept the fire alive on the altar. They now had their pastors and churches prudently in open day, for nobody dared to execute the old edicts. They owed less to the phil-

osophers of the time—the infidel school of Helvetius, Diderot, Voltaire—than is often supposed.* These men hated persecutors, but detested the religion of the persecuted; they helped to make *toleration* the watchword of the century, but advocated a freedom from all religion. They ushered in the intolerance and destructiveness of infidelity. Few of them made any plea for the Protestants, who owed vastly more to the legists, statesmen, members of Parliament, and magistrates. After long years of discussion and the growth of humane principles, the Edict of Toleration came in 1787, granting to “non-Catholics” the right to live in France, to exercise a trade or profession, to legalize their marriages, to register the births of their children, and to be buried in peace. Under this the Protestants could take still larger liberties. Their houses resounded with thanksgivings to God. The long century of their woes had virtually passed.

Then came the Revolution. In the first stage of it (1789–1792) great tyrannies were overthrown, and some just measures were instituted. Its chief good was then accomplished. France had its Constituent Assembly, and in it sat Rabaut St. Etienne, a member from Nismes, and a son of the old pastor who had trodden nearly every mountain-path of Languedoc while restoring the Church of his fathers. This son had entered the ministry, and earnestly pleaded for Calas and other brethren in the Parliament of Toulouse. Now he courageously says, “I assert the civil rights of Frenchmen for two millions of useful citizens. Toleration? Nay, liberty is what we ask. Equality of rights is our demand. Europe pants for freedom.” He gained his point substantially. He was elected to the chair of that house, and there was a sublimity in his message to his aged father, “The President of the National Assembly kneels

* Two facts are of value. 1. Before Voltaire was born toleration on a Protestant basis was attained in a high degree in Holland and in England by the act of William III, 1689. This was the greatest permanent advance in religious liberty yet made in Europe. 2. Voltaire and his school did not receive their infidelity from Protestantism. They were reared in the papal Church, and Voltaire never actually left it. But their ideas of toleration may be traced to Henry IV, whose motives were political. It is not denied, however, that free thought has contributed its part to toleration; still it does not deserve all the credit. Roger Williams (1634) in America was far in advance of all these men, and was not a skeptic nor oppressed.

at your feet!" But the Revolution became a furious tempest, which made wreck of the throne, government, new constitution, the Gironde, law, order, society, justice, religion, civilization. The Reign of Terror began. Infidelity, atheism, and vice were rampant. All public worship was put down. The folly, or blasphemy, of impersonating an idea as the Goddess of Reason marked the extreme of atheism. The wholesale murder of priests was the proof of intolerance and inhumanity. The infernal world seemed to have broken loose in Paris. The very nationality was slaughtered. Louis XVI was put to death in 1793. Truer patriots were executed. Young Rabaut was sent to the scaffold. His venerable father suffered in prison, but died in his liberty, in 1795, thankful to God that some of the reformed Churches were re-establishing themselves.

But the avenger of France came in the brilliant soldier of Corsica. Out of the ruins of the state Napoleon built up a new government.* Romanism was the established religion; but Protestantism had his protection, and the theological school of Montauban was reorganized. He secured a law which allowed its pastors a salary from the public treasury. Another son of Paul Rabaut presided in the Legislative Assembly, and wrote to his brethren (1807): "No longer in deserts and at the peril of your lives do you worship God. Our places of worship are restored to us; every day new ones arise. Our pastors are recognized and salaried by the government." But the presbyterial system was not fully restored. De Felice says: "From 1817 to 1830 we have to complain of no important act of intolerance. We might relate favors sometimes, and security always, for the mass of the Protestant population."

The French Church needed spiritual earnestness. In the

* Napoleon Bonaparte, born 1769, in Corsica; rose in the French army to the command of the National Guards; by his defense of the republican Convention he became chief commander of the army, 1796; conquered Italy and Egypt and was elected First Consul, 1799; restored public worship by concordats and allowed exiles to return to France; chosen Emperor of the French, 1804; England and all nations east of the Rhine against him, 1805-14; the allies took Paris—he abdicated, and was ten months at Elba; Louis XVIII set up; Napoleon returned, and was again emperor until defeated at Waterloo by Wellington and the allies, 1815; abdicated, and was confined on St. Helena till death, 1815-21. His religious toleration won him the hearts of millions. He was fond of talking sublimely on theology. Ambition, will, faithlessness in treaties, and his assumed dictatorship over Europe, ruined him.

revival much was due to Frederic Monod, who kindled the true light in his little Sunday-school at Paris. "Never will the traces of his labors be effaced," says De Pressensé; "for we owe to him the first furrows in the vast field which we now rejoice to see white unto the harvest." Another leader in the revival was Dr. Charles Cook, the Wesley of France (1817-58), who went from town to town scattering the good seed of the kingdom of Christ. He left behind him a French Methodist Church of fifteen hundred members, with a hundred and fifty chapels, well supplied with ministers, and now ably organized for aggressive work. Societies for printing and circulating the Bible and religious literature were formed. Schools were established. The Lutherans had gained a footing. In 1838 they had about two hundred and fifty ministers, and the Calvinists nearly twice that number. Louis Napoleon (1848-70)* was nominally tolerant, but the old Protestant Church was not able fully to restore its Confession and polity. A minority separated from it and formed the Evangelical Union, or Free Church, to which belong Fish and De Pressensé. M. Thiers, President of the French Republic, allowed the main body, in 1872, to restore the National Synod. This was largely due to the efforts of the historian and statesman, Guizot, who sat in it among the one hundred and eight delegates, and nobly advocated the faith of his fathers, one of the last great acts of his noble life. The old Confession of Faith was reaffirmed, although this grand declaration was opposed by Coquerel and Colani, the leaders of the rationalistic party. This minority will probably secede, and form a body like that of the Unitarians in England. The synod now stands as the restored Church of the French Reformation. Other branches of Protestants have fair prospects in France. The republican tendencies are growing stronger against

* Nephew of the great Napoleon, born 1808; in exile, 1815-37; failed to wrest the throne from Louis Philippe; in the revolution of 1848 was re-elected to the National Assembly, and President of France for four years, 1848-52; overthrew the republic at Rome and restored Pope Pius IX, 1849-60; by a *coup d'état*, 1851, and by the army, became emperor; allied with England in the Crimean war against Russia, 1854-56; defeated Austria in the Italian war, 1859; war against the liberals in Mexico, 1861; provoked Count Bismarck and the Germans against him, 1866-69; declared war against Prussia, July, 1870, but surrendered to the Prussians at Sedan in September; soon died; and France became once more a republic, 1870-79, with a growing opposition to the Romanist clergy and toleration to Protestants.

the Romish priesthood. The new efforts to organize societies to advance Protestantism find increasing favor among the people. Since 1820 this Church has had its foreign missions, especially in South Africa.

III. THE SWISS AND THE WALDENSES.

Professor J. A. Turretine, eager for the union of all evangelical Christians, started a liberal movement at Geneva. He died in 1737, and the pietism which he advocated declined. Subscription to the old Confession passed into neglect. About 1780 Arianism and Socinianism got almost entire possession of the famous stronghold. The city had its infidel clubs; the canton was swept by German rationalism. The morality of Socrates was preached, rather than the divinity and atonement of Jesus Christ. Diodati and a few other ministers endeavored to resist the storm of rationalism and revolution. Rousseau and Voltaire had a powerful influence—the one as a citizen, the other as a neighbor. From 1810 to 1816 there was not one evangelical professor or preacher in the established Church of Geneva. A remnant of the faithful still met and prayed with the Moravians, who had services there. Madame Krudener, in her travels, planted Gospel truths in other hearts. Robert Haldane, of Scotland, spent several months there, inviting to his rooms students, pastors, and professors, and led young men to the faith of Calvin. The established Church was opposed to these doctrines. Malan, Bost, Gaussen, D'Aubigné, Vinet, and Monod led the way in the revival. They formed the Evangelical Society, or Free Church, with its theological school and parishes. In 1835 the third centennial jubilee of the Reformation was celebrated with enthusiasm; but there was still a great gulf between the Free Church and the Venerable Company, for the latter took measures against the preaching of the very doctrines on which the first reformers had built their system. But the Evangelicals have done very much to restore the reformed faith and polity.

In all Switzerland there are two classes of Protestant Churches: 1. The national bodies, of which there are about twenty, each in its canton. 2. The Free Churches of Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchatel, which come nearest to holding the Confessions of the sixteenth century. In all the cantons there are

about sixteen hundred thousand Protestants, eleven hundred and fifty ministers, and six theological faculties. There is no general synod, no union of the several Churches.

The Waldenses, claiming to have been free from Romanism before the Reformation, were spiritually enriched by the reformed Churches. Olivetan translated for them the Bible. Their presbyterial system was revised. Their creed was Augustinian, as shown in their protest of 1603 and their Confession of 1689. But they were severely persecuted, and villages of them were burnt and butchered. France and Italy were their enemies, Savoy their murderer. The mountains were their refuge, the Lord their fortress. They were driven up into the narrowest valleys, where one would suppose the chamois would starve. The period from 1630 to 1690 is one of the most thrilling and heroic in all their wonderful history. At times their sufferings were extreme and awful. Towns were destroyed, bands of fugitives perished in the snows, and exiles wandered into Protestant countries. Their numbers had been reported as about eighty thousand, but in 1650 not more than twenty thousand remained alive in their native valleys. Oliver Cromwell nobly and quite imperiously interfered in their behalf. He rose above diplomatic etiquette in his letters to the Duke of Savoy and Louis XIV of France. He demanded justice in his letters, penned by Mary Milton, whose blind father condensed history and prophecy in the eloquent sonnet:

“Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;
Even them, who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshiped stocks and stones,
Forget not. In thy book record their groans,
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that rolled
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O’er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
An hundred-fold, who, having learnt thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe!”

Liberal sums of money were paid to the Waldenses by England, and annuities were promised. But when Cromwell

was gone Charles II wasted these sacred funds on his minions, and for a long time there was no arm to restrain Louis XIV in his cruelties. The poor Vaudois were to be utterly exterminated, if possible. If they had not been the hardest of people to kill they must have been wiped out of existence. Treaties were made with them on the principle that no faith is to be kept with heretics. They were mere decoys. Then came the dragonnades. When thousands had been slain, imprisoned, and banished, a French officer wrote in 1686 to his king, "All the valleys are wasted; all the inhabitants killed, hanged, or massacred." But there was a remnant left. Among the exiles were Pastor Leger, the historian of his people, and Gianavel, the brilliant general. These men and their spirited brethren began to organize the exiles at Geneva. Among them was a patriarchal minister, aged ninety-six, leading seventy-two of his children and grandchildren. The Genevese were enthusiastic in their hospitality; and no traitor exposed the grand secret which young Henri Arnaud was telling his people. This daring pastor vowed not to let his sword rust until the Roman cross was torn down from the thirteen remaining churches of his fathers. He and eight hundred sure-footed men hastened over the glaciers, swooped down like eagles into their valleys, slew French troops, took Bobbio by storm, entered the church, and filled it with an outburst of praise to the God who remembered Zion. This was the glorious return.

The Duke of Savoy joined the Grand Alliance of William III of England, granted to the Waldenses their homes and liberties, and assisted exiles in their return. But four years later (1696), when they were fairly settled, and happy in their narrow valleys, he renewed his league with Louis XIV, and bitterly persecuted them; for the pope insisted upon the slaughter of the heretics. King William did not fail to renew the English aid and protection to this poor people. They greatly suffered through another century. Napoleon came, and by his triumphs forced new ideas upon kings. He had defended this remnant of God's saints for eight years when he was at Milan, 1805, to receive the iron crown of North Italy. He there granted to the Waldensian Church new privileges. Its pastors were paid by the French Empire until it fell. In the restoration of this ancient Church an active part was taken by Felix

Neff, a young soldier, then student at Geneva, and pastor in the Dauphinese Alps (1823). He taught the people how to improve their lands, homes, roads, and schools. He civilized them while reviving their piety. He went into Piedmont, organized prayer-meetings, kindled religious zeal, and co-operated with such pastors as Muston and Revel, and with such English helpers as Dr. Gilly, and Major Beckwith, who devoted the rest of his life to the social, moral, civil, and religious welfare of the people. Liberal funds were sent to them from Britain, Russia, America, and nearly all Protestant lands. Ever since 1848 their liberties have increased and their schools prospered. Their college and theological seminary, once at La Tour, is now at Florence. They greatly aided Victor Emmanuel (1849-78) in fulfilling Milton's prophetic prayer, so that the pope is no longer "the triple tyrant" of Italy, and their faith is sown over all the Italian fields. The larger cities are centers of evangelization. Their forty well-organized Churches and their working forces are closely rivaled by the Free Italian Church, founded about 1860 by De Sanctis and Gavazzi, on a Presbyterian basis. Never, since the reign of Theodoric the Goth, has there been so much toleration at Rome.*

IV. GERMAN PROTESTANTISM.

Learning continued in Germany during the Thirty Years' War, but it was scholastic and controversial. Theology lacked warmth and charity. "The language of faith was more valued than the life of faith. Purity of creed was more highly prized than holiness of heart. The form of sound words swathed a lifeless skeleton." For this dead orthodoxy there were remedies proposed.

(1.) Union or Syncretism was urged by George Calixtus, a Lutheran professor at Helmstadt (1614-56), ranking next to John Gerhard in theology, and a second Melancthon in his conciliatory spirit. He labored for years to unite the Lutherans and Calvinists, and even Roman Catholics, on the basis of the Holy Scriptures, and the decision of the councils held during the first five Christian centuries. This brought him into a fierce controversy with no very beneficial results.† Dr. Dorner says:

* Note IV.

† Rev. John Durie (Duræus), a Scot, had a passion for the union of the

"The Calixtine tendency was rather a school of learned theologians, to whom the cause of culture and literature was dearer than that of religion and morality." Its historical spirit culminated in Mosheim; its critical and liberal in rationalism.

(2.) Pietism came forward in the reaction against the cold and critical spirit. It rose in the Lutheran Church with Spener, whose heart was set on the revival of true godliness. He was the German Wesley. About 1670 he began at Frankfort his private meetings for prayer and conference—his *Collegia Pietatis*. In his book entitled, "Pious Desires," he set forth his views of the evils existing in the Church and their remedies. At first the orthodox Lutherans generally had his sympathies, but certain men ran into extravagant fervors and prejudiced the cause. The wiser leaders formed classes for the study of the Bible, and soon had crowded meetings, with many converts. They promoted a spiritual revival. They insisted that no man was qualified to teach Christianity unless he were a model of piety. This they exalted above learning and intellect or subscription to creeds. Spener was ecclesiastically punished as a preacher of dangerous and erroneous tenets. But his disciples filled chairs of theology in the new University of Halle. One of them was Francke, whose philanthropy led him to found the Orphan Asylum and educational institutions for the poor, at Halle, and secure their endowment. He made Pietism popular and a source of immense benefit, especially when Halle and Würtemberg were radiating centers of its light.* The good effects were not so likely to be reported as the fanaticism which was resisted by mobs. Certain states forbade the Pietistic conventicles. In Silesia mere children held their meetings in the fields. The Pietists repelled the idea that they were a new sect. They affirmed that they wished to preserve the Lutheran orthodoxy and teach a Biblical, practical, vital Christianity which

Lutherans and Calvinists, and for it spent years of travel on the Continent (1631-74). The Calvinists were the more favorable to it.

*These movements were favored by Frederick, the first king of modern Prussia, self-crowned 1701, died 1713; gave welcome to Protestant refugees from France. Frederick William I, 1713-40, expelled the philosopher, Wolf, from Halle, 1727, when he was trying to popularize the doctrines of Leibnitz along with some rationalistic ideas of his own. The philosopher had many theologians on his side. The gates of Germany were opening to so-called free-thought. See Note I.

was to be adorned with good works, benevolence, self-denial, and the spirit of missions. Their system declined in the next century. Most of its followers became either sentimental or censorious, legalistic or liberal, and some of them rationalistic. J. A. Bengel (1687-1752), whose commentaries are still highly esteemed, wisely founded a school of Biblical criticism, exegesis, and theology. At first he drew little sympathy to his views and his work. But a circle of really pious souls gathered round him in private at Tübingen and elsewhere, who became the disseminators of his teachings. In him the noblest pietism attained its height.

Closely allied to the Pietists were the Moravians. A remnant of the Hussites had been preserved in the United Brethren. During the Thirty Years' War they were sorely persecuted, many of their nobles executed, and hundreds of families driven from Moravia and Bohemia into various lands, where they adopted the several types of Protestantism, or some kind of reformed religion. Early in the eighteenth century a band of them, led by Christian David (a convert from Romanism), found refuge on the estates of Count Zinzendorf in Lusatia, and built Herrnhut. The count, who had been trained in the schools of the German pietists, became their bishop. They formed vast plans of missionary enterprise. Some went to Lapland and Greenland, others to Africa, Tartary, Ceylon, and wherever there was an opening, and a man to go on the face of the earth. The life of Zinzendorf (1700-60) is romantic. He traveled widely, sought to introduce his people in nearly all Protestant lands, imparted a grandeur to his schemes and efforts, but was not free from sentimental extravagances. He led a colony to the banks of the Delaware in the United States. He exalted love above faith, and hardly understood his own mystical theology. But the Moravians were rescued from his extreme notions, and they justly regard him as the chief of their modern fathers, to whom they owe a lasting debt of gratitude. They owe to Spangenberg, who was in America (1735-62), their renovated theology, which is mainly Lutheran. They have vied with the Jesuits in missionary zeal.

The term rationalism has been given to the most peculiar, comprehensive, and powerful of all intellectual movements that ever exalted human reason above the revelation of God in his

works and Word, and made it the decisive test of fact and truth. It long ignored the historical foundations of Christianity. In its modern form it did not originate entirely in Germany, but it concentrated there most strongly, and thence spread through the civilized world. In its broadest scope it includes the histories of the following subjects: (1) Philosophy from Des Cartes, 1637, to Schleiermacher, 1834, with a basis in the doctrine of religious consciousness; from Spinoza, 1670, to J. H. Fichte and Hegel, 1831, in theories of pantheism; from the Optimism of Leibnitz, 1700, to the Pessimism of Schopenhauer, 1844, one regarding this as the best possible world, and the other the worst; and from Kant, 1770, to Jacobi and Herbart, 1833-41, on the basis of a divine moral government, the immortality of the soul and future retribution. (2) Infidelity, from the Deism or "Natural Religion," which came in the stream of English writings by Hobbes, Herbert, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, and Hume, 1755, to the French literature of the Encyclopædists, Rousseau, and Voltaire, thus contributing to the German Deism which rose in the age of Frederick the Great, with his toleration and patronage of liberal thought.* (3) Illuminism and literature, through the times of Klopstock, the German Milton, 1747, Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Richter, and Auerbach. (4) Physical science, from La Place, with the nebular hypothesis, 1796, to Oken with his theory of development, 1840-51, Comte and Positivism, the hypothesis of evolution and atheistic materialism. (5) Biblical criticism, from Semler, 1751, "the father of German Rationalism," to David Strauss, F. C. Baur, and the Tübingen School; and to the defenders of the Bible from Bengel to Hengstenberg, 1869, who have helped to produce the greatest apologetic literature since the fifth century. (6) Theology in its degeneracy, from the Wolfian divines, 1730, to Wegscheider, 1848, and in its restor-

* Frederick II, 1740-86, recalled Wolf to Halle, brought Voltaire into his new academy at Berlin, cultivated French manners and French thought. "The Illumination" was a marvelous outburst of the German intellect in literature and science; religiously it was the light of a raging fire which left all things in dross and fusion. Frederick William II, 1786-97, decreed severe punishment on the clergy who did not preach the old doctrines, but the edict failed. Prussia was now the great German state; to it was added, after Kosciusko fell, about one-fourth of Poland; the rest of Poland went to Russia. It has been said that the three German idols are Luther, Frederick the Great, and Goethe.

ation by Tholuck, 1824, Julius Müller and their co-laborers. This rationalism pervaded the classical and theological schools, the pulpits and consistories. It cast out the devout hymns and liturgies, and the people in the churches heard and sang the baldest sentimentalism.

One peculiarity of German rationalism was that it centered upon the Bible. In England that book was flung aside by the Deists; in France it was a theme of coarse jesting; in Germany it was a subject of critical study. It was not believed by ardent scholars who devoted their lives to correcting its text, hailing with delight a new reading or ingenious sense, framing laws of interpretation, devising theories of its origin, sifting its evidences and history, making grammars and lexicons of its languages, thrusting one book after another out of the sacred canon, but still expounding them in some way and forming systems of theology and ethics on its teachings. When they proclaimed that it was destroyed, they were still fascinated by it. In this fact was the final remedy for the departure of reason from faith. For still the question rose: "What shall I do with the Christ?" A literature upon the Life of Christ was produced, surprising in extent, and, after Neander's time, a large part of it growing more and more consistent with the Gospel records.

Neander, the founder of modern Church history, thought that the return to evangelical truth began about 1800 largely by the influence of his teacher and colleague at Berlin, Frederick Schleiermacher (1768-1834). This "Plato of Germany," a child of the Reformed Church, reared in the Moravian piety and always aglow with it; often charged with pantheism and a Sabellianism quite like that of Swedenborg;* seeking to gather the truths of all philosophies into his own, and find in Christianity the unity of all facts; as ready as Von Müller to say that Jesus Christ is the center of all history and the key to all its problems; not merely a speculative thinker, but also a devout worshiper, earnest preacher, and lover of souls, did immense service by basing religion in the consciousness of man and his dependence on God. Intuition, the deep theology of the heart, the facts of experience, faith, hope, charity, were all greater than reason. With these ideas he shattered Rationalism and left a host of followers to spike its guns. At his death, 1834,

* Note II.

it was said: "He gave up every thing that he might save Christ," save the ideal, the person, the power of Christ from the destructive forces of criticism and philosophy. Christianity must have been in great peril when a man of his inconsistent theories could render it such a service as entitled him to be called "the renewer and prince of theological science."

But there were thousands who had not bowed the knee to Baal. Chief among the faithful sons of the Church were Lavater, Stilling, Claudius with his Wandsbeck Messenger, and Father Oberlin, for sixty years (1786-1826) the saintly pastor in the Steinthal, where civilization was promoted and piety retained. The German people, who grew weary of sermons on criticism, science, trade, and farming, fed their souls on the Bible, the old hymns, and the writings of the Fathers and reformers. Many took refuge in the Moravian chapels or with the more pious and generous Roman Catholics. The baroness, Madame Krudener, 1814-24, traveled through Europe, preaching, with a dash of fanaticism, many simple doctrines of the Gospel. One good man did a vast work: John Urlsperger, of Augsburg, who traveled through Germany, Holland, and England, in the effort to unite all true Christians in practical work. His German Society of Christianity (1780) had several branches, one of which became the Basle Bible Society (1804), and others were efficient in behalf of missions, charity-schools, asylums for the deaf, dumb, and blind, hospitals, circulating libraries, and itinerant preaching. Pestalozzi saw how the children of his native Switzerland were impoverished by the French wars. He began to teach them. His system extended (1775-1827) until it became national, and was imitated in Germany. It had its root in the family. If not directly Christian, it was far from skeptical, and it nurtured patriotism with lofty morality.

The renovation of the Church and of theology came also on other lines. Prussia was not only the great representative, but was the restorer and reorganizer of Germany. "In Prussia the regeneration of Germany was prepared." We must notice the chief movements.

1. By his conquests the first Napoleon became virtually master of the German States (1806-13). They were dismembered. The old German Empire was ruined; Francis II, of

Austria, the last successor of Charlemagne, abdicated his throne (1806). The old feudalism was destroyed. Prussia lost half her territory, and yet she was destined to create a new empire. The king, Frederick William III, 1797-1840, with the aid of the vigorous Baron Stein, anxious to see a free people in Prussia, roused his subjects to the war of liberation (1813-15), joined the allies, crossed the Rhine, triumphed at Paris, and won back his provinces, to the great joy of ten millions of people. In these wars the Germans thought of Luther's battles against the pope, and his love for the father-land; and they asked if his faith was not a cause of his patriotism. Happy for them if they could have it once more!

2. The Holy Alliance, 1815, was formed by Frederick William, with the emperors Alexander of Russia and Francis of Austria, who represented the Protestant, Greek, and Roman Catholic Churches, on the basis of Christianity, without distinctions of creed, as the supreme law for the life of nations. It was intended to secularize war and politics, and induce the nations to live as brothers of one vast Christian family. Into it came all the rulers of Europe, except the pope, the sultan, and the prince regent of England. Grand as were its declared intentions, it was perverted into a dictatorial and congressional system of politics for maintaining the balance of power in Europe.

3. The Jubilee and the Union. In 1817, October 31st, the third centennial of the Reformation, or Luther's theses, was celebrated with enthusiasm and reviving effects. The popular mind was turned from the negative to the positive side of Protestantism. Professor Harms, of Kiel, read his ninety-five theses and recalled the doctrines of Luther. But he took strong ground against the favorite scheme of King Frederick William and Schleiermacher. That was a union of the Lutherans and Calvinists in one national Church, with both the Augsburg Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, and a new liturgy. The king prepared for it by his proclamation of September 27, 1817—the Magna Charta of the Prussian Establishment—in which he proposed to join with members of the two bodies at Potsdam in a united observance of the Lord's Supper, on the festival day. This plan he recommended to the churches elsewhere, and to the consistories. He carried it

through in his own city, and Bunsen regarded his act as the great event of the century. In Prussia about seven thousand seven hundred and fifty congregations adopted the union; about twelve hundred refused it. Thus was formed the present Established Church of Prussia. The union was gradually effected in other states, generally on a similar basis. But throughout Germany, those who retained "the Lutheran consciousness," under such leaders as Harms and Hengstenberg, became either Old or New Lutheran bodies, independent, and generally more pronounced in evangelical doctrine. Nor did all the Calvinists enter the union, so that there were long debates between three parties, the Unionists, the Lutherans, and the Reformed. In Prussia, the Old Lutherans were roughly handled, some of the leaders being fined and imprisoned, until the reign of Frederick William IV, 1840-61, who strongly opposed all compulsion in the sphere of religion. Some of them came to the United States, and now form the Synods of Buffalo and Missouri. The Church Diet, represented by adherents of both Confessions, is the highest tribunal of the Prussian Church.

4. Prussia is virtually the political name for Germany, for by the new organization of the empire and its constitution of 1871, her king, William I (1861), is the German emperor. The population of the empire is nearly forty-three millions, of whom more than one-third are Roman and Old Catholics. Nearly all the rest are Protestants. Besides those just named there are several bodies of Dissenters, Moravians, Mennonites, Socinians, Light Friends (rationalistic), and German Catholics, or followers of the ex-priest John Ronge (1844). The American Baptists and Methodists have prosperous missions in Germany. The renovation of the German Churches brought with it a fresh vigor in twenty universities, better popular education, and many active societies for the circulation of the Bible, for Home and Foreign Missions, Sunday-schools, benevolence, and Christian literature. German works of theology, exegesis, history, and æsthetics, together with cyclopædias, have gone into all Christendom. Rationalism still passes through new phases in Germany, where each successive philosophy has had a run of about ten years, but it is not unified by a creed or a worship. It once tended to pantheism; now to materialism. The new and

rationalistic German Protestant Association, led by Dr. Schenkel of Heidelberg, is persistent in an effort to divorce Church and state in the German Empire. (See Notes III, IV, V, VI.)

NOTES.

I. Frederick William I, of Prussia, gave a home to nearly twenty thousand exiles from the region of Salzburg, where they had been sorely persecuted by the Romanists, and whence they were expelled, in 1732, on account of the religion which the Bible had taught them. He would gladly have taken all of the poor Salzburger, but England provided funds and sent a colony of them to Georgia, in the United States. With them came some of the first Lutheran preachers in America, one of whom, Bolzius, had been a teacher in the Orphan House at Halle. A quite similar persecution was waged in Madeira, in 1845, whence many exiles settled in the State of Illinois.

II. Emmanuel Swedenborg, born at Stockholm 1689, died in London 1772; a man of extended travel and learning, who increased the knowledge of mechanics and mining operations, and received the title of a baron. He describes the turning-point in his religious life thus: "It was in London (1743) that on a certain night a man appeared to me in the midst of a strong and shining light, and said, 'I am God the Lord, the Creator and Redeemer: I have chosen thee to explain to men the interior and spiritual sense' of the sacred writings.'" Thenceforth he claimed to be in direct correspondence with the spiritual world, and one result was the record of his so-called visions and revelations, his commentaries unfolding the alleged natural, spiritual, and celestial senses of Scripture, and expositions of religious philosophy. His system is a form of Sabellianism and Gnosticism. In 1788 his followers in London formed the "New Jerusalem Church." Societies have been quietly established in nearly all Protestant countries. They reckon about twenty thousand adherents in the United States.

III. *The Old Catholics.* Pius IX took the papal chair in 1846, and showed himself to be the greatest pope since Hildebrand and Innocent III. Two revolutions unseated him, but still he scarcely realized that he lived in the nineteenth century. Devoted to the Virgin Mary, he proclaimed, in 1854, "the Immaculate Conception." Ten years later he sent his Encyclical Letter to all Roman Catholic bishops, requiring them to denounce and condemn many leading beliefs in science, politics, and Protestantism and uphold his authority as supreme over all human governments. After certain commotions and wars, the pope resolved to maintain his lofty assumptions by having a council to indorse them. The council at Rome, in 1870, the first since that of Trent, might well be the last, since it declared the pope infallible when deciding questions of doctrine, worship, and morals. This claim was opposed in the council by a minority, and in France by Père Hyacinthe (Loyson) and his sympathizers; but the strongest resis-

tance to it was in Germany. There Dr. J. J. Döllinger was a leader in a strong party which admitted the spiritual headship of the bishop of Rome, but denied to him any powers that were not recognized by the Church of the fifth century. Theirs was the Jansenist doctrine. Hence the term applied to them—"Old Catholics."

An earnest effort was made, in Germany, to induce or compel all bishops, priests, professors, and teachers in the schools, to accept the doctrine of papal infallibility. The success was surprising. The four chief bishops complied. But a large number of professors and teachers refused to yield. Then the Infallibilists demanded that the government remove the disobedient. They mustered all their forces in the diet, but lost their case. They so mingled in politics as to bring severe measures against them. If they should control the Roman Catholic schools and chairs in the universities, the pope might come to wield the supreme power in Germany. Even civil obedience to the national rulers and laws might be ended. The Jesuits and other orders had been active, for in Prussia their convents had increased from sixty-nine in 1855, to eight hundred and twenty-six in 1869, and in certain provinces they controlled the schools. The Protestants and Old Catholics demanded the repression of the Infallibilists. The diet of 1872 expelled all foreign Jesuits from the empire, as Pope Pius IX had once expelled them from the Papal States. Their institutions were suppressed, and Bismarck was determined that popes shall not rule in Prussia. The next year the Falk-laws were passed, requiring all bishops to swear fidelity to the government, and applying equally to all parties, but allowing no papal supremacy in Germany. To these the Old Catholics have no serious objection. They have their own churches and schools, on the same footing with Protestants, or with the papists who will hold papal infallibility as a merely private dogma. The Old Catholics were without a bishop until 1873, when they elected professor Reinkens, who was consecrated by the Jansenist bishop of Deventer, in Holland, and acknowledged by the Prussian Government as a true "Catholic bishop." They soon claimed eighty thousand adherents in Germany, with seventy priests. In Switzerland they provided for a National Synod, which should elect their bishops. Questions of papal supremacy over citizens in their civil allegiance have risen in England, and W. E. Gladstone has written powerfully against it.

IV. Italy enters on a new era. The imprisonment of such Bible-readers as the Madai, and the retention of the Jewish boy Mortara, by the Jesuits, caused indignation in Christendom. After the revolution of 1848 the Waldenses and Protestants of various lands began to plant Churches in such cities as Milan, Genoa, Turin, and Florence, and still later entered Rome. In 1855 all the strictly monastic orders were abolished. Victor Immanuel gave constitutional freedom and unity to Italy. The pope lost his temporal power (1870), and the Inquisition was repressed. Pope Leo XIII, elected in 1878, laments that he can not employ "an efficacious remedy" to growing Protestantism. More enlightened men rejoice in his impotency. "I daily thank God," said Chevalier Bunsen, on his dying bed, "that I have lived to see Italy free. Now twenty-six millions will be able to believe that God governs the world."

In Spain the Liberals of 1833-44 overthrew the papal hierarchy, turned the Inquisition against priests and monks, abolished the monastic orders and houses, confiscated their property to the state, and dismissed the papal nuncio. Queen Isabella (1844) began the restoration of Romanism, but a series of revolutions prevented a thorough success. Since 1870 the Protestants of various countries have made earnest efforts to circulate the Bible and a Christian literature, and plant Churches. The prospects were encouraging until 1875, when the young Prince Alphonso became king. The fifty thousand Bibles placed in Spanish homes will not fail to produce good results, since the Inquisition is powerless. The theory that Protestantism is a Germanic spirit and religion, and can not flourish on the soil of the Latin nations, may yet be proved false. It struck root in Italy and Spain in the sixteenth century, but was torn up by papal violence. It only needs an opportunity to be planted again among a people craving for the fruitage of constitutional liberty. Not climate, nor race, but Rome, has been its enemy. There is now a small Presbyterian denomination, well organized, in Spain.

V. The Established Church of Russia is Greek, using the popular language. Its visible head is the emperor, who governs it through a synod of prelates. Out of nearly eighty-six millions of people, over fifty-four millions belong to it. Dissenters are tolerated. About one hundred and twenty thousand Raskolniks (apostates) reject the reforms of the learned patriarch Nikon, 1652, and have various parties and doctrines. There are about seven million four hundred thousand Romanists, two million four hundred thousand Mohammedans, two million six hundred thousand Jews, two hundred and seventy thousand United Greeks and Armenians, two hundred and sixty thousand pagans, and two million six hundred thousand Protestants, chiefly Lutheran—with a theological school at Dorpat.

VI. *Protestants of various European lands.* The Reformed Church of Holland, established in seven states, had no National Synod until 1816. By colonies and missions it has branched into other continents. It grew rationalistic. Certain deposed but faithful ministers, in 1834, with their flocks, organized the free Christian Reformed Church, which has about three hundred and forty congregations. They adhere to the old confessions. The Established Church of Belgium did not satisfy an evangelical party, which formed a free Church (1838). About one-seventh of the fifteen millions of people in Hungary are Protestants, and the Calvinists, in 1878, resolved to have a National Synod for their two thousand congregations. The Calvinists of Bohemia are organizing on a more presbyterian basis.

VII. Sabbath-schools have been established in Germany since 1862, largely by the efforts of Mr. Woodruff, of New York, and the American Methodists; in the state Churches there are now about fifteen hundred, and in the free Churches over five hundred such schools.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CHURCHES OF THE BRITISH ISLES.

1688—1878.

I. THE PROGRESS OF LIBERTY.

MACAULAY says, "The highest eulogy which can be pronounced on the Revolution of 1688 is this, that it was our last revolution. Several generations have now passed away since any wise and patriotic Englishman has meditated resistance to the established government. . . . For the authority of law, for the security of property, for the peace of our streets, for the happiness of our homes, our gratitude is due, under Him who raises and pulls down nations at his pleasure, to the Long Parliament, to the Convention, and to William of Orange. . . . Foremost in the list of benefits which our country owes to the Revolution we place the Toleration Act." The final effect of this act was to grant to all Protestants in England and Scotland a larger religious liberty than they had ever enjoyed. While John Locke was at this very time pleading for still more freedom, his letters on toleration helped to make this measure popular, and prepare the way for greater liberality of law. The Friends, or Quakers,* who objected to an oath, affirmed their Christian belief and their allegiance to the king, and had religious freedom. But the act did not legalize the worship of Romanists and Unitarians. The Non-jurors—Sancroft with other bishops and four hundred clergy who refused the oath to the king—wished to see a Stuart on the throne, kept quiet in their schism, lived in pious devotion, held services in hired rooms and private houses, grew less in numbers, and their remnant finally merged in the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

When the plan of comprehension failed the Dissenters were left to the voluntary system of Church support. By the Test

* Note I.

Act their ministers must subscribe the doctrinal part of the Thirty-nine Articles. Prelacy, Presbytery, and Independency, each took its own road into history. The first continued to be established by law in England and Ireland, the second in Scotland, and the third was free from the state every-where, except for a time, in the Puritan colonies of America.

To-day a more generous tolerance prevails in the laws and spirit of men. Yet all Christians honor most and love best the men of that time whose theology was most clean cut, pronounced, vital to themselves, visible to us, always definite, and sometimes defiant of all other beliefs. We care little for the writings of Tillotson, the kindly archbishop, whose hand was open to all Dissenters, for those sermons, after which the printers rushed, give us a dictionary of Greek words and moral orations. Among other liberals Cudworth* is left to metaphysicians and Burnet to historians. But Pearson, who had his battle with the Dissenters, left us an exposition of the apostle's creed worth our study; and George Bull, rich enough to have the best private library of his day, touches the heart when he defends the Nicene faith. And Bishop Ken is not thought of as a non-juror when we sing his doxology, "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow." Here is one delightful fact in literature. The strife of good writers is forgotten; we hardly care to what Church or party they belonged. We may dissent from some of their views, but we claim their books as the common heritage of Christianity. Latimer, Jewell, Hall, Fuller, Barrow, and Jeremy Taylor of the Anglicans; Goodwin, Owen, Howe, Brooks, and Doddridge of the Independents; Rutherford, Baxter, Ambrose, Matthew Henry, and Poole of the Presbyterians; Bunyan and Gill of the Baptists; John Selden the Erastian, and William Penn the Quaker; they are all ours in that Christian brotherhood which books render unbroken on earth.

William III was not loved by the nation nor appreciated by his age, whose religious liberties he so greatly advanced.

*Whichcote, Cudworth, and Henry More were leaders of the Cambridge Platonists during the seventeenth century. They brought forward moderation, religious liberty, the reasonableness of Christianity, and an alliance between Christian and philosophic truths. They foreran the present broad churchmen. Dr. Tulloch, of Scotland, has ably set forth their principles.

"More tolerant than his ministers or his parliaments, the childless man seems like the unknown character in algebra, which is introduced to form the equation and dismissed when the problem is solved." It required more than a century of agitation to reach a better solution of the vexed questions between the State Church and the Free Churches. His sister-in-law, Queen Anne (1701-14), threw the Dissenters into alarm by her eagerness for conformity. They were every-where insulted; their preachers, even in London, were hardly safe upon the streets. The common threat of pulling down their meeting-houses was executed upon one chapel. But they were strong in numbers and social influence. They were loyal, and did not favor the pretender, James. While Marlborough was gaining victories over the French, and the Psalms of Isaac Watts were finding voice in the free Churches, the Tories were threatening to root out dissent by the Schism Bill, which required all teachers to conform to the Established Church. One bishop argued that the bill was needed to prevent the Dissenters from drawing the children of the land to their schools, so excellent were the teachers. "A poor return," replied Lord Wharton, "for the public benefit received from those schools, in which the greatest men of the realm have been educated—men who have made a glorious peace for England, paid the debts of the nation, and advanced commerce." The bill passed; the queen gladly signed it; the blow was about to fall upon the best means of education in England, and the seminaries for training dissenting ministers, when "the good Queen Anne" died, and the scheme failed. In 1707 Scotland was reunited to England. Ireland waited until 1801, for that privilege.

An epoch in the history of Dissent, and the progress from toleration to liberty,* began in the reign of George I (1714-27).

*Stages of advance in the freedom of Dissenters after the Toleration Act;
 1. *Enforcement* of the Corporation Act (1661), excluding them from all city offices, the Test Act (1673), denying them all civil, naval, and military offices, and the Act (1689) requiring subscription to the doctrinal Articles, 1689-1714. 2. *Connivance* of subscription, the law being a dead letter; other severe acts usually ignored, 1715-79. 3. *Release* from subscription by Lord Houghton's bill in 1779, but hearty assent to the Bible and Protestantism required, 1779-1828. 4. *Repeal* of all disabling acts, 1828-76. A higher degree of liberty had existed for forty years in the United States of America, confirmed by the Constitution in 1788.

A Lutheran in profession, too fond of strong beer and lax courtesans; unwilling for the aged Leibnitz to follow him from Hanover to England, as the rival of Sir Isaac Newton in philosophy; intent on the rights of Calvinists in the Palatinate so that the "Heidelberg Catechism goes its free course again;" maintaining the Established Churches of England and Scotland, and assured that Christian charity required tolerance of all Protestants. He indorsed Bishop Hoadly's sermon (1717), in which an attack was made upon all laws that limited the civil rights of any class of Christians. "The Church of Christ can not be protected or encouraged by human laws and penalties." In Parliament Hoadly affirmed that all religious tests abridged the natural rights of man, were an injury to the state, and a scandal to religion. Other bishops joined him; a strong party grew up in favor of repealing all Test Acts and removing all civil disabilities from Dissenters; but the victory was not fully won until England had been shaken by the boldness of deism, by the roar of immorality, by the reviving spirit of Methodism, by the revolutions in America and France, and by the evangelical forces which gave rise to the great societies for advancing knowledge, missions, benevolence, and reform. Then a new age had come. A new order of statesmen had risen in the Whig party, which allied itself to the Dissenters. In 1828 Lord John Russell advocated the rights of three millions of people in the Free Churches, and when he rose in Parliament and gave notice of a motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, he was loudly cheered. From all quarters of Great Britain petitions streamed in, and, despite all the amendments of Lord Eldon, the repeal bill passed without a division. Daniel O'Connell, pleading eloquently for the liberties of Ireland, had aided in the measure; the Dissenters now joined him in securing the emancipation of the Roman Catholics (1829).* Jews and men of every creed have toleration in Great Britain.

II. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The claim is, that the Anglican theology is based on the teachings of the general Church during the first five centuries. It was shaped by Pearson, Burnet, and Beveridge in their expo-

* In 1826 the Irish Presbyterians had urged the measure.

sitions of the Creed and Thirty-nine Articles; by Bull and Waterland in their historical defenses of Nicene doctrine; and by Taylor, Stillingfleet, and Butler. After the judicious Hooker, minute attention was paid to ecclesiastical polity by Bingham and Riddle, and a line of advocates who successfully resisted the repeated attempts to modify the liturgy and essential canons. Gilbert Burnet (bishop, 1688-1715), whose histories show that he knew quite well the Churches of his time, wrote that "politics and party spirit eat out what little piety remains among us." There was an easiness rather than a true liberality in doctrine. Personal religion, in its devouter phases, was not advanced. Wise men feared that spirituality would become extinct. Morality, defenses of Christianity, and replies to deism, were the chief themes of the pulpit. More was done to prove, than to apply the truths of the Bible. A fresh zeal was kindled for outward rites and services. High-Churchism grew into a fashion. One writer says that "the meeting-houses of Protestant Dissenters were thought to be more defiled places than popish chapels." The country clergy were poor and ignorant rather than immoral. Many a curate worked for his board in the house of a squire, groomed horses, raised turnips, ate at the second table, and did well if he married the waiter. Dean Swift, said to be the greatest master of style, irony, and humor, that ever had used an English pen, but whose piety was in an inverse ratio to his wit, describes the English vicar as apt to be rudely treated by the squire, but having a parsonage and a field or two at command. "He has every Sunday the comfort of a full congregation of plain, cleanly people. . . . If he be the son of a farmer it is very convenient, and his sister may very decently be chambermaid to the squire's wife. He goes about on working-days in a grazier's coat, and will not scruple to assist his workmen in harvest times. He is usually wary and thrifty, and often more able to provide for a large family than some of ours (Irish) can do with a rectory called three hundred pounds a year. His daughters shall go to service, or be sent apprentice to the sempstress in the next town, and his sons are put to honest trades." The city clergy had their particular clubs and coffee-houses, where they met to hear and read the news. Their talk was lively when the Revolution was on trial in the case of Dr. Sachev-

erel, who was arraigned and convicted by Parliament (1710) for two sermons in which he censured the government. He was suspended from his ministry for three years.

An improvement began in the clergy when the bishops gave more attention to the Word of God. Two societies had been formed, one for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (1698), and the other for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. By one Bibles, religious books, and tracts were distributed at home; by the other the Gospel was sent to heathen lands. There was also, about 1740, a society for the reformation of manners, and its reports show a sad state of popular morals at that period. "An age that could delight in the plays of Congreve, and welcome (especially from a clergyman) such poems as Prior's, has virtually admitted all that has been alleged against it. The novels of Fielding and Smollett, the letters of Chesterfield, the works of Bolingbroke, are only specimens of the diversified evidence that can be brought forward to the same effect. And though such moralists as Addison had not written in vain, and the censorship of society was, in 1738, on the point of being revived with still greater power by Samuel Johnson, the tone of their writings and the facts which they adduce is perhaps the most conclusive proof of the point to which the general feeling had ebbed."

It was assumed by certain bishops and clergy that theirs was "the Church;" that her continuity and episcopal succession were unbroken from the apostles; that she was Catholic rather than Protestant; that no sacrament was validly administered except by men episcopally ordained; that the sacraments were so necessary to salvation as to leave all who died without receiving them to the uncovenanted mercies of God; and that all Dissenters entering their Church must be rebaptized. This was denying that the Dissenters were Christians. It was exalting Churchism at the expense of Christianity, at the very time when the Christian faith was powerfully assailed by a new corps of Deists. Herbert had attempted to set up natural theology in place of Christianity. Now Deism seized upon Locke's doctrine of experience as the source of knowledge, and the philosopher could not stay its progress by his defenses of Christianity. The skeptical thinkers set up a religion of so-called common sense. Tindal, a professor of law at Oxford (died

1733), tried to show that Christianity was as old as the creation, or a merely natural system. The art was to give Deism the name of Christianity; but the mere name did not carry Christ with it. The most powerful refutation of English Deism was made by Bishop Butler in two forms—his “*Analogy*” (1736), and his example of a saintly life. Hume made his assault upon miracles, and led the theologians into a new controversy. Gibbon was understood to treat the early Church with sarcasm, magnify her errors, reduce the number of her martyrs and her miracles,* so that he received critical attention. The learned clergy were engaged in defending Christianity as a system, rather than preaching it as the method and means of salvation. From Tillotson to Paley, who died in 1805, there was a noble array of talent in the provinces of Christian ethics and evidences. But good fences do not keep weeds out of a field, nor produce rich crops. All the English Churches were invaded by another type of free thought, one less extreme, but more dangerous; for it asked a compromise of faith. This was Unitarianism, in Arian and Socinian forms.

John Biddle, the first Unitarian separatist in England, respected for his learning and devout spirit, died in 1662, after an imprisonment for his opinions. His chapel in London was a refuge for a band of Socinians who had been expelled from Poland, and were scattering widely through Europe. But the laws were severe upon them, and the society was disbanded. English thinkers, charmed with metaphysical studies, developed the modern form of Arianism. Dr. Halley, a Congregational historian, says, “The early Unitarians among the non-conformists were not Presbyterians, as commonly supposed, but Independents and Baptists.” But the fact is, all the Churches were contemporaneously invaded by it. In 1702 the Presbyterian, Thomas Emlyn, was excluded from his pulpit in Dublin for Unitarianism. For the same cause Professor William Whiston was expelled, in 1710, from Cambridge. Two years later Dr. Samuel Clarke, a rector in London, whose ontological argument for the being of God is like that of Anselm, published his Arian book on the Trinity. In this new controversy Water-

* In the warm controversy Dr. Conyers Middleton wrote critically to show that miracles ceased with the death of the apostles—an opinion now very prevalent.

land was the Athanasius, and the champion of honest subscription to creeds. Avowed and earnest Arianism took refuge among the Dissenters for the next seventy years, and made sad havoc of the English Presbyterian Church. In 1771 about three hundred clergymen of the English Church formed the 'Feather's Tavern Association,' and demanded that subscription to doctrinal articles be abolished, and that the anathemas be stricken from the Athanasian Creed. This led to a war of pamphlets. Laymen became bolder. The doctrine of the Trinity was ridiculed. In the House of Commons one speaker said, "I would gladly exchange all the Thirty-nine Articles for a fortieth, which should treat of the peace of the Church." Bishop Horsely defended the Anglican doctrines. This brought out Wakefield, who avowed himself a Socinian. With him Christianity was a progressive science. He led a small party out of the Church.

Thus Deism, Arianism, Socinianism, formalism, latitudinarian theology, and public immorality were all working their results at the same time. England was alive with controversy of all sorts. But during those very years there was one movement full of redeeming power. Whatever may have been the mistakes of some of its leaders, it is now recognized by Anglicans as "a sixth reform." It awoke men to spirituality. Howell Harris and Whitefield are not ignored when a Bampton lecturer calls it "the great Wesleyan revival of personal religion—a revival which began within the Church of England; but which the leaders of the Church at that time had not the fidelity or the skill to know how to employ for her advantage; and so they thrust it out from them, to swell the ranks and revive the dying enthusiasm of dissent." Another Anglican writer says, "The Church of Rome, in her deep sagacity, would have seized the opportunity, drawn Wesley into closer union, and made him the instrument of reviving a languishing cause."

A goodly number of earnest men, who never left the Church of England, went heartily into the movement. Rowland Hill was its Latimer, Cecil left us his thoughts, the Venns their ideas of Christian duty, the Milners their history, Romaine his treatise on faith, and Charles Simeon had great influence at Cambridge. John Newton, a sailor in the slave-trade, became a saintly rector and writer of hymns. Bishop Porteus, of

London, was earnest in the revival. He looked cautiously into the scheme of Robert Raikes, a printer at Gloucester, and the founder of Sunday-schools, in 1781, and the bishop gave his hearty support to an institution which has blessed the children of Christendom. He was aided by Hannah More, as Whitefield was by the Countess of Huntingdon. A spirit of philanthropy infinitely more loving to man than that of which the French revolutionists boasted, became mighty through William Wilberforce, that brilliant, fascinating man, who turned from social applauses to the service of Christ and humanity. To him, with the Quakers, Clarkson, Gurney, Sharpe, and Buxton, with John Howard and Caroline Fry, is largely due the freedom of Russian serfs and American slaves, the reformation of hospitals, and the more merciful treatment of prisoners. Out of that spirit has grown a Social Science. That great revival carried a Christian heart and hand, Bible and Chapel, to the poorest miners, operatives in factories, fishermen, and sailors, and began the slow process of their moral elevation. It caused bishops and city rectors to preach a more spiritual Gospel to the rich. It led to a more faithful pastoral work. If it "evangelized the Church and saved the nation," it united both of them in many a Christian enterprise. Within the English Church has sprung up a society for almost every department of spiritual work.

The Low-church party became evangelical. Its adherents claimed to stand upon the doctrine and polity of the English reformers before the days of Laud. Perry thinks they were too Calvinistic, and he says: "In their hands the Church did not assert her apostolical claims, her vast privileges as the dispenser of the sacraments, the instrument of covenanted blessings. With them no appeal was made to primitive order and ancient tradition. . . . They had a nervous horror of any thing which had been touched by the polluting hands of papists, and thus they failed to conciliate the lovers of ancient ritual and mediæval devotion." They were fraternal to all evangelical bodies of Christians, regarding Christ, and not any visible form of the Church, as the true center and source of unity. They have loved episcopacy, but apostolic succession has been disavowed by many such writers as Ryle, Alford, and J. B. Lightfoot. The High-church party has not entirely forgotten

the Calvinism of Whitgift, nor been lost in the Tractarian movement, which began in 1833, and for a time agitated the entire Church. The Tractarians, or Anglo-catholics, or Puseyites, with Dr. Pusey as one of their leaders, not only wished to secure more liberty for the Romanists in England, but also to revive the study of the Fathers and mediæval writers, and to restore certain doctrines and ceremonies which were retained in the time of Henry VIII. They sent forth the Oxford Tracts, and had much to say in favor of apostolic succession, baptismal regeneration, auricular confession, and the real presence. Also they wished to show that the Church was a body distinct from the state; that the advantages derived from their union were not indispensable; and that the Church could still exist if her revenues were confiscated, as she existed during the first three centuries. But their most vital principle was sacramentarianism; and the movement culminated when John H. Newman, in Tract No. 90, endeavored to show how much Romanism might be held by a subscriber to the Thirty-nine Articles, and when he, more consistently, went into the Roman Church. He was followed by many of his friends. One of them, Cardinal Manning, now thinks that the Roman Catholic Church is "approaching a crisis the most fiery in three hundred years." The learned Pusey, the devout Keble, and other leaders, remained in the English Church. Some of their party went to an extreme in ritualism. Orby Shipley, one of the many perverts to Rome from the Anglican Church, says that he has "long held and long taught nearly every Catholic doctrine not actually denied by the Anglican formularies, and has accepted and helped to revive nearly every Catholic practice not positively forbidden." That is, he was as disloyal as he dared to be in the face of Parliamentary acts (1874) which were intended to repress ritualism.

A third party is that of the "Broad Church," for which a road was cleared by S. T. Coleridge, the philosopher, poet, and converser; and by Dr. Thomas Arnold, the famous teacher at Rugby, the eminent historian, and the comprehensionist who urged a scheme for embracing all Dissenters, except a few Quakers and Romanists, in the national Church. Episcopacy was to be retained, the liturgy used in the morning, and a service preferred by Dissenters used at the later hours of the

Sabbath. Molesworth says, "These proposals, which might perhaps have found favor in an ecclesiastical millennium, were scouted both by Churchmen and Dissenters, at a time when the spirit of religious party raged with a violence and bitterness rarely, if ever, equaled." This party shelters a liberal theology. In its ranks may be counted Dean Stanley, and the late Professors Maurice and Kingsley, all of strong humanitarian sympathies. To its new school of history belong Froude and Freeman. An extreme rationalism has appeared in Colenso, Bishop of Natal in Africa, Baden Powell and his fellow-essayists, the *Westminster Review*, and Charles Voysey, who openly assailed the most cherished beliefs of Christendom, and still pleaded, on his trial, that he had not contradicted the express words of the Articles or the liturgy. He was deprived of his benefice.

The loyal Anglicans have not yet spoken their last word for the truths of Christianity, and for a Church of which Marsden says: "No institution since the world began—not the papacy in the summit of its pride—ever wielded such an influence as the Church of England now possesses. Her members, and especially her clergy, scarcely strike a note at home that is not listened to throughout the vast American republic, echoed in Canadian forests, reported on the Ganges and the Indus, in burning Africa and in the countless islands and new-born continents of the southern seas."*

III. DISSENTERS IN ENGLAND.

1. *The Presbyterians.* They sprang into activity as soon as the Toleration Act of 1689 was passed. They soon had their own organization, with fully thirty chapels, in London and vicinity, some sixty in Yorkshire, and many more in Northumberland; perhaps eight hundred in all England. But in the early part of the eighteenth century they were affected by the religious declension prevalent in all the Churches. Their soundest men did not see that "it is one thing to preach orthodoxy and another to preach the Gospel." Many of them soon failed to preach either. Their dead faith was not roused by Arianism; they slept themselves into Unitarianism. This strange lapse is often attributed to their neglect of the presbyterial system, their

* For estimates of the Anglican and other Churches see Notes II and III, at the end of the last chapter.

affiliation with the Independents, and to their lack of subscription to the Westminster Confession. If this be true, it should also be remembered that the Independents were equally opposed to subscription to creeds, and yet they resisted the invading Arianism far more successfully. The greater part of the English Presbyterians departed from their Calvinistic faith. They seemed to be charmed with the metaphysical nature of the controversy. They made pleas for the innocency of mental error. Their controversy made divisions in 1717, when Mr. Pierce, minister at Exeter, was found to omit the doxology in his public services. The presbytery proposed that all its members should subscribe the Trinitarian part of the creed. Pierce and Hallet refused. They were dismissed from their pastoral charges. Pierce led three hundred seceders to a new chapel, and Unitarianism began to spread with astonishing rapidity. The real question now was that of subscription. In 1719 the London Synod had the famous Salter's Hall Controversy; sixty-nine voted for subscription, and most of them went over to the Independents; seventy-three voted against subscription to any human formulary, alleging that it was enough to subscribe to the Bible. The Presbyterians generally departed from their own Church polity, and most of their congregations, with their ecclesiastical property, passed into Unitarianism.

At least one Presbytery in Northumberland preserved the lineage, and reared Robert Morrison, the founder of Protestant missions in China (1807). Since then ministers of the Scottish Churches began to organize congregations in England. The cause lost somewhat by the erratic career of the brilliant Scot, Edward Irving, who drew crowds to his Church in London, died in 1834, and left his followers to develop Montanistic theories.* But the loss was more than repaired by Dr. James Hamilton and Dr. John Cumming in London. Thus elements largely Scottish in form came in existence for a new organization. In 1876 they were united in the Presbyterian Church of England; a vigorous body, with about two hundred and sixty congregations, ten presbyteries, a college in London with a theological faculty, and prosperous missions at home and in foreign lands. So the Westminster Confession, without the political alliances, is restored to England.

* Note II.

2. *The Independents or Congregationalists.* Their Confession of Savoy (1658) was so nearly a republication of the Westminster Confession, except in Church polity, that the two were long held side by side. Their union with Presbyterians and Baptists (1691 and 1730) had a less religious than political value. It served to keep in force the Toleration Act and promoted civil and religious liberty. One of their most influential men was Philip Doddridge, to whom the Dissenters owe their academies. He collected young men in his house at Northampton, and thus began a theological school which served as a model for others. But nearly all the academies were invaded by Socinianism. Lardner, Priestley, and Belsham drifted into it. Science owes much to Joseph Priestley; orthodoxy owes more, for he was candid enough to avow boldly his doctrines, after he came (as he says), "to embrace what is called the heterodox side of every question." He caused men to see where they stood. "The unlawful truce with error, which was too long the sin of many Dissenters, and which did more mischief than any form of warfare, was broken." The Independents braced themselves, not only against the Arianizing influences, but also against the Antinomianism of Dr. Tobias Crisp and his admirers. He was "one of the first patrons of Calvinism run mad." For long they adhered to the Calvinism of Westminster. They used creeds for purposes of instruction, scientific definition, and public avowal, but not as tests, not as standards to be subscribed, nor as bonds of union, "reserving to every one the most perfect liberty of conscience." Thus they held until 1833, when the Congregational Union of England and Wales was formed. The Union put forth a declaration of Calvinistic doctrines. Their writers tell us that, on the whole, these doctrines are still held by the English Independents, although there are "a few men of mental vigor who have departed very considerably from the published creeds of Congregationalism." From the time of John Owen they have had a line of scholars, apologists, theologians, and cyclopædists of marked ability and world-wide reputation. They have fully three thousand five hundred churches, with several colleges and theological schools of a high order. Their literature, their science, and their London missionary society (1795) have given them an influence far beyond the limits of Britain. There are about five thousand Independents

in Ireland. The present Congregational Union of Scotland, with about one hundred and twenty churches, is not so much due to the followers of John Glas (1725), as to the labors of Robert and James Haldane, after the year 1798. They began as evangelists, but the opposition to them led to the building of chapels and the organization of independent Churches, which did not all adopt their practice of immersion. This body has a theological college at Glasgow.

3. *The Baptists* were differentiated from other Dissenters early in the seventeenth century by holding that immersion is essential to baptism, and that believers, and not infants, are the proper subjects of it. They rebaptized believers who had not been immersed. They are independent in Church government. Among the General Baptists there was almost every variety of doctrine. Most of them became Socinians. In 1770 the more evangelical part of them organized the New Connection, which now reckons about two hundred churches. The Particular Baptists began to organize in 1633, in London. A few years later they put forth a Calvinistic Confession of Faith based on that of Westminster. Needing toleration, they earnestly pleaded for it. Under Cromwell they prospered. In 1660-88 they suffered in common with all Dissenters. Of John Bunyan (1628-88) Dr. John Owen said to King Charles: "Had I that tinker's abilities for preaching I would gladly relinquish all my learning." He was twelve years in Bedford jail, and from it he sent out the *Pilgrim's Progress*, an imperishable allegory upon salvation by grace. It placed him in the tolerant republic of literature. He advocated open communion. His numerous writings have recently been re-edited by an Anglican churchman.

The Particular Baptists greatly increased in numbers and power, after the act of toleration. The learned Jessey and Keach were excelled in active Biblical scholarship by Dr. John Gill, theologian and commentator, who died in 1771. His brethren generally carried their predestinarian views to an extreme for a short time, and ceased to entreat all men to repent and believe. They addressed the Gospel only to the elect and the eternally justified.* The great revival started a

* The charge of Antinomianism had previously been brought against several Congregationalists, the chief of whom was Dr. Tobias Crisp (1642). When his

new life in their Churches. Robert Hall and his more distinguished son of the same name, Andrew Fuller, the Stennetts, Pearce, Miss Steele, a writer of hymns, John Ryland and John Foster were among the shining lights of their age. William Carey, a studious shoemaker, was a prince among missionaries in Bengal, representing a society founded in 1792, which has been active in heathen lands. His terse saying: "Expect great things, attempt great things," has become one of the watchwords of Christian enterprise. In 1802 the Rev. Thomas Charles, of Wales, the chief organizer of the Calvinistic Methodists, met a little girl who was accustomed to walk seven miles over the hills to a place where she could read a Welsh Bible. He proposed to the Religious Tract Society, at London, that a society be formed for supplying the destitute families of Wales with the Bible. "Certainly," replied one of the secretaries, the Rev. Joseph Hughes, a Baptist, "but if for Wales, why not for the world?" To him has been accorded the honor of founding the British and Foreign Bible Society, in 1804, its officers being chosen equally from churchmen and Dissenters. With her two thousand congregations, her missions, colleges, literature, and spirituality, the Baptist Church in England and Wales has made herself prosperous at home and powerful in foreign lands. C. H. Spurgeon, who represents the open communionists, and a vigorous but practical Calvinism, has reached millions of people with his voice, pen, and widely published sermons. No other man has done more to advance theological education in his denomination, and to bring it into mutual fellowship with the rest of the evangelical world. The Scottish Baptists, dating from 1765, are less numerous than those of Ireland, who are estimated at five thousand members.

4. *The Methodists.* Their Church, late in time but large in space and power, was born in that blessed revival which made an epoch, and whose origin can be traced to no one man, no one locality, no special creed, no peculiar sect. Almost contemporaneously the Omnipresent Spirit, who breathed where he listed, was giving new life to multitudes of people through the labors of Christian David among the Moravians, the Pietists in

works were republished his views were strongly opposed by Baxter, Howe, and forty other ministers of different bodies. The Antinomian controversy was intense.

Germany, Antoine Court in France, Jonathan Edwards in New England, certain pastors in Scotland, Howell Harris in Wales, and Whitefield and Wesley in England. The widely extended work had begun before the Wesleys made any really popular impression.

John Wesley, born in 1703, was the son of a learned rector and his saintly wife, at Epworth, in Lincolnshire. He studied at Oxford, read á Kempis and Jeremy Taylor, cherished a devotional religion, and became his father's curate, but soon went back to Oxford on a fellowship, and was engaged as a tutor. He joined the religious club (1729) of his younger brother Charles. Its members adopted certain strict methods of study, diet, exercise, and spiritual life; hence they were called *Methodists*. They stood upon no peculiar doctrinal basis. The Wesleys then tended to pietistic ritualism. George Whitefield, the son of a godless tavern-keeper, and a servitor at college, poor and lonely, in his spiritual struggles almost wished for Luther's monastery. These twenty or thirty Oxford Methodists, serious, ascetic; fearful of sinning in a hearty laugh or at a good dinner; deploring the godlessness prevalent at the university; wary of the scholastic tomes in the old library; reading the Greek Testament at fixed hours; taking the Lord's Supper every Sunday; keeping only each other's company; shunned by churchly collegians; ridiculed by deistic students; nicknamed bigots and "Bible moths," but the best of them seeking to do good among the poor, took variant paths into the world, and developed a variety of views and characters. One fell into rascality; another was the village drone of his own parish. Gambold's fine hymns do not bewray his vagaries as a Moravian bishop. Some of them left the Wesleys with a biting word, and James Hervey opposed them in the Christian spirit which glows through his Dialogues and Meditations. But the club was the cradle of a great society. All the choicer souls, as John Wesley wrote forty years afterward, "attempted a reformation, not of opinions, but of men's tempers and lives; of vice of every kind; of every thing contrary to justice, mercy, or truth. And for this it was that they carried their lives in their hands." We have seen that the reform was needed.

John Wesley was charmed with the ardent piety and the fearless faith of the Moravians, whom he met on the rocking

ship when sailing for his brief mission in Georgia,* and others whom he visited at Herrnhut. But they were not his wisest teachers. The Moravians of London were helpers for a time, but they endangered the new movement by their contempt of order and religious forms, and they were eliminated from it with long and painful effort. Already he cherished his two leading ideas: God's love to all men, and the Christian's privilege of living in a blissful state of conscious salvation. In the main, his theology was that of the Thirty-nine Articles as interpreted in the light of the current Arminianism of England, but with more warmth, more ardor to save sinners, more earnest pressure of evangelical truths upon individuals, and much stress upon instant assurance. In his old age he wrote thus of "full sanctification: This doctrine is the grand *depositum* which God has lodged with the people called Methodists. For the sake of propagating this, chiefly, he appeared to have raised them up." Also, "to retain the grace of God is much more than to gain it: hardly one in three does this. And this should be strongly urged on all who have tasted of perfect love." He began his career as Spener had begun in Pietism, with the plan of forming bands,† or classes, of converts and people seeking this higher life. The work of gathering, instructing, and retaining converts was at the basis of popular organization. If the Anglican Church, which he never forsook, had favored these classes, prayer-meetings, and the conferences of the preachers, and had offered the pulpit to him and his co-laborers, a different course would have been given to his genius for organization, his love of system, his scholarship, his attractive accomplishments, his command over men, his good sense, his singular union of patience and moderation, his usual gentleness towards abusive opponents, his ceaseless industry, and his sanctified ambition in spiritual work. If he drew lots to obtain the answer of God when questions of duty or doctrine perplexed him, and had rather extreme ideas about special providences, he was decided in his purposes and plans, and he urged them forward as one predestined to do nothing else in this hard

* Whitefield was with him. He labored to found and raise funds for an Orphan House in Georgia.

† Zinzendorf had organized bands in 1727 among the Moravians, and introduced very simple love-feasts.

world. When France needed a restorer of Christian doctrine, John Calvin appeared, and when all Paris was against him, he gathered a little band about him, opened his Bible and often said, "If God be for us, who can be against us." In that confidence he founded a theology. When England needed Christ to vitalize her creed and Establishment, John Wesley appeared; and when in loneliness, weariness, illness, and perils, he could hopefully say, "The best of all is, God is with us." In that consolation he founded a Church. He was the most toilsome, unwearied, organizing spirit in a vast reformation.

In 1739 Wesley was in London, where the Oxford society had struck root. Methodism had its only band in Fetter Lane. He had drawn up rules for "band societies," and compiled his first hymn-book. He had printed some little volumes, chiefly from Calvinistic sources. He preached only a few times. The pulpits were nearly all shut against him. He prayed and taught in a few private houses. But he was discouraged. He often wished for retirement, but he could not endure inactivity, and hasted off to Bristol. Whitefield, now returned from Georgia, preached about thirty sermons in London churches. The rectors wanted no more from him. One of them opposed him, but the crowd pressed him into the sacred desk, and a disturbance threatened a riot. He, too, went to Bristol, but the newspaper was there before him, full of warning, and he was plainly told by the authorities that he could not preach nor lecture in that diocese. This was the turning-point in Methodism. Forbidden the pulpit, the preachers took the field, as the Covenanters had done, and the Huguenots were still doing.

Whitefield went to the poor colliers of Kingswood. They came by thousands out of the black dust of the mines, and as they listened the tears left white traces on their cheeks. Next time the woods rang with hymns of praise. Soon he was preaching at Cardiff, in the town hall; then at Bath on the commons; next about eight thousand people of Bristol heard him on the bowling green. In one place twenty thousand hearers were enchanted for one hour and a half. Within six weeks he had preached at a dozen places, to immense audiences. The whole country was astir. He sent for Wesley, who had doubted the wisdom of field-preaching, and felt that he was not yet an assured Christian. But he began at Bristol, extended his cir-

cuit, and was soon in London, holding a love-feast with great rejoicing in Fetter Lane. Charles Wesley had preached in pulpits as long as he was allowed, and then taken to the open field. They soon were glad to know that in Scotland Ralph Erskine had turned field-preacher, with fourteen thousand Scots to hear him.

Thus began the bold work. It increased in energy and wonder. Whitefield drew about fifty thousand people to Kennington common, and perhaps more to Moorfields. He was peculiarly the preacher, John Wesley the organizer, and Charles the singer and adviser, often restraining those who evinced their feelings in convulsions, and excesses of fear and joy. Whitefield traversed England, Scotland, and Ireland, preaching to unnumbered thousands. In thirty-four years eighteen thousand sermons fell from his lips. He was seven times in America, intent upon supporting his orphan house in Georgia, and promoting the gracious revival in all the colonies. He died un-resting, in 1770, fifty-six years of age, and his remains were laid at Newburyport, Massachusetts. He had exemplified his apology for labor—"I had rather wear out than rust out."

When the rector of Epworth curtly denied John Wesley his father's pulpit, nearly the whole town came at evening to hear John preach from his father's grave. The sublime scene was never to be forgotten. The effects, which he describes, were not unusual in his audiences and those of Whitefield. He says that "Lamentations and great groanings were heard, God bowing their hearts so; and on every side, as with one accord, they lifted up their voices and wept aloud; such a cry was heard of sinners as almost drowned my voice. But many of these soon lifted up their heads with joy, and broke out into thanksgiving, being assured they now had the desire of their souls, the forgiveness of their sins. Oh, let none think that his labor of love is lost because the fruit does not immediately appear! Near forty years did my father labor here, but he saw little fruit of all his labor. 'I took some pains among this people, too; and my strength also seemed spent in vain. But now the fruit appeared.'"

Wesley seemed to travel incessantly on preaching tours through the British Isles. His pen was busy with his journal and large correspondence. He read the classics and current

literature with "history, philosophy, and poetry, for the most part on horseback." He tells us that, when delayed by the tide in Wales, he sat down in a little cottage and translated Aldrich's Logic. He made Notes on the New Testament. He wrote or abridged two hundred small volumes, thus forming a popular library on a wide range of subjects. He started one of the earliest of the many modern Tract Societies. He was fifty years in the Calvinistic controversy with some of his co-workers. It caused a temporary estrangement between him and Whitefield, but their warm friendship was happily renewed. If he was almost flayed by the pen of Toplady, we place their stirring songs in our hymnals, and hide their quarrel in the cleft "Rock of Ages." He did not have such a work of battling Romanism and bringing theology into a system, as had fallen to Luther, Calvin, and Arminius. His conflicts were different. Protestant systems had already been settled. Wesley took his choice of them. Yet he was as fiercely opposed in his reforms as ever reformers had been in their measures. He had plans and methods similar to those of Wyclif. He was not arraigned before an "earthquake council," but a volcanic press belched its lava upon him. Even the good Rowland Hill lost his temper. Yet the vigorous effort of pamphleteers to write down John Wesley will be forgotten, along with that of Wesley to write down George Washington, for both had a good cause and were tremendously successful. Each had reason sometimes to be arbitrary; one over his societies, the other over his troops. Each undertook such a vast supervision that he could not be wise at all times. The man who could have filled the place which each of them held with more wisdom has not yet been named. One founded an ecclesiastical, the other a civil, republic.

Wesley was active in settling family disputes—one of the most difficult and painful being in his own household, after his unfortunate marriage, in 1751, with a rich widow who had four children. He left her wealth and will to herself, and thirty years of sorrows and separations were ended when the childless husband was informed that the jealous wife was quiet in her grave. When the exciseman let him know that he had entered no plate on the tax-lists he replied that he had two silver spoons in London and two others at Bristol, and "I shall not buy any

more while so many around me want bread." Like Calvin, he lived charitably, and died poor.

His bands and classes grew into societies and congregations. They had their chapels, or were connected with an Anglican Church, where the rector favored the movement. For the sacraments they long depended on the clergy of the Established Church, of whom a goodly number co-operated with the Wesleys. The lay-preachers were brought under strict rules. In 1744 the first conference was held in London, by six ministers, five of whom were Anglican clergymen. The country was divided into circuits, in which the preachers itinerated, each for a given time. In 1765 there were twenty-five circuits in England, two in Wales, four in Scotland, and eight in Ireland, and there were nearly one hundred lay-preachers.* The numbers rapidly increased, amid no small amount of persecution. Riots were not rare, and Wesley's life was often in peril. In 1784 he filed his Deed of Declaration in the Court of Chancery, naming one hundred preachers as "the conference of the people called Methodists." Thus the Conference was legalized as their supreme ecclesiastical court. This was its great charter. It fixed the system. Yet Wesley did not intend to found a sect or denomination. He wrote: "We are not dissenters from the Church [of England], and will do nothing willingly which tends to a separation from it. Our service is not such as supersedes the Church service." He and his co-workers made it a rule not to hold their meetings at the usual hours of Anglican worship.

In America the Methodists had prospered greatly, and the Revolutionary War virtually broke their connection with the western branch of the Anglican Church. The fifteen thousand members were urgent to have the sacraments administered to them, but their preachers were laymen. Wesley entreated the English clergy to ordain and send ministers to them, but his request was declined. He consulted with the excellent John Fletcher, the Vicar of Madeley, from whom came the famous theological "Checks," and his co-presbyter, Thomas Coke, a doctor of laws. He had long held that, in the New Testament, the presbyter was the equal of the bishop. He

* John Wesley was eager to stop lay preaching, as a rule, until his mother said to him, in 1739, "Thomas Maxfield is as surely called of God to preach as you are."

quoted the example of the Alexandrian Church, which, at the death of a bishop, provided a successor by presbyterial ordination. He and some of his co-presbyters of the Anglican Church ordained Coke (1784) as a bishop (or superintendent, for Wesley objected to using the term bishop) of the Methodists in America. They also ordained two presbyters for the same mission. Thus began the Methodist organization in America. Adam Clarke, of Irish birth (1762-1832), was then an English itinerant. About 1805 he settled in London and began his chief work, a Commentary on the Holy Bible, which "is a wonderful monument of his learning and industry."

After Wesley's death, at the age of eighty-eight years, in 1791, his seventy thousand followers in England demanded the administration of the sacraments in their own chapels. When this was granted by the Conference, in 1795, yet so as not to conflict openly with their administration by the rectors of churches, the last link with the mother Church was virtually severed. Their congregations soon became free churches. In law, they were thenceforth a body of Dissenters, with its own constitution. Their Conference had a synodical power. Their ordained ministers were presbyters, and their bishops were superintendents, rather than prelates. In the main their system was presbyterial. But the body was already divided. Two branches were Calvinistic—the Welsh Methodists (see below), and Lady Huntingdon's Connection. This enterprising countess engaged Whitefield as her chaplain and adviser, and her generous patronage won for her a leadership over many of his followers. She built chapels, maintained preachers, and founded a college, now at Cheshunt. Rowland Hill ministered in Surrey Chapel. The later cleavage in Wesleyan Methodism gave rise to the Primitive Methodists, the New Connection, the United Free Churches, the Bible Christians, and the Reform Union. But nearly three-fifths of the British Methodists are Wesleyans. The Methodists have been more successful in Ireland than in Scotland. In Britain their press, literature, pulpits, Sunday-schools, colleges, agencies of reform and charity, discipline and missions, are means and tokens of their continued prosperity. Methodism has stimulated other denominations, and been affected by them; it has gone almost every-where over the earth; and if it now instructs seventeen millions of people in the

world, and enrolls one-fourth of them as communicants, it is one living witness to the vigor of the great revival in the eighteenth century. The monument erected to its founder in Westminster Abbey, by the agency of Dean Stanley, is one of the many tributes to the moral worth of John Wesley.*

5. *The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists.* The first lay-preacher of the great revival in Britain was Howell Harris, of Trevecca. In 1735 he was studying at Oxford, but he knew not the Wesleys. The next year, at the age of twenty-one, he began to remedy the ignorance and vices of his countrymen. He told the good tidings in the houses of his native parish. He opened a day-school. He preached, and drew crowds, before Whitefield was heard by the Kingswood miners. "The magistrates threatened to punish him, the clergy preached against him, and the common rabble were generally prepared to disturb him and to pelt him." He formed societies, and in 1739 there were nearly three hundred of them. He and two young curates were the founders of the Church which finally separated from the Anglican. Their congregations were its materials. For years it took the Methodist course. Its leading organizer was Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bala. He and the earnest vicar, Griffith Jones, wrought a great change in Wales by establishing "the circulating schools," nearly thirty-five hundred of them, along with Sunday-schools, and a religious literature. Mr. Charles was one of the founders of the British Bible Society. By degrees he brought the Welsh Methodists into a more nearly Presbyterian organization (1790-1811). The itinerancy was retained. The Confession of Faith (1823) harmonizes with that of Westminster. There are two colleges, at Bala and Trevecca; twenty-four presbyteries, and energetic missions, home and foreign. This Church has a vigorous branch in America.

IV. THE CHURCHES OF SCOTLAND.

1. *The Episcopal Church (Anglican).* In 1661 Charles II, who said that presbytery was not a religion for gentlemen, consulted with some of the Scottish nobles, and, "with a strange mixture of levity and violence, it was resolved to

* For Statistics, see Note III, at the end of the last chapter. On the Plymouth Brethren, see Note III, to this chapter.

establish episcopacy once more in Scotland." Four prelates were sent thither, the chief of whom were Sharp, to be primate at St. Andrews, and Robert Leighton, who became Archbishop of Glasgow. Both had been Presbyterians. The one was ambitious of power, and so abused it that he was assassinated in 1668; the other was reluctantly obedient to his king. Leighton hoped to secure some mode of comprehension, and unite presbytery and episcopacy. He was the champion of moderation and charity. He was not inferior to Jeremy Taylor as a preacher. He sought to put forward ministers of piety, sound doctrine, ability in the pulpit, and wisdom in political strifes. He found that he was to be a tool for utterly uprooting the Presbyterian Church, and, when all his efforts to resist such wickedness appeared to be in vain, he resigned his high office. His Commentary on First Peter has been every-where esteemed as a treasury of sound experimental theology.

The measures of the king and the Scottish Parliament were extremely severe. The rescissory act was "only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout;" for it annulled all acts of Parliaments from the year 1633, and left the Established Church to be overthrown by the new bishops. Presbyteries were forbidden to be held; in their place dioceses were established. Presbyterian ministers were expelled. More than two hundred churches were closed in one day, and many more within a few weeks. Several counties were deprived of all means of public worship, as if they were under a papal interdict of the twelfth century. The vacant pulpits in the west were filled chiefly with men utterly unfit, mere raw lads from the universities. "They were the worst preachers I ever heard," says Burnet, "ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious." Decrees worthy of Louis XIV were enacted. Men must renounce their Scottish covenants; they were forbidden to write or speak against the system now forced on them. The conventicle act forbade every religious meeting in a private house at which five persons besides the family were present. Offenders were liable to heavy fines, or even to be sold as slaves to the American colonies. Ministers must be presented to their livings by a patron; if they refused, they must remove to some distant place, and the people were forbidden to hear them preach. In the south and west nearly three hundred pastors

resigned their livings; most of those in Edinburgh were banished. But the people must attend their parish church, and hear a detested liturgy. In 1664 a court of high commission began its terrible work. Among the ministers who were tortured and hanged was the famous Hugh M'Kail. This process gave way to a military oppression equal to the dragonnades.

The Covenanters rose in arms for "Christ's Crown and Covenant." The crime of dragooning them was laid upon Graham, "the bloody Claverhouse," or Viscount Dundee, for whom apologies are more readily made than believed, except by those who think that ability and courage atone for merciless severities. The Scots were treated as the worst of rebels. Troops scoured the whole country—insolent, lawless, desperate, terrible, hanging men by the wayside, drowning women, carrying off girls, plundering houses, burning cottages, routing bands of worshipers, and butchering those who begged for mercy. Conventicles were held in fields, forests, and on mountain-sides by the persecuted who wandered through the land, hid among the rocks, crouched in the marshes, or caught the watchword, met in bands, made rough swords, joined the army, went in troops to defend their ministers while they preached, and fought like heroes for their homes and churches. Some hundreds of Presbyterians were sold into limited servitude in America. The Cameronians, so named from the two brothers Cameron, publicly renounced their allegiance to the king as a tyrant and usurper, and declared war against all his adherents. One of them was slain. Several ministers were hanged; about two hundred others were shut up in dungeons to die, or transported to the West Indies. James II somewhat relaxed the persecution, in order to save the Romanists in Scotland. In 1687 the Presbyterians were allowed by the Indulgence to preach, but the Cameronians refused the privilege, and one of their preachers, Renwick, died a martyr rather than acknowledge the king's authority. He closed the long list of Scottish martyrs to the principles of the covenants.

William III came in 1688, and nearly the whole nation of Scots declared in his favor, except the majority of Episcopalians, who had about nine hundred ministers and twelve dioceses. On Christmas, 1688, many of them in the West were *rabbled*, or turned out of their houses into the snow, the doors

locked, and the keys taken away by an exasperated populace. The Cameronians being charged with these cruelties, were rabbled in the North by the Episcopalians. To prevent ejections of this sort the Rabbling Act of 1698 was passed by the Scottish Parliament, which had previously abolished episcopacy, and established presbytery. The Episcopalians who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William, and those who did not conform to presbytery, united with the non-jurors of England. While tolerated by the crown, they suffered from two causes: the government suspected that they were aiding in plots for the restoration of the Stuarts, and the Presbyterians entreated the Scottish Parliament, in 1689, "that no such motion of any legal toleration to those of the prelatical principles might be entertained; to tolerate that way would be to establish iniquity by a law." The Episcopalians, even the chaplains in the army, were not allowed to use the English liturgy, until 1709, when the punishment of Greenshields at Edinburgh for introducing it brought a reaction. An act of toleration was passed, but with it the law of patronage was restored. By this the patron or land-owner controlled the Church on his estates; he might place in it a clergyman very obnoxious to the congregation. Episcopal ministers, conforming to the letter of the law, were pastors in Presbyterian churches. By this scheme episcopacy and presbytery were both injured.

In the rebellions of 1714 and 1745 the non-conforming Episcopalians were identified with the political party of the Stuarts or Jacobites, and their Church was nearly destroyed. In 1788 their clergy submitted, took the oath of allegiance to George III, and were soon relieved of all penalties of the law. They were not allowed to officiate in England until 1840, and then under certain restrictions. They resumed the titles which they had been compelled to lay aside. They now have about two hundred and thirty clergymen. One of their seven bishops, during the present century, Dr. Torry, began his ministry in a kitchen, and for years had no better place for his services. But he became the Bishop of Perth, and was active in reviving the cathedral system.

The Roman Catholics have an archbishop (1878) and about two hundred and sixty clergy in Scotland, with a membership largely of Irish emigrants.

2. *The Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland and its branches.* We have just noticed the military efforts of the Stuarts to overthrow Presbyterianism. William III restored it in order to end "nearly thirty years of the most frightful misgovernment ever seen in any part of Great Britain." Macaulay says that "if the Revolution had produced no other effect than that of freeing the Scotch from the yoke of an establishment which they detested, and giving them one to which they were attached, it would have been one of the happiest events in our history."* William had serious difficulties. In England the divine right of episcopacy was urged; in Scotland it was the divine right of presbytery. He did not believe in the divine right of any form of Church government. The Church which was a majority in one country was a minority in the other. In England the Presbyterians were happy to be tolerated; in Scotland they were hardly tolerant of prelacy. He did not restore the system on the basis of 1638, for the Solemn League and Covenant had lost its force as a compact. In the settlement William Carstares, a minister of great diplomatic ability, was a royal counselor and mediator. He prepared the way for the conformity of many of the Scotch Episcopalians.

Only sixty Presbyterian ministers remained in the country, true to their principles. Their General Assembly, unable to meet for thirty-seven years, was convened in 1690, and these veterans began the work of restoration. The majority of them were old Resolutioners. Instead of retaliating on those brethren who had adopted episcopacy, they offered them as easy terms as possible in reconfirming. The Episcopalians might have their theories of divine right, but the question now was simply one of Scottish right. They must give up prelacy in practice, and acknowledge presbytery as the legalized system in Scotland. Out of all this grew a series of complicated events. There were four results: (1) The Church was more fully under the control of the state than ever before. (2) A tendency to cleavage was soon manifest. One party, representing the old Protesters, complained that the crown was supreme over the Church; that the Solemn League and Covenant was ignored;

* "Four causes of Scotch progress: The establishment of the kirk, the parochial schools, the destruction of the feudal privileges, and free trade." (Lecky, Hist. Eng. in Eighteenth Century.)

that prelacy was re-established in England and Ireland, and tolerated in Scotland; that men, who had conformed to episcopacy, and had aided in the late persecutions, were now restated in the presbyteries; and that they must sanction all these alleged errors by taking an oath of allegiance to the government. The few ministers of this party finally submitted to the establishment. But the lay dissenters—the Cameronians, full seven thousand strong—stood aloof, held their meetings, organized fellowship societies, offered petitions and protests, prayed and waited in patient faith for some ministers to join their ranks. At length Rev. John M'Millan took up their cause. He prosecuted it with such vigor that he gave offense, and was irregularly deposed for his "faithfulness to reformation principles." In 1706 he became the clerical leader of the dissenting party. He toiled on almost alone until 1743, when a small presbytery was organized, and in it the *Reformed Presbyterian Church* began its separate existence. It claimed to stand on the basis of 1638, and perpetuate the Covenanted Church of Scotland. The covenants were treated as terms of communion. Its members refused to vote or hold civil offices. They were non-jurors. It was strongly opposed to lay-patronage. These Covenanters were not alone in their separation. The cleavage was due to the civil law rather than to the doctrinal system. It produced several distinct Presbyterian bodies.*

(3) Conflicting elements were brought into the Established Church. Among those who conformed were many of those "worst preachers" Burnet ever heard. In 1712 the General Assembly said to Queen Anne, "Since our late happy establishment there have been taken in and continued hundreds of dissenting ministers on the easiest terms." Two parties, the liberal and the strict, soon appeared.

(4) Moderatism began its course. It 1714 John Simpson,

*1. The Established Church. 2. The Reformed or Covenanters, 1743. 3. The Secession 1734, Synod in 1746, led by E. Erskine and the Marrowmen, and opposed to lay patronage. Divided in 1747, on citizen's oath, into (1) Anti-burgers, or General Associate Synod, and (2) Burghers, or Associate Synod; and this, in 1796, into New Light and Old Light. 4. Relief Church, 1761; Thomas Gillespie and others against lay patronage and moderatism. 5. The Free Church, 1843. 6. The United Presbyterian Church, formed in 1847 by the union of the Secession and Relief Churches. There have been recent tendencies to other unions.

professor of theology at Glasgow, was accused of teaching Arminian doctrines. The assembly staved off the case for three years, and dismissed it by forbidding him to use certain ambiguous phrases. He was suspended from his professorship in 1728 on charges of Arianism. Meanwhile the assembly dealt more promptly with the presbytery of Auchterarder for requiring a candidate for licensure, William Craig, to sign this formula: "I believe that it is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ and instating us in covenant with God." This was called the Auchterarder Creed, and declared to be most detestable. But the presbytery satisfactorily explained it to mean that in coming to Christ we come with all our sins in order to be pardoned by him and sanctified.

This warm dispute, which extended into the coffee-houses of London, was not quieted, when a hotter controversy arose about the "Marrow of Modern Divinity," a book written in 1646 by Edward Fisher, of Oxford, commended by several Westminster divines, and reprinted in Scotland, where it became very popular. The Scottish Assembly sternly condemned it as teaching general atonement, assurance the essence of faith, holiness not necessary to salvation, fear and hope not motives to Christian obedience, and the moral law not a rule of Christian life. The ministers were forbidden to commend the book by voice or pen; they must warn the people against it.* But it was all the more in demand, and was warmly defended by twelve ministers, among whom were Thomas Boston, author of the "Fourfold State of Man," and Ebenezer Erskine, of Stirling, the bold assailant of lay-patronage and lax theology. Erskine was striking into the path of secession when he and several of his brethren were subjected to trials which resulted in their deposition, in 1740, by the assembly. Already they had begun the Secession Church, which had its own synod in 1745, and continued its separate existence for a century (1847) when it formed a union with the *Relief Church*. The causes of these divisions were lay-patronage, ecclesiastical rigor, civil interference, and moderatism.

The great revival came. Ralph Erskine had few equals as a field-preacher. He and his brother, Ebenezer, invited White-

* It is republished by the Presbyterian Board, Philadelphia.

field to aid them. He met them and their co-presbyters in 1741 at Dumferline. They claimed that he must indorse their principles and confine his labors to their sect as "the Lord's people." He listened to their instructions and wrote: "I retired, I wept, I prayed, and after preaching in the open fields I sat down and dined with them, and then took a final farewell." These good men and others of the Reformed Church denounced him in terms that make us stare, and observed a fast on account of the popular enthusiasm in the "Methodist revival." Many pulpits of the Established Church were opened to him during his brief sojourn. He was not yet at Cambuslang, where the pastor, M'Culloch, found his people anxious for increased religious services, and many of them inquiring the way of life. As this pastor preached every evening, some hearers were agitated by wild raptures and convulsions. When the Spring days grew fair the meetings were held in the open field. Ministers came from the whole country to see the Lord's strange work and test its spiritual reality. Among them were Maclaurin and Gillies, of Glasgow, Willison, of Dundee, Webster and John Erskine, of Edinburgh, lights of the time. They preached to the people, convinced that it was a genuine work of divine mercy. Whitefield returned from England and assisted in the wonderful work.

But sectarianism and moderatism were scarcely shaken. Patronage was a monstrous foe of the Church, when a candidate is represented as saying to a parish: "I'll be your minister in spite of your teeth; I'll have the charge of your souls whether ye will or not;" and when Dr. William Robertson could assist the presbytery in forcing an appointee upon a people who would leave him to read his homily to empty pews. For thirty years Robertson ruled the assembly of the Established Church as Pitt ruled the House of Commons. He founded a new school in history along with David Hume, but he could not prevent his disciples from drifting into infidelity. When a rising party urged that subscription to the Confession of Faith be abolished, he retired in alarm and disgust from public life (1780). He was a prince in groups of the boldest thinkers that Scotland had yet produced: Carmichael, one of the founders of the Scottish philosophy,* Reid, the metaphysician, George

* Francis Hutcheson, professor in the Glasgow University, from 1729 to 1747, has been called "the father of the modern school of philosophy in Scotland."

Campbell, who replied to Hume's essay on miracles, Beattie, Ferguson, and Hugh Blair, the great moderate preacher. "It may be doubted whether Blair's sermons ever converted an infidel, reclaimed a sinner, or impressed with sentiments of true devotion one human heart." Socinianism had its way among the New-light men of Ayrshire, and these ministers led Robert Burns into their society, tainted his poetic genius with skepticism and immorality, and made him the prodigal son of the Church of Scotland.

The spirit of missions began to be revived at the time when the French Revolution seemed to threaten the destruction of the Church and of civilization. A missionary society was formed at Edinburgh, and its active president was Dr. John Erskine, a profound theologian, whom every body loved for his benevolence. In the General Assembly of 1796 the question of raising missionary funds was under discussion. Dr. George Hill, whose Lectures in Divinity have come down to us, and who was Robertson's successor in his influence, had thrown some ice upon the proposal to take up collections in the churches. Hamilton spoke boldly against foreign missions, according to the general sentiment of that age, and sat down. Dr. John Erskine rose, an old man, thin and pale, and said: "Moderator, rax [reach] me that Bible." He made an eloquent appeal, but the majority voted against direct and practical effort. During the next thirty years a more evangelical spirit pervaded the moderate party. Dr. Hill greatly promoted it. Dr. Inglis employed voice and pen in favor of missions, and the Scots nobly came up to the work. In 1829 Alexander Duff went to Calcutta, the first missionary ever sent forth by a Protestant National Church. His apostolic labors of nearly fifty years contributed powerfully to the advance of Christian civilization in India, and to the warmer sympathies of Christendom towards the heathen world.

A spiritual morning had dawned upon Scotland. The Haldanes, wealthy laymen, strong Calvinists, began their work in 1796, and a goodly band of earnest men joined them as they rode over all the land, preaching, founding Sunday-schools, distributing tracts, exposing the deadness of existing orthodoxy and concealed errors, and setting forth a vital Christianity. We have already noticed them as Independents. They became

pastors and authors. It is said that Robert expended one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in erecting chapels and in promoting the Gospel in Geneva and France. They brought Rowland Hill into Scotland, where he drew large audiences, but his oddities and oral crusade upon the Moderates and the Scottish habits injured his influence. In 1811 Andrew Thompson and Thomas M'Crie began to employ the press in order to restore the principles of the Reformation in the days of Knox and Melville. Soon the eloquence of Chalmers was heard, and no human voice was ever more powerful in Scotland.

Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847), the son of a merchant at Anstruther in Fife, evinced a genius for nearly every kind of scholarship while a student and professor in the University of St. Andrews. While a young pastor at Kilmany he became widely known by the vigor of his pen. In 1815 he took charge of the Tron Church in Glasgow. His new spiritual life, evangelical doctrine, warmth of soul, interest in all humane affairs, the blending of science and Christianity, the wide range of his thoughts and schemes, and his tremendous eloquence, made him the most celebrated pulpit orator of Scotland, if not of Great Britain. Lord Jeffrey said: "He buries his adversaries under the fragments of burning mountains." When his addresses in London were applauded by the best judges of real merit, he could say that human praises were "but the hosannas of a driveling generation." He was five years professor of moral philosophy at St. Andrews, and then, from 1828 to 1843, professor of theology at Edinburgh. He threw a new life into the evangelical party of the National Church, became its chief, and, when necessity compelled the departure, he and his associates led part of it *en masse* into a new organization.*

3. *The Free Church of Scotland.* The direct causes of its formation were in the abuse of patronage and the interfer-

* Men who represent periods and movements in the Scottish Church: John Knox represents the Reformation, 1525-75; Andrew Melville, the introduction of a purer Presbyterianism, 1575-1638; Alexander Henderson and Samuel Ruthenford, the Solemn League and Covenant and Westminster Confession 1638-60, Archbishops Robert Leighton and Sharpe, the enforcement of episcopacy upon Scotland, 1660-88; William Carstares, the restoration of Presbyterianism, 1690; Ebenezer Erskine, the tendencies to disruption, 1734; William Robertson, the Moderatism of the Established Church, 1750-1840; Alexander Duff, the spirit of missions; Thomas Chalmers, the Free Church, 1843.

ence of the civil courts. In the General Assembly of 1833 Dr. Chalmers offered a motion, which Lord Moncrieff seconded, "that it is, and has been ever since the Reformation, a fixed principle in the law of this Church, that no minister shall be intruded into any pastoral charge contrary to the will of the congregation." The motion was not carried until the next year, and then in the form of the Veto Act. By this act the majority of a congregation might disapprove of a candidate presented to it as pastor, and in such a case the presbytery would not install him. It was also claimed that a parish, asking or having no benefice from the state, might have its chosen pastor installed without the assent of the civil court. But the civil court forbade the Presbytery of Irvine to install a man at Stewarton, "where there was no benefice, no right of patronage, no stipend, no manse or glebe, and no place of worship." The court ordered the Presbytery of Strathbogie to install a candidate at Marnoch, contrary to the will of the people. The court recognized, as in good standing, seven ministers whom the presbytery had deposed. These are samples of the civil interferences. Parliament granted no relief. When the civil court shut the doors of certain churches against such men as Drs. Chalmers and Gordon, they went and preached in the barns and fields. Thus the court lost its powers; its decrees were held in contempt by the people. The whole country was agitated. The two parties seemed to be quite equally divided.

All efforts to compromise the difficulties were fruitless. The final issue came in 1843, in the General Assembly at Edinburgh, when that old city was full of excitement on one great question: "Will these four hundred non-intrusionists secede from the Established Church?" Some said that not forty of them would go out. Dr. Welsh, the moderator, took the chair, invoked the divine presence, and calmly said that the assembly could not be properly constituted without violating the terms of union between Church and state. He read a protest against any further proceedings, bowed to the representative of the crown, stepped down into the aisle, and walked toward the door. To follow him was to forsake the old Church, its livings, salaries, manses, pulpits, and parishes. Dr. Chalmers had seemed like a lion in a reverie, and all eyes were turned upon him. Would he give up his chair of theology? He seized his

hat, took the new departure, and after him went Gordon and Buchanan, Macfarlane and MacDonald, Guthrie, Candlish and Cunningham, and more than four hundred more ministers, with a host of elders. A cheer burst from the galleries. In the street the expectant crowd parted, and admired the heroic procession as it passed. Lord Jeffrey was sitting in his room quietly reading when some one rushed in saying, "What do you think? More than four hundred of them have gone out." Springing to his feet he exclaimed, "I'm proud of my country. There is not another land on earth where such a deed could have been done!"

It was a cloudy day, and there must have been sad hearts in that company as they marched to a hall, into which three thousand people packed themselves. Dr. Chalmers was chosen moderator by acclamation. He read the Psalm,

"O send thy light forth and thy truth,
Let them be guides to me;
And bring me to thy holy hill,
Even where thy dwellings be."

When the multitude rose to sing these words, a sudden burst of sunlight filled the room. It was heaven's smile upon those who had accepted free poverty in escaping from oppressive patronage. These men had work to do and trials to endure. They had to organize Churches, build chapels, provide salaries, rear colleges, and secure dwelling-places. The toil of riding thirty miles and preaching three times in one day, and the joy of administering the Lord's Supper in the open field to a band who had no house of worship, were well known to Thomas Guthrie and James M'Cosh, before the world heard of the one as the mighty preacher, and the other as the clear metaphysician. A noble people responded liberally to every appeal. The English Churches, especially the Independents and Wesleyans, sent relief. Soon there were six hundred congregations, the number still increasing. The Free Church had no lack. It became noted for its wealth, enterprise, intelligence, spirituality, and power. Dr. Duff cast in his lot with it, sure that it would support his missions in India. In its new college at Edinburgh, Dr. Chalmers was the first professor of theology. In his old age he resigned his chair, and began his city mission labors at West Port, a district notorious for its dens of vice.

He founded there a Sunday-school, a library, a savings-bank, and working houses. Eminent men are filling the places of the deceased fathers of the Free Church. But there were some few brave men who hoped for no successors in their lot. They perished in helpless heroism. One of them was expelled from a delightful manse. Alone and diffident, he did not make known his wants. He crept away and stayed in a wretched garret, sleeping next to a cold slate roof, and his amiable face whitening with frost. His body was soon in the grave.

The Free Church has about one-third of the three thousand Presbyterian ministers of Scotland. It has three theological seminaries. It is prosperously represented wherever Scottish Presbyterianism exists: in England, Ireland, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Australia. In some of these countries it has been joined with the United Presbyterian Church. It has its successful missions in heathen lands. We may say of all the Protestant Churches in Scotland, that the heated ecclesiastical strifes of the past have glided into fraternal discussions. Strong minds still hold debate in metaphysics, ethics, Biblical criticism, and theology. The spirituality of M'Cheyne and the Bonars is still a genial sunlight upon the land. Edinburgh stands as one of the religious and literary centers of Christendom.

V. THE CHURCHES OF IRELAND.

The Irish Presbyterians suffered acutely under the later Stuarts. Even the admired bishop, Jeremy Taylor, suspended thirty-six of their ministers. An Act of Uniformity was put in force. Not more than eight Presbyterian ministers conformed. The rest bravely refused, and they were driven out of the establishment. They preached in private houses and in barns; they were fined and imprisoned, until the bishops saw that they were provoking a reaction. The government now permitted them to preach, erect chapels, and resume their presbyteries, and allowed them a yearly *regium donum*, or royal gift; but the Stuarts were slow paymasters. They became a separate body. In 1688 they were the truest Irish friends of William III, aided him in his triumphs over the Jacobites, and won splendid fame in their defense of Derry. The new king doubled the *regium donum*, and it was continued until 1871, when they were disestablished. Not until 1719 did they receive the legal benefits

of the Toleration Act. The Methodist revival brought showers of blessing upon Ireland, and more spiritual union among Protestants.

The Arianism avowed by Thomas Emlyn, in 1702, was not uprooted by his imprisonment. Men of his views, "the New Lights," increased in numbers, keeping pace with the Unitarians in England. Questions of subscription to the Confession were often raised during the eighteenth century; modifications were proposed; evasions were common. Subscription fell into disuse. The non-subscribers formed "the Presbytery of Antrim." The Scottish seceders and covenanters came (1740-61), steadily grew, and staunchly maintained the Westminster doctrines. But outside of their body, the Unitarians held their place in the Presbyterian Church until Dr. Henry Cooke became the champion of orthodoxy. Inquiry was made into the doctrines of ministers and professors of theology. In 1829 the Unitarians, hard pressed and unwilling to subscribe the Confession, withdrew from the Synod of Ulster. They declined in numbers, and now have about forty congregations, and less than ten thousand adherents.

Again a spiritual revival came upon the Irish Presbyterian Church. It formed a union with the Secession Synod, which had risen to a higher position in the land, largely through the energy, eloquence, and scholarship of Professor John Edgar. He threw his zeal into all humane movements. He was the first man in the old world to form Temperance Societies (1829). He went through the British Isles, addressed immense audiences, and enlisted thousands in the great reform. He used pen and press to advance it. His success was wonderful.*

In 1840 the Presbyterian Church organized her General Assembly. The academy at Belfast developed into a vigorous Theological Seminary; and Queen's College. In 1865 Magee College was established at Londonderry, perhaps as one of the fruits of the glorious revival, which gave new strength to all the truly Irish Protestants. Notwithstanding the great emigra-

* The Temperance Reform, as a specially public movement, rose in America about 1808, when societies began to be formed. It was under Christian direction. In 1829 almost the entire Church was enlisted in it, and with great success. Since then it has passed through various phases, from that of moral suasion to that of state legislation.

tion, for a century, the Irish Presbyterians have now about six hundred and fifty ministers, with active home and foreign missions. Efforts have been made to enlighten the Roman Catholics by missions, schools, Bibles, and literature in the Irish language, but conversions have been comparatively few. In 1795 the Parliament founded Maynooth College, in which the Roman Catholic priests are educated. It recently had five hundred students. One of its earliest students was Theobald Mathew, who became a Capuchin Monk, a priest at Cork in 1814, and thenceforth an earnest reformer. He was singularly gentle, affable, benevolent, and eloquent. Father Mathew won the hearts of rich and poor, as he founded schools for children, corrected many abuses, and, through the influence of a wise Quaker, became "the Apostle of Temperance," bringing one hundred and fifty thousand members into his Total-abstinence Society at Cork (1838). He extended his efforts in this reform to the chief cities of Ireland, England, and Scotland. His name is borne by temperance societies in America, and one of the foes to Irish prosperity has been severely wounded. The Roman Catholics of Ireland have long been restless under the civil rule of the Protestants, whom they far exceed in numbers.*

In the time of Oliver Cromwell the Baptists organized Churches in about thirty districts of Ireland. Their later period of prosperity dates from the efforts of the Haldanes, and of Dr. Alexander Carson, who left the Presbyterian Church, and attained wide celebrity by his scholarship and writings. He died in 1844, leaving this saying as one of his last: "A man's usefulness expires when he loses humility." The Independents are about equal in numbers to the Baptists.

*The estimate of population, not membership, in 1875 is: Roman Catholics, 4,150,857; Protestant Episcopalians, 667,998; Presbyterians, 497,648; all others, 95,864. Since 1861 the proportion of Roman Catholics has diminished one per cent; that of Protestants, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians has slightly increased. The reduced number of Roman Catholics is in a great measure accounted for by emigration. The direful famine of 1847 "inflicted on Irish Romanism the heaviest blow it had sustained since the time of the great Rebellion" (1641). The Protestants won favor by their prompt charities, and America vied with England in sending relief.

NOTES.

I. *The Friends, Seekers, or Quakers*; a society rather than a Church. They maintain that the Reformation was a gradual work, completed by George Fox (1624-90), who was reserved to teach the spirituality of religion. Fox was a shoemaker and reader of the Bible, when he reached the conviction that "it is not the Scripture, but it is the Holy Spirit by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments are to be tried." His journeys over England, his teachings, and his imprisonments form a touching story. The doctrines of his followers were brought into a system by Robert Barclay, of Scotland, William Penn, and George Keith, before the latter was disowned, in Pennsylvania, for his strange views and spirit, and he joined the Episcopal Church. They held that the Holy Spirit, through the Bible and by continued revelation, or even directly, enlightens and sanctifies all who receive him. They rejected an official human ministry, formulated theology, creeds, the sacraments, formal worship, churchism, oaths, tithes, service in war, and the conventional rules of society. They, however, had their own rules for religious meetings, worship, marriage, dress, and social life, and these rules come to have a binding force. The common dress of Fox's time came to be their peculiar fashion; custom grew into formalism, and opinion into a creed. Among them now a liberal party adopt modern customs and lax views; a more evangelical party is aggressive with the press, Sunday-schools, and earnest preaching. Their spirit of peace and humanity has distinguished them.

II. *The Irvingites*. Edward Irving was deposed in 1833 for holding that Christ's human nature was capable of sin, and for allowing persons to exercise such gifts as the early Montanists claimed. After his death, in 1834, Dr. John Cumming, of London, said of him, "I can not but grieve at the awful eclipse under which he came. . . . He is gone to the grave, I have reason to believe, with a broken heart." His followers carried his views to an extreme in what they call "the Catholic Apostolic Church," with its twelve apostles, its divinely illuminated prophets, its evangelists and pastors or angels, its complicated ritualism and its crude millenarianism. The liturgy contains Jewish, Anglican, and Romish elements. The Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian creeds are avowed. In their missionary efforts they have had most success in Germany, where the historian, H. W. Thiersch, is "the proper Tertullian of this modern Montanism." They have few adherents in America.

III. *The Plymouth Brethren* were led chiefly by John Darby, who left the Anglican ministry, about 1830, and traveled widely in Europe. Societies were established about the same time at Plymouth and Dublin. In 1850 they claimed to have one hundred and fifty places of worship in Britain. Many of them are Calvinist in theology, but they have no published creed, and scarcely a Church polity. Many of them are said to "believe that all disciples have a right to teach, and that even recognized

teachers or preachers should receive no pecuniary support. They believe in eternal justification and imputed sanctification; in the identification of the believer with the perfection of Christ; that Christianity is in ruins, as appears from the separate sects; that believers should withdraw from the Churches; that there is a complete abrogation of the law and entire deliverance from sin, so far as the believer is concerned; that sin is not essentially evil; that repentance is not a requirement of Scripture; that regeneration and progress in holiness are not to be insisted on, and, that ere the end of all things shall come, there shall be a secret meeting of the Lord with his disciples previous to his manifestation to the world." They have assumed to be evangelists or revivalists, and to have a mission in traveling among all nations for the propagation of their doctrines.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE EXODE TO AMERICA.

1492-1787.

THE exode from Europe to America is one of the greatest events in all human history. The crimes of Europe were a chief cause of it. Two new continents were added to the field of the Christian Church. Her influence upon the native tribes is a minor element in the account, for some of them perished or remained in barbarism; others were imperfectly converted, and they formed no civilized, self-controlling nations. The nationalities and the Churches are of European origin. No really new system of Christian theology or Church polity has originated in America; the transplanted systems have been somewhat modified.

The Roman Catholic Church was the pioneer on this continent. Spain claimed the new world by right of discovery; and the pope, by the assumption of universal supremacy. They crushed out the colonies attempted by Huguenots under the patronage of Coligny and Calvin. By means of the search for gold, of conquests, of missions, and of colonies, the Roman Church gained the power over the West Indies, Mexico, and South America. In them there was no progressive civilization until the present century, when several republics threw off the yoke of Spain, attained a more constitutional liberty, and opened doors for Protestant missions. They contain about one hundred and eighty-one thousand Protestants and forty millions of Roman Catholics.

The temperate zone of North America was providentially reserved mainly for Protestants, the descendants of that Germanic race most fond of independence. English law and language predominated. In the new soil they planted the Protestant Churches of their father-lands, and most of these were long identified with the early colonies.

I. COLONIES WHICH FORMED THE UNITED STATES.

1. In 1606 about one hundred cavaliers built Jamestown, the first settlement in *Virginia*. Intent on fortune, and impatient of rule, they finally expelled their governor, John Smith, a man of wide adventure and rare genius. Robert Hunt, an Episcopalian, was their pastor, willing to share in their trials. Smith says of a wretched tent: "This was our church till wee built a homely thing like a barn, set upon cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth: the best of our houses of the like curiosity, but the most part farre much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor raine: yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the holy communion, till our minister died." Other ministers came, with other colonists. John Rolfe is said to have won Pocahontas to the Christian faith, and their happy marriage secured the friendship of the Indians, among whom missions were unsuccessfully attempted. The Dutch sold twenty negroes to the planters in 1619, and thus began the system of slavery which existed for nearly two hundred and fifty years. The Episcopal Church was established by law. Among the twenty thousand people in Virginia, in 1648, there were adherents of various creeds, and they suffered greatly during the reign of the restored Stuarts. The contest for religious liberty became sharper than in any other colony. Governor Berkeley, in 1671, complained that the worst ministers were sent to Virginia. He would pay them better "if they would pray oftener and preach less." He wrote: "Every man, according to his ability, instructs his children. But I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" After a rule of thirty-five years he left for England, and bonfires signified the popular joy. Charles II said of him, "That old fool has taken away more lives, in that naked land, than I for the death of my father." In 1688 wiser men founded the College of William and Mary, at Williamsburg, and James Blair was its president during fifty years.

2. *Maryland* was granted to Lord Baltimore, a Roman Cath

olic, who adopted the plan of a colony in which all Christians (not infidels) might have refuge and freedom. His son, Cecil Calvert, undertook to execute the noble designs (1632-50), at the very time when Roger Williams offered still larger liberty to all settlers in Rhode Island. But factious spirits brought revolution. The Roman Catholics were disfranchised. The Church of England was established, but all Protestants were tolerated.*

3. *New York* began its history, in 1609-14, with the Dutch traders who extended the province of New Netherlands from Delaware Bay to Lake Champlain. It took fourteen years to give New York City two hundred and seventy souls, including some negro slaves. The missionary, Michaelius, preached in tent, barn, or fort, to men who were more eager to load a ship with furs than to build a church. Dominie Bogardus boldly denounced the rapacity of the governors when misrule threatened all true interests. New settlers came of almost every European clime and language. The directors thus ordered the governors: "Let every peaceful citizen enjoy freedom of conscience. This maxim has made our city the asylum for fugitives from every land; tread in its steps, and you shall be blessed." But civil rights were limited. The Mohawks, among whom missions were attempted, said: "The Dutch are our brethren. With them we keep but one council-fire; we are united by a covenant chain." The English secured control of the province, after the Stuarts regained the throne. Charles II gave to his brother James, Duke of York, the whole country from the Connecticut River to the Delaware. The Episcopal Church, to which not one-tenth of the people adhered, was established by law. Other Protestant Churches were barely tolerated.

Gustavus Adolphus, who is described as the greatest benefactor in the line of Swedish kings, proposed to found in the New World a state that should be free from foreign rule, and offer liberty to all Protestants. He fell in the Thirty Years' War. His chancellor, the statesman Oxenstiern, attempted to fulfill the design. In 1637 a former governor of the Dutch colony led about seven hundred Lutheran Swedes to the west

* Maryland was "the fruitful seed-bed" of Romanism, Methodism, and Presbyterianism, in the United States of America.

side of the lower Delaware River. The people of New Sweden deserve renown for their opposition to human slavery, their peace and industry, their kindly treatment of the Indians and their efforts to convert them, their zeal for education, and their magnanimity to all Protestants. Their lands passed to the Duke of York, and their liturgy was overshadowed by that of the English when episcopacy was legalized. They were dispersed in other colonies.

4. *New England* received the defeated heroes who came out of the struggle between the Protestant non-conformists and the Anglican Church. Its first colonists left England to escape oppression; their brethren remained, and won the great revolution. When Prince wrote its history he said: "It concerneth New England always to remember that she is a religious plantation, and not one of trade. The profession of purity of doctrine, worship, and discipline, is written upon her forehead." There were four main centers of colonization, with four marked varieties of Church polity.

(1) *Plymouth* was settled by the Pilgrims—one hundred and two souls—who landed there, December 22, 1620, from the *Mayflower*. In her cabin, with their wives and children around them, William Bradford and his brother elders had settled their polity of Church and state on the basis of a democracy and constitutional liberty. Their pastor, Robert Cushman, saw nearly half of them laid in the grave within four months. The first sermon printed in the colonies was from him. Captain Miles Standish made battles and treaties with the Indians, who kept the peace for fifty years, until King Philip's war. In 1630 the town had three hundred people, with their church and school, their farms, herds, and extending commerce. They were not simply Puritans; they were separatists, independent of all other Churches, but claiming to agree very nearly with the French Presbyterians. They expelled Lyford, not so much for being an Episcopalian as for sedition and immorality. They did not limit the right of suffrage to Church members. They were unusually tolerant. "They were never betrayed into the excesses of religious persecution, though they sometimes permitted a disproportion between punishment and crime."

(2) *The Massachusetts Bay Colony*. In 1628 John Endicott and his band founded Salem, from which the central power of

government was transferred to Boston. Ship-loads of settlers came, and towns grew up rapidly. The government was quite theocratic under such governors as John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley. Such ministers as Higginson and Cotton had a strong hand in civil affairs. The elders were virtually the legislators. The state must serve the Church; a vote in the one required a membership in the other. They were loyal to the English crown, while opposing the despotism of the Stuarts. When the Long Parliament attempted to revoke their charter, they rose and denied its supreme jurisdiction, virtually saying, "Let not our children lament that our liberties were lost at the very time when England recovered her own." To them and other colonies Cromwell was a benefactor; he left them the freedom of industry, trade, commerce, religion, and government.

They were Puritans, non-conformists, but not separatists. They claimed to be a part of the Anglican Church, but discarded the liturgy. With their brethren in England, they hoped to see that Church brought over to their own polity and doctrine. They rejected both prelacy and presbytery, but had elders and synods, which exercised high power for nearly a century. In 1648 their synod at Cambridge made their Platform, adopting substantially the Westminster Confession. The Shorter Catechism was generally taught. When episcopacy was restored in England, in 1660, they found themselves to be Congregationalists, and they established their system by law in their colony. Mistaking toleration for indorsement, they were severe upon Anabaptists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Quakers, and the followers of Anne Hutchinson, who eloquently taught Antinomianism. It was a time when so-called witches were burnt in England and Scotland, and these Puritans executed some of them.*

And yet this rigorous spirit was but the mad-cap of the waves in a tempest; the undersurge was really freedom, and the truer result was coming in liberty of conscience, human rights, and popular independence. While apparently dangerous

* Witchcraft had troubled the Roman Church in the Middle Ages. Temples were burnt for it at Paris in 1309. After that time so-called witches were burnt by thousands in Europe. Protestants were long in getting rid of the delusion. The New Englanders were among the first to see the error. The last witch-burning in England was not until 1716; in Scotland, 1722. The English laws against witchcraft were a dead letter before they were repealed in 1736.

books were burning on the town commons, men were in training to write better ones, and a generation qualifying to read them. The press was at work after 1639, and common-schools were ordered to be maintained.* John Harvard founded the college which bears his name, in 1638, and it became a power in all the land.

(3) *Rhode Island*. Roger Williams seems to have been a native of Wales. He was indebted to Sir Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, for his education at Cambridge. He took orders in the English Church, but he could not submit to the doctrine and polity of Archbishop Laud. As a separatist and reformer he came to Boston, in 1631, when he was thirty-two years of age; but he could not join its Church, for the members were "an unseparated people," who held communion with their former persecutors. He announced principles which struck hard upon the constitution of the entire Bay Colony. He said that the charter of the king was invalid; that the treaties with the Indians, and the payments for lands, had not clearly recognized them as the original possessors; that magistrates ought not to enforce obedience; that the oath of allegiance was unjustly required; that the law, which compelled all healthful persons to attend worship, infringed upon the rights of conscience, and that the Church should not be supported by taxation. He wanted a free Church and a free country. For them his demand was too early by nearly one hundred and fifty years. He accepted a call to Salem, but Endicott and Winthrop urged the people to forbear, lest they should promote sedition. Earnest for "soul-liberty," he quietly went to Plymouth, where his opinions were not so offensive, and for two years he there cultivated them.

* The Puritans were said to have left England, in part, on account of "the schools of learning and religion being so corrupted; . . . the insupportable charge of education;" and the bitter experience that "most children, even the best, wittiest, and of the fairest hopes, are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrown by the multitudes of evil examples and licentious behavior in these seminaries." Prof. M. C. Tyler (*Hist. Am. Lit.*) says: "It is probable that between the years 1630 and 1690 there were in New England as many graduates of Cambridge and Oxford as could be found in any population of similar size in the mother country. At one time during the first part of that period there was in Massachusetts and Connecticut a Cambridge graduate for every two hundred and fifty inhabitants, besides sons of Oxford not a few. Among the clergy, in particular, were some men of a scholarship accounted great even by the heroic standard of the seventeenth century."

In 1635 the call to Salem was renewed, and Williams accepted it in face of the advice given by ministers in conference with him, and in defiance of the general court. He accused them of intolerance. He seemed to be an intruder, kindling discord and subverting their whole government. He threw the army into violent dissension by representing the red cross on the royal banner as idolatrous. He refused the oath of allegiance. A civil faction claimed him as an ally. The court banished him. He wandered among the Indians during fourteen wintery weeks, his warmest refuge being the hut of Massasoit. When he was about to settle within the bounds of Plymouth Colony, its governor, Edward Winslow, advised him to choose some other field, lest there should be strife with the Bay Colony. In an admirable temper Williams retired to the spot which the chief, Canonicus, gave him "to enjoy forever." There he founded a settlement, and, in thankfulness to God, named it Providence. "I desired," said he, "it might be a shelter for persons distressed for conscience." There he carried out his theory of human government. He refused to grow rich. The lands were donated to settlers. The laws secured the rights and freedom of the republican people. The fullest liberty of opinion and conscience was granted to all, even to infidels, until the Quakers came.

In common with all the first colonists, Williams endured hardships. In the strong, rough, honest style of all his writings, he says: "My time was not spent altogether in spiritual labors; but day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the hoe, at the oar, for bread. . . . That great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow, melted, and kindly visited me, and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife for our supply." He came to believe that immersion was the only true mode of baptism. But there was no minister near who had been thus baptized. In 1639 a layman immersed him, and then he immersed the layman. They formed a society. Thus began the Baptist Church, originally, in the new world. But Williams did not long remain a Baptist. We saw him in London as a seeker. On his return he was severe in his censures upon an ordained, or what he called "a hireling, ministry." He withdrew from the Church, lived in isolation, and spent some time in teaching the Indians.

(4) *The Colonies of Connecticut.* In 1635 three thousand people from England landed at Boston. Among them was Thomas Hooker, a gifted and eloquent preacher, whom Laud had silenced for non-conformity. He and John Haynes led a company farther west, enduring the trials of a pathless wilderness. They were kept alive by the cattle they drove and the game they caught. They bore the sick on litters, and the woods rang with their songs. These hundred Puritans founded Hartford and Springfield. Already some Plymouth families were near them. Hooker became "the light of the Western Churches." He and his people trembled and prayed, while Captain Mason, with his eighty men, made defensive war upon the Pequod Indians. Help came from the Bay Colony and from Roger Williams. The spirit of the savages was broken, their villages burnt, many of their women and children mercilessly slain, their leaders driven west to the Mohawks, and most of the remnant reduced to slavery. Nowhere in all the colonies had there been such an extermination of natives. Other tribes took warning.

A group of exiles, worshiping God under an oak, is the first picture of New Haven (1638). The preacher was John Davenport, whom Laud had driven from his Church in London. With him had come many of his people, and the rich merchant, Theophilus Eaton, who, for twenty years, was annually elected governor of this colony. The people met in a barn and framed their constitution. The Word of God was the source of law in their commonwealth. Church members only could vote and hold office. "New Haven made the Bible its statute-book, and the elect its freemen." The king of England was denied all jurisdiction over this free and independent State.

The colonies of Connecticut formed a union. Among the firmest protectors of their rights against Charles II was the younger John Winthrop, of Boston, who became their governor. He had been well educated in England, and had traveled widely in Europe, studying the various systems of government. He was the correspondent of Clarendon, Milton, Isaac Newton, and Robert Boyle; the student of Bacon's philosophy, and the possessor of a large library; the wisest statesman in all America, and most praised in all the colonies. John Haynes said to his frequent visitor, Roger Williams, "I think that the most

wise God hath cut out this part of the world as a refuge for all sorts of consciences." Bancroft affirms that a persecuting spirit never existed in Connecticut. Doubtless there were too many laws upon the minute affairs of home and society. Every town and village had a scholarly minister and a good school. "Religious knowledge was carried to the highest degree of refinement, alike in its application to moral duties and to the mysterious questions on the nature of God, of liberty, and of the human soul. . . . A Church reproof was the heaviest calamity. . . . The best house required no fastening but a latch lifted by a string; bolts and locks were unknown. . . . There was for a long time hardly a lawyer in the land. The husbandman who held his own plow, and fed his own cattle, was the great man of the age. . . . Every family was taught to look upward to God as to the Fountain of all good. Yet life was not somber. The spirit of frolic mingled with innocence. The annual thanksgiving was, from primitive times [in all New England], as joyous as it was sincere." Yale College owes its origin "to ten worthy fathers, who, in 1700, assembled at Bradford, and each one, laying a few volumes on a table, said, 'I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony.'" The Church was congregational in polity, and established by law. The Confessions of Westminster (slightly modified) and of Savoy, with the Saybrook Platform, were adopted. The system was that of Consociation, midway between Presbytery and strict Independency, with a judicial power of discipline.

These are samples of the many settlements, most of which formed a union in 1643, as "the United Colonies of New England," in order "to advance the Christian religion, and reduce and convert the savages to civil society." Here was the germ of the later confederation of the United States. From the first there had been various efforts to teach and Christianize the Indians, and the most eminent missionary was John Eliot, the pastor at Roxbury, in the Bay Colony. He went among the wild savages, won their hearts, wisely managed the opposition of their priests and chiefs, taught the men to cultivate the soil and build houses, and the women to spin and weave, learned to speak their language, translated parts of the Bible for them, and trained many of them to read it. His version is now a

sealed book, a literary curiosity; for only one man living can read this memorial of a perished tribe and its saintly teacher. In 1696 there were thirty Indian Churches in New England.

The union brought a more liberal spirit into the Bay Colony. The severities upon dissenters and so-called witches, the cropping of men's ears, the scarlet letter, and the pillory, caused a wholesome reaction. The theory of witchcraft was doomed about 1693, when Parson Hale found his good wife accused of it, and thus had his eyes opened to the delusion; when a writer, now unknown, exposed the absurdity and the unfair mode of conducting the trials, in a book which was publicly burnt on the square of Harvard College by order of President Increase Mather; when fifty persons, who were lying in jail expecting to be sent to the flames, awakened general sympathy; and when a jury was brave enough to examine the evidence, discover the want of facts, and bring in the verdict, "Not guilty." Salem drove the great prosecutor of witches from the town. Many active accusers deeply repented, and publicly asked the pardon of their fellow-citizens. Cotton Mather has been defended from the charge of zeal in the delusion which was suddenly ended forever. Thirty years later he certainly had the fearless energy to advocate vaccination as a remedy for a disease which often raged in the colonies, and destroyed more Indians than the sword. He stood firm while mobs paraded the streets of Boston, took part in the war of pamphlets, opposed the decision of the general court, insisted upon experiments, won nearly all the clergy to his side, and went to his rest before science and common sense had their full triumph for the good of humanity. But he lived to see toleration granted to all Protestants, and the freedom of the colony no longer limited to the members of the Christian Church.

5. *Pennsylvania and New Jersey.* These provinces owed most of their early liberties to William Penn, the son of an English admiral. He was born in London, 1644, and reared in the Anglican Church. At Oxford he was a vigorous boatman and student, until he was found to be drifting into Quakerism. To cure this tendency he was sent to travel on the Continent, where he was charmed with the Huguenots, and went deeper into philosophy and theology at Saumur. His father heard him avow Quakerism, and plead conscience for it; he disin-

herited his unflinching son, of whom he had cherished ambitious hopes. The pressing wants of the exile were secretly relieved by his mother's love. He was soon in prison for his religion. When told by a bishop that he should be kept there for life, if he did not recant, he replied, "Then a prison shall be my grave." The learned Stillingfleet was sent to reason with him; he listened unconvinced, and said, "The Tower is the worst argument in the world; those who use force in religion never can be in the right." In 1663 his relenting father obtained his freedom. Again he was arrested; the jury acquitted him, but the judge ordered them back to their room, saying, "We will have a verdict, or ye shall starve for it." They did starve through forty-eight hours, and still said, "Not guilty." Fines were laid on them, and on Penn, who was ordered to jail. He calmly said to the angry judge, "Thy religion persecutes; mine forgives." His father paid the fine, and William was again at the Quaker meetings. When the brave admiral was dying he said, "Son William, if you and your Friends keep to your plain way of preaching and living, you will make an end to the priests."

Young Penn looked to the New World as a refuge and home for himself and the Friends. But even there his brethren had few liberties in the colonies. His father had left him a claim of sixteen thousand pounds against the government, and Charles II was glad to pay it in land, which he granted in 1680 and named Pennsylvania. Duke James sold him Delaware. Penn was one of the share-holders in East New Jersey. No other Protestant colonist had such large proprietary rights. He said of his province: "God will bless it and make it the seed of a nation." He wrote to the pioneers already dwelling in it: "You shall be governed by laws of your own making and live a free, and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person." During his rule of thirty-seven years he kept his pledges.

In 1682 Penn sailed up the Delaware river with one hundred immigrants, and was welcomed by the Swedes, Dutch, and English. Under an elm his famous treaty was made with the Indians, and there grew up Philadelphia, which in three years had six hundred houses. His colony soon numbered ten thousand people. Pennsylvania had her legislature to represent

them and care for their rights. The majority were Quakers. Peace-makers were appointed in each county to prevent law-suits. Laws were made to check vice and promote virtue. Labor was forbidden on the Sabbath. Philadelphia had her press, high-school, and churches. No form of religion was established by law; there was no union of Church and state; liberty of conscience was assured to all men. But when George Keith urged that it was inconsistent for Quakers to hold any civil office, and engage in public affairs, thus rending his own sect into parties and disturbing the peace, he was indicted by a grand jury and fined as a violator of the laws. Germans of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, Moravians and Mennonites, settled as good neighbors among Scotch and Irish Presbyterians. The Quakers were the majority in West (South) Jersey. At Newark the Puritans were strong. David and John Brainerd labored among the Indians with marked devotedness and success.

6. *The Carolinas.* For South Carolina John Locke and Shaftesbury devised "the grand model" of a constitution in 1669, but the philosophers of England were unwise statesmen for a country which they never visited. They planned an aristocracy. Only men of noble blood should rule; the cabins in the woods were to be the castles of squires and barons. The English Church alone was to be considered orthodox, while toleration was offered to "Jews, heathens, and other dissenters," and to "men of any religion." Twenty-five years proved the failure of this scheme. The Quakers, supported by the Huguenots and Presbyterians, saved the colony from the high-handed measures of "the cavaliers and ill-livers." Among these Presbyterians were some of the three thousand exiles who were transported from Scotland as slaves by the agents of Charles II, and others (as in Pennsylvania) who were sold into a limited servitude to pay their passage. The Huguenots came poor from the persecutions of Louis XIV. Such people had not fled from oppressive kings to obey proud cavaliers.

The royalists described North Carolina as the "sanctuary of runaways, a land where there was scarcely any government," with a scattered population of "Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, and other evil-disposed persons." They might have added the Lutherans. Many of them had fled from

the intolerance of Virginia. English rulers ordered the Church of England to be established, though there "was but one clergyman in the whole country." No church was reared until 1705; there was no printing-press until 1754; the people had little care for colleges, lawyers, and well-defined laws. They were the freest of the free, intent upon governing themselves in the simplest way, and how well they did it may be seen in the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence—attributed to May, 1775,—in which the "Scotch-Irish" spoke as if they remembered the covenants of their fathers.

7. *Georgia.* This colony originated in peculiar motives. It was founded in 1732, when religious persecution had ceased in Great Britain. It was an asylum, not alone for the oppressed in conscience, but for the victims of unjust laws, whose extreme rigor fell upon debtors and criminals in the English jails. It testifies to the benevolence of General Oglethorpe, "a Christian gentleman of the cavalier school," the poor man's friend, and a reformer of prison discipline. Many English debtors, many poor of every class and of various climes, Salzburgers driven from the Tyrol, Moravians, Highland Scots, found homes in Georgia, in which Oglethorpe spent ten years of toil and denial. Liberty was granted to those of every religion except papists. The Wesleys and Whitefield came, preached to multitudes, and sent their hymns echoing through the forests.

Thus, by an exode from Europe, continuing through a hundred and seventy years, the thirteen colonies had become

"The calm retreat
Of undeserved distress, the better home
Of those whom bigots chase from foreign lands;
Not built on rapine, servitude, and woe,
But bound by social freedom."

II. THE UNITED STATES.

The world knows that the colonies were united in an independent nation by means of a revolution. The causes of the revolt and the long war (1775-83) were not directly religious, nor altogether political. Beneath the resistance to taxation and to England's demand for submission without representation, there were an ethical spirit, a conviction of human rights, and a desire for civil liberty. These were moral effects of Protest-

antism. There were strong forces of Christianity in the great defense. The Presbyterian Synod of New York was the first ecclesiastical body to advise an open resistance to England. Dr. John Witherspoon, whom Scotland gave to Princeton College* as its sixth president, was a member of Congress in 1776, and most eager for the Declaration of Independence to be signed, pledging all his reputation and property on the issue of the contest. The Baptists and Congregationalists were not less zealous. Many an Episcopalian joined with his fellow-churchman, George Washington, in the struggle for liberty. John Adams represented the Unitarians. The Quakers are justly proud of Benjamin Franklin, the American ambassador at Paris, who effected the treaty of alliance with France in 1778, and thus virtually secured the independence of the colonies. There, too, he was one of the signers of the treaty of peace in 1783, by which they were acknowledged as "The United States of America." The union which he had proposed, twenty-eight years before, was now a fact. In the convention of 1787, which met to frame a constitution, he moved, but not successfully, that a chaplain be chosen and the sessions opened by prayer.† The patriot, now in his eightieth year, said: "I have lived a long time; and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs the affairs of men. And if a sparrow can not fall to the ground without his notice, is it possible that an empire can rise without his aid?" Mighty words from him who had ventured to grasp the lightning!

But what were the pen and diplomacy of Franklin without the sword and generalship of Washington? And he who had prayed for victory rendered praise to the Almighty who gave it. History ought ever to repeat the tribute rendered him, as "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his

* Princeton is described as a place which Dickinson, Edwards, Davies, and Witherspoon made the fountain of the educated republicanism and Presbyterianism which was the most powerful influence of the century in the Middle and Southern States. Some of her alumni were pastors of those troops which fired the first shots of the Revolution, in 1771, on the Alamance in North Carolina, before the battle of Lexington in New England; others are claimed as the authors of the Mecklenburg Declaration; and others were chaplains and officers in the Revolutionary army.

† The first Congress had begun with prayer by Rev. James Duché, an Episcopalian, and had elected him chaplain.

countrymen." They twice elected him their president. He filled the office eight years (1789-97) with such ability that his administration has ever been regarded as the model for his successors. In 1799, at the age of sixty-seven, he passed from earth, and all civilized realms honor him as "the father of his country."

We have seen that there was a union of Church and state in certain colonies.* The Constitution of 1787 did not dissolve it; an amendment declared that "Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The whole subject was left to the States themselves. Already had the people of Virginia offered a solution of the difficult problem, for, in 1776, the Presbytery of Hanover petitioned the legislature to abolish the union between the Church and the civil power. The Baptists and Quakers made the same request. They wished nothing from the public treasury for their own Churches; they were unwilling to pay taxes to support a Church of which they were not adherents. The Episcopalians and Methodists offered remonstrances, pleading that theirs was a vested right. The contest grew warm. Thomas Jefferson was earnest for the dissolution. Patrick Henry favored the support of episcopacy. But in 1784 every law which interfered with the religious rights of any citizen was swept away. The same result was attained in other States, Connecticut and Massachusetts (1833) being the last to place all Churches upon an equality before the law. So broad is religious liberty in the United States that even Mormons have their temple, the Chinese their joss-houses, and Spiritualists their seances. The tares grow with the wheat and the reaping is left to the supreme Lord of all consciences.

Thus the States yielded up their control of the Church, but they were still regarded as Christian in their spirit and civilization. In its general principles Christianity was a part of the common law of the land. By religion our fathers meant Protestant Christianity, and their Bible was King James's version.

* The Churches established by law were: 1. The Anglican Episcopal in Virginia, and, partially, in all other southern colonies, New York and New Jersey. 2. The Congregational in New England, except Rhode Island. Only in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Delaware, had the Protestants an equality of religious rights

These were meant to be perpetually recognized, as the right of the people, by all who administered the laws. The Bible was to be associated with the oath taken by every civil officer and witness. It was to hold its unsectarian place in the schools. The chaplains of Congress and of the Assemblies of State legislation were to be Christians. The nation, to which this religion and this Bible had given existence and freedom, was understood to be a Christian nation, and was intended so to remain, with the Lord's Day to be kept sacred, the churches free, the schools unsectarian, the courts mindful of God, the people in rightful possession of the best means of morality, prosperity, and bliss.

No Protestant Church asked any sectarian favors of Congress. But in 1788 the Pope of Rome made overtures for the appointment of a vicar apostolic, or bishop, in the United States. Congress declined on the ground that the subject was ecclesiastical, and therefore beyond its jurisdiction. The pope made John Carroll, of Maryland, his vicar, who soon became the first archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States—a Church which then had less than fifty priests in the thirteen States, while the Protestants had about fifteen hundred ministers, and more churches. In the national territory “north-west of the River Ohio,” which had been part of New France, early Jesuit explorers and missionaries had displayed great heroism, nominally converted many Indians, and founded towns of French settlers and half-breeds. There the Roman Catholics were probably the majority in numbers. But this territory was covered by the ordinance of 1787, which provided, and still provides, that “religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.” This was part of a compact which should “forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent.” The intended religion was Christianity, unsectarian, and yet Protestant, and its source was the unsectarian Bible, in “King James’s version,” which then held an undisputed place in the homes, the schools, the courts, the legislatures, and the denominational Churches of the real fathers and founders of this nation.

Benjamin Rush, an eminent physician in the city where he signed the Declaration of Independence, advocated a system

of free schools extending to every township, or district of more than a hundred families; academies and colleges at suitable points; a university for the State, where "law, physic, divinity, the law of nature and nations, (political) economy," should be taught by books, lectures, and otherwise; and finally, to crown, unify, and complete the whole grand system, that there should be a national university, sustained by the general government, in "the federal city." He expressed the thought of the wisest men, and of the majority of the people, when he said that "the only foundation for a useful education in a republic is to be laid in religion. Without this there can be no virtue, and without virtue there can be no liberty; and liberty is the object and life of all republican government." A philosophy and an indifference, unknown to the majority of the nation's founders, have recently led to very different opinions. Even the imported infidelity of the French Revolutionists did not shatter the popular confidence in Christianity and Christian education. The rash prophecy that the Bible would soon disappear from American civilization has been nullified by the American Bible Society (1816), which now helps to publish the Divine Word in two hundred and twenty-five languages, and by numberless issues of it from private and denominational presses.

New territory has been acquired and settled. New States are still forming in the Great West. The people of the colonies in 1775 numbered only 2,800,000; in twenty-five years that number was nearly doubled; it was quadrupled in 1825; in 1850 the census was about 23,200,000; and the estimate for 1878 approaches 46,000,000. No nation in Europe, except Russia, has a larger population.* The work of founding Churches and educational institutions, and providing for their support, has been vast, and it still requires effort.

* The population of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1874, was 32,124,598; that of France, in 1872, was 36,102,921; that of the German Empire, in 1871, was 41,060,846; that of the Kingdom of Italy, in 1871, was 26,801,154.

CHAPTER XXV.

CHURCHES IN NORTH AMERICA.

1606-1878.

WE must limit our view chiefly to the United States and Canada. Most of their Churches were the children of the Old World. They brought over with them their creeds, politics, and individualism. Europe had trained them in their differences. In most of them an inherited tendency to cleavage was freely developed. Questions of doctrine, polity, and reform produced sects. Yet America's fifty religious denominations do not equal the number in Great Britain or Germany. In them all there are but four central principles of government—congregationalism, presbytery, episcopacy, and papacy. The prominent theologies of the evangelical denominations are Calvinism and Arminianism; elements of the two systems are combined in some creeds, whether formulated or unwritten. We first notice the leading Churches in the United States.

I. THE EPISCOPAL CHURCHES.

I. The Anglican Episcopal Church was the first planted (1606), and the most widely established by law, in the colonies; yet no other was more disorganized by the Revolution. It was still Anglican when its filial connection with the Diocese of London was broken, and the Propagation Society refused aid. It was disestablished. It had no bishop in 1783, and only twelve of the one hundred clergymen in Virginia favored an appointment. The Church in Connecticut sent Dr. Samuel Seabury to England to receive consecration to that office; but he found that he must first sacrifice loyalty to his own country, swear allegiance to the king, and recognize him as head of the Church. These he was unwilling to do. In 1784 he was ordained by the non-juring bishops in Scotland, but this did not satisfy the American Episcopalians. The delegates from seven

States (not New England) met the next year in the first General Convention, at Philadelphia, and formed a constitution for their Church. It was proposed to omit from the Book of Common Prayer the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, the phrase concerning Christ's descent into hell, absolution, and baptismal regeneration, and make the future bishops more amenable to the lower clergy; the book was so published with the approval of Dr. William White, the chaplain to Congress, and Dr. Samuel Provoost. But the bishops of England objected to these changes, and they were not pressed.* By a special act of Parliament, in 1787, the English archbishops were enabled to ordain Dr. White Bishop of Pennsylvania and Dr. Provoost Bishop of New York, they having gone to England for that purpose; still later Dr. James Madison was, in the same way, made the Bishop of Virginia. Seabury was now recognized as a bishop, and American episcopacy was officially perfected. This Church has had no archbishop in the United States. Its highest ecclesiastical power is in the triennial convention, with its house of bishops and house of lay delegates. Every diocese has its annual convention.

Bishop White (1748-1836) is described as a man of majestic bearing, amiability, geniality, great moderation, good sense, and honor among all Christian denominations, with a happy influence upon public opinion. One of his successors wrote that "he was, to the last, strongly opposed to the theory comprised in the words *Priest, Altar, Sacrifice*; this being one of the very few points on which he was highly sensitive." He was a Low-churchman, very tolerant of differences in opinion; but not "a passionate follower of Augustine in theology, or of Wesley or Whitefield in their views of experimental piety." He was fearless amid the horrors of pestilence. When the yellow fever raged he sent his family to the healthful country, and was at all hours by the couch of the sick or at the graves of the dead. When verging upon his eighty-fifth year he daily took his rounds among the victims of the cholera in Philadelphia, his native city and his life-long home. He was earnest for the amelioration of prison discipline, the reform of aban-

* In the revision of 1787 the Athanasian Creed and the Absolution of the Sick were omitted, and other changes were made adapting it to the national republic.

doned women, the education of the deaf and dumb and the blind, the care of orphans and the aged poor, and the whole work of missions. Another of his successors, Alonzo Potter, wrote: "When seeing Bishop White with Bishop Hobart, I have often thought of Melancthon and Luther; the one made for counsel, the other for action; the one meek, erudite, far-seeing, philosophical; the other impulsive, bold, prompt, with a sway over men rarely surpassed." On several points they differed materially.

Bishop Hobart (of New York, 1798-1830) was noted for his energy, decision, and his rapidity in walking, conversing, or reading the service. He loved Princeton as his *alma mater*, but thought that his extemporaneous prayers with his fellow-students had not been quite proper and churchly devotions. He was bound to the ritual. "He was one of the High-churchmen of his day," wrote Governor King, "and admitted no compromise of his opinions as an Episcopalian; but he was still in the most agreeable relations with many clergymen of other communions. As a preacher he was natural, earnest, bold, effective. . . . With the great mass of the clergy it is not too much to say that his will was law." He was active in establishing the theological seminary of his Church at New York. He greatly admired the writings of Richard Baxter, and seems to have agreed with him in theology. During a visit to Europe (1823) he convinced foreigners that his American Church did not insist on mere external rites, but was faithful to the essential truths of the Gospel. "In Rome he preached three times in a chapel in which Protestant worship was then barely tolerated, and there made an impressive and effective appeal in behalf of the persecuted Waldenses." Again in England he found that there was a canonical barrier to his preaching in an Anglican pulpit, and he said, "Is n't it extraordinary that I can preach in Rome, and yet not be allowed to preach in London?" Parliament removed the obstacle. Thus the fellowship of the Episcopal Churches of England and America was promoted.

The distinctions of High Church and Low Church did not spring entirely from theology, for the former party did not claim all the men of truly evangelical doctrine; their root is the theory of apostolic succession, the assertion of an exclusively

divine right for episcopacy, and a most literal adherence to the forms and words of the ritual. Low-churchmen obey the canons which forbid their official recognition of ministers in other denominations, as rightfully ordained, but their co-operation with other Christians in beneficent enterprises has proved a mutual benefit. Charles M'Ilvaine, Bishop of Ohio (1832-73), is most widely known by his "Evidences of Christianity," a book which does good service against rationalism throughout Christendom and may be read by the Japanese in their own language. He was one of the champions against the Oxford Tractarianism, which helped more than thirty American clergymen into the Roman Church. He wrote, "No Priest, no Altar, no Sacrifice, but Christ," to check the tendencies to ritualism. This Church has extended its organizations through the whole land. It has the requisite elements and agencies for prosperous growth.*

2. The Reformed Episcopal Church, a branch of the one just described, "came into existence amidst the blessed influences which made the Evangelical Alliance of 1873 an ever memorable period in the history of Evangelical Christianity. The *causes* which gave rise to it were far beyond that event; they had been at work for more than a generation, operating quietly and below the surface, like the great process of nature." After the Alliance closed its meetings in New York, the members of various denominations united in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and Bishop Cummins, of Kentucky, took an active part in it, with Dr. William Arnot, one of the heroic founders of the Free Church of Scotland. For this the bishop was held amenable to a violated canon. He withdrew from the Protestant Episcopal body, and began to organize the Reformed Episcopal Church. He ordained as a missionary bishop Dr. C. E. Cheney, a rector in Chicago, who had become virtually independent of diocesan authority. They did not regard their formal deposition as valid. In the third General Council, 1875, there were represented about fifty Churches in the United States and Canada, with sixty ministers. Soon afterwards a third bishop was consecrated. This energetic body differs from that which it left, mainly, in the following principles: Episcopacy is not diocesan, nor held

* For statistics of Churches see Notes II, III, IV, V, VI.

to be of divine right; the Christian Church exists in more than one order and form of polity; the rejection of theories which favor apostolic succession, sacramental grace, "the real presence," baptismal regeneration, and undue respect to saints, seasons, places, and ceremonies; liberty as to robes and human rites; and an official recognition of Christian ministers in all truly evangelical denominations. The Thirty-five Articles of religion, put forth by this body, evince a genuine and vigorous Protestantism. It has branches in England and Canada.

3. A Protestant Episcopal Church in Mexico has been organizing (1869-78), with three bishops and over sixty congregations in a General Synod. Its ministers are chiefly converted priests of the Roman Church. The new body aims to effect a reformation, not a revolution. It and the missions of American Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, are powerful agencies for evangelizing Mexico.

4. Bands of Moravians or United Brethren made homes in the American colonies as early as 1732, under the direction of their patron and bishop, Count Zinzendorf, whose discretion hardly equaled his warm piety. They number about fourteen thousand members, living in communities of a patriarchal sort, such as Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Litiz, in Pennsylvania. They are widely scattered through the States. Their doctrines agree, mainly, with those of the Augsburg Confession. In missions and education they have been peculiarly efficient.*

II. THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

The successful organization of this body began in America rather than in England. The Plymouth Pilgrims were the true fathers of Independency, and the Bay colonists of Congregationalism. The two systems were allied from the first, and afterwards united. The office of elder was gradually dropped, and that of deacon was elevated. In Connecticut, for a long time, the Consociation had a sort of presbyterial authority over its Churches.

The Church in Massachusetts came to be seriously injured by the law which granted a civil vote to none but members

* "The United Brethren in Christ" is the title of a different body, similar to the Methodists, and organized about 1800 by Otterbein and other German ministers. In 1880 its members were 157,835.

of its legalized denomination; they alone had the rights of freemen. In 1657 the legislature called a synod at Boston to devise a remedy. The result was the "Half-way Covenant," a sort of compromise between the state and the Church, by which all baptized persons, admitting the truth of Christianity, were to be regarded as members of the Church, without being required to give evidence of personal piety. The remedy was worse than the evil. Its ablest defender was John Stoddard, a decided Calvinist, the pastor at Northampton, who held that the Lord's Supper was a converting ordinance. It brought hundreds of unconverted members into the Church, kindled a violent and long controversy, and led to a sad decline in piety and doctrine. The man who did most to promote revival and reform has been called "the greatest metaphysician that America has produced"—one who, Robert Hall said, "ranks with the brightest luminaries of the Christian Church, not excluding any country or any age;" one of whom Bancroft says, "he that will know the workings of the mind of New England in the middle of the last century, and the throbbings of its heart, must give his days and nights to the study of Jonathan Edwards."

Born 1703, at East Windsor, Connecticut, where his father was pastor; evincing genius and vigorous reasoning powers when a child; at the age of twelve writing seriously of "a very remarkable outpouring of the Spirit of God" in his native town; a graduate of Yale College, in 1720, with his mind then at work upon his doctrine of the human will, young Edwards had such an experience in his spiritual conversion that God's excellence, wisdom, holiness, and love appeared to him "in the sun, moon, and stars, in the clouds and blue sky, in the grass, flowers, and trees, in the water and in all nature." The whole universe seemed changed to him, its Maker all-glorious in sovereignty, and his Redeemer unspeakably gracious. He studied theology two years at New Haven, and preached a few months to a Presbyterian Church in New York. He taught in Yale College and married. In the seventh year of his pastorate at Northampton his pungent, searching, and often terrific preaching roused the people. They felt the presence and power of God. The great revival (1734-5) arrested the attention of men in the colonies and in Europe. It ex-

tended through New England. Whitefield gave to it his spiritual fervor and eloquence. But it was marred by certain extravagances which Edwards opposed with voice and pen, and he presented a remedy in his work on the "Religious Affections." He repudiated the Half-way Covenant, which his predecessor, John Stoddard, had introduced into his church. Like John Calvin at Geneva, he stood firm against the admission of unrenewed persons to its communion. He did not require such a minute examination into the religious experience of a candidate as the Puritans had introduced; the fact, not the manner, of regeneration was the proper inquiry; "a profession of the things wrought" by the Holy Spirit, and of faith in Christ, was all that the apostles required. He preached and printed the views which he had drawn from the Bible, tracing the line between the Church and the world. Excitement ran high, and, like Calvin, he was forced to retire before the storm. He lived for some months in the town, and occasionally preached to the people who had seen their opposition indorsed in a council by a majority of one, but at length, in a parish meeting, they voted that he should not again enter their pulpit. Still he had there a few warm friends who generously helped to support him and his large family. Admirers in Scotland sent him a liberal donation. Two calls brought hope; one to the small church at Stockbridge; the other to be a missionary to a tribe of Indians near that place, the London Society supporting him. He accepted both, and in 1751 began the labors which enlisted much of his vigor for six years. Then and there he wrote his works on "Original Sin" and the "Freedom of the Will," and these "must secure the transmission of his name as a prodigy of intellect to the end of the world." In 1758 he succeeded the Rev. Aaron Burr, his son-in-law, as president of Princeton College, and died the same year.

"In the great [intellectual] movements of the Christian world during the past century and a half, we trace the influence of no one uninspired man so constantly and deeply affecting them as that of Edwards." It is seen upon such influential men as Thomas Chalmers and Robert Hall. His Life of David Brainerd, the missionary among the Indians of New Jersey, stimulated Henry Martyn, by whom God did wonders in India,

and W. C. Burns, a shining light in China. This power was felt by Andrew Fuller, one of the revivers of the Baptist Church in England, and his biographer states that the dissemination of Edwards's appeal for "Union in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion," in 1734, was a great means in kindling the flame of zeal which created the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792, and inspired Carey, Marshman and others to labor under it.

He was a prophet honored, outside of Northampton, in his own country. In no other colonies was there such keen doctrinal discussion as in New England, and he gave a new turn to investigation and controversy. His assault on the Half-way Covenant virtually broke the union between Church and state. His strokes upon the prevailing Arminianism were long felt. "On the basis of his system Belamy delineated True Religion; Smalley enforced the distinction between Natural and Moral Ability; and Hopkins reduced disinterested love to a System of Theology in which the divine sovereignty was all in all." He started controversies which entered the Presbyterian Church, forming schools of theology, and affecting it in its second disunion.

Edwards did not spare the Pelagianism, and mis-called "liberalism," which the compromise between Church and state had nourished. Whitefield and other revivalists asserted that Socinianism was then in the land, and Arianism not far off. This was repelled as a slander, but Unitarians have since claimed that their doctrines had an early, though quite concealed, existence in New England. In 1750 they were discussed at Harvard College and Boston, in social circles, and impressed upon a well-educated farmer's son, John Adams, who ceased to think of entering the Gospel ministry, expressed his aversion to Calvinism, became a lawyer, caught the patriotic spirit of James Otis, boldly denounced the English Stamp Act, and in the Continental Congress of 1774 said, "The die is now cast; I have passed the Rubicon." He would survive or perish with his country; he did survive to be its second president, and see his eldest son elected as the sixth. His influence upon Unitarianism was powerful. In his eightieth year (1815) he thus replied to a statement that the doctrine was but thirty years old in New England: "I can testify to its old age." He mentioned Dr. Mayhew and other ministers who cherished it in 1750, and he wrote: "Among the laity how

many could I name—lawyers, physicians, tradesmen, farmers." In 1756 the Arian book of Thomas Emlyn was imported from Ireland and republished. Twelve years later Dr. Samuel Hopkins preached and printed, at Boston, a sermon on the Divinity of Christ, saying that it was needed there. He was imitated in other pulpits.

The Episcopal Church in "King's Chapel," Boston, having no rector, engaged James Freeman as reader, in 1782, and in his third year of service he openly avowed his "Liberal Christianity," as it was long called, and so revised the liturgy as to erase the doctrine of the Trinity. He was the first man, in the United States, to announce the system from the pulpit. When the three American bishops refused to ordain him, the wardens of King's Chapel ordained him. He pressed his doctrines for fifty years. The liturgy was so used in that chapel, and still is so read, as to afford the Unitarians a formally legal right to the property. The system was not elsewhere openly preached in New England until the beginning of the present century. No Congregational pastor had yet avowed it. But it was advanced by imported books and various periodicals. Suspicions rose and fell upon ministers who resisted a close search into the theology of candidates, and even upon Henry Ware, whose election to the Chair of Divinity in Harvard College, was unsuccessfully opposed by Dr. Jedediah Morse. The *Panoplist* (a magazine which passed into the *Missionary Herald*) was started by Dr. Morse as the organ of orthodoxy, in 1805, but its warnings were denounced as calumny. Seven years later a few copies of Belsham's "Life of Lindsay" came over from London, and produced an explosion; for Dr. Morse obtained a copy, after months of effort, and drew from it the letters of several ministers in Boston, and their account of esoteric Unitarianism* in America, and of the means used to promote its growth. These he printed to the astonishment of the country. Thenceforth the system had its declared and zealous advocates. Dividing lines were soon drawn between ministers. The Congregational pastors, who avowed Unitarianism and had the sympathy of their people, generally carried with them the churches to which they

* The Universalists were more pronounced. In 1803 Hosea Ballou wrote and published the first Unitarian book by an American author. It was on the Atonement. In 1810 Thomas and Noah Worcester published their modified Arianism.

ministered, and with them went the property. They claimed the legal rights of Congregationalists in regard to funds, endowments, and professorships; thus Harvard College and Divinity School passed to the Liberal Christians. In 1825 the American Unitarian Association was formed, representing about one hundred and twenty Churches in New England. Thereafter Unitarianism has a separate history.

The orthodox Congregationalists had not been wanting in zeal and enterprise, during the warm controversy. They defended, preached, and published their theology. The Hopkinsians and stricter Calvinists founded the Andover Theological Seminary, in 1808, and Dr. E. D. Griffin came from the revivals in his Presbyterian pastorate at Newark, New Jersey, and filled one of its chairs for six years. He then made the Park Street Church, Boston, a fortress of Calvinism, and sent out relief in the form of his renowned Lectures, until 1815, when he accepted the presidency of Williams College, which had existed twenty-two years. After him Dr. Lyman Beecher preached mightily in Boston, and greatly checked the process of defection from the orthodox Church. He was one of the first apostles of Temperance in America. Andover was a source of vast power when Professor Moses Stuart defended the doctrine of the Trinity, and gave a fresh impetus to Biblical studies; when Dr. Leonard Woods clearly expounded theology on the basis laid down by Edwards; when the devotedness of S. J. Mills to the missionary work sent many of her sons to foreign lands with the Gospel, and when many more of them took their way into the Northern States, and the great West, to plant Churches, found colleges and theological schools, advance the public good, increase the might of the press, urge the reform of society, and the removal of national evils, and serve their country with patriotism, and their Divine Master with earnestness.

Among other names of a host is that of Timothy Dwight, who excelled in checking infidelity among the students of Yale College, of which he was president (1795-1817), while he barred the progress of "Liberal Christianity" by his sermons and his lectures from the chair of theology. A revival blessed the college, and there have since been eighteen such pentecosts.*

* Several of these were almost contemporaneous with great revivals in Princeton, and other colleges.

One of his successors in the chair of Divinity was the eloquent Dr. N. W. Taylor, who modified the principles of Edwards and reared a system of theology on his theory of moral government. He held that a free agent must have ability to fulfill his moral obligations; that happiness is the chief good; that the desire for it, or self-love, is the decisive motive in voluntary actions; that sin consists in seeking happiness in created sources, and holiness consists in finding it in God; that regeneration is the determination to obtain this holiness, and it is secured by the truth and the spirit of God, who works in the soul in accordance with the laws of the mind. This theology had an influence far beyond New England.

A General Council came to be required by the progress of the denomination. Hence the Convention of 1852, at Albany. It brought into closer unity the churches of the East and the West, and took liberal measures for church extension, education, and missions, especially in the West and South. The second National Council was held, in 1865, in the famous old South Church of Boston. The call admitted "two delegates for every ten churches, and an equal number of pastors and laymen." More than five hundred delegates appeared, representing more than three thousand churches in the land from Maine to Mexico, and six theological seminaries. Measures were adopted to raise seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars for education, church erection, home missions, and special work among the freedmen and white poor of the South. But the great topics discussed were "a Declaration of Faith, Ecclesiastical Polity, or the order and government of the Churches." While submitting the report of the majority on Church Polity, Dr. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, said: "Now we are not to seek a model of Congregationalism for Old England. We are not Brownists. The Puritans were waiting for government to reform religion. Brown has the same relation to the Congregationalists that the discoverer of the West Indies has to that of America. Of the continent of Congregationalism he knew nothing. . . . I will have nothing to do with any branch of Congregationalism that does not acknowledge the responsibility of each church to the whole body." The final declaration was, that "Councils are convened when a church desires recognition; when a church asks for advice or help; when differences are to be com-

posed; when men whose call of God is recognized by the Church are to be separated to the ministry; when pastors are to be inducted into office, or removed; when a brother claims to be aggrieved by Church censure; when letters of dismission are unreasonably refused; when a church or minister is liable to just censure; and when matters of common moment to the churches are to be considered. The decision of a council is only advisory. Yet when orderly given, it is to be received as the voice of the churches, and an ordinance of God appointed in his Word, with reverence and submission, unless inconsistent with the Word of God. . . . Fellowship should be withdrawn from any Church which is untrue to sound doctrine."

As to a Declaration of Faith there were two classes of men; one represented by Dr. Sturtevant, of Illinois, who said: "I want a declaration of doctrine that goes the whole length of stating, in original, living words of our own, in this year of grace, 1865, what our view of that (the evangelical) system is: . . . such a document as will actually express the faith of these churches here and now, with no reference whatever to any past formula." Dr. Barstow, of New Hampshire, spoke for the other class when he hoped that all would affirm the Westminster Catechism and the Savoy Confession. Adjourning to Plymouth, the Council made this adjustment:

"Standing by the rock where the Pilgrims set foot upon these shores, upon the spot where they worshiped God, and among the graves of the early generations, we elders and messengers of the Congregational Churches of the United States, in National Council assembled—like them acknowledging no rule of faith but the Word of God—do now declare our adherence to the faith and order of the apostolic and primitive Churches, held by our fathers, and substantially embodied in the confessions and platforms which our synods of 1648 and 1680* set forth or reaffirmed. We declare that the experience of the nearly two-and-a-half centuries which have elapsed since the memorable day when our sires founded here a Christian commonwealth, with all the development of new forms of error since their times, has only deepened our confidence in the faith and polity of those fathers."

The scene became sublime. The paper was carried by

* Cambridge and Saybrook.

acclamation. One exponent says that "these formulæ are regarded by those who receive them with much latitude and liberty of interpretation, as expressing 'the system of doctrine' or the 'substance of doctrine' contained in the Bible, not its exact truth in all respects."

The Oberlin Council of 1871 was the first of a triennial series of National Councils to be held by this body, in order "to express and foster substantial unity in doctrine, polity, and work; and to consult upon the common interests of all the Churches, their duty in the work of evangelization, the united development of their resources, and their relation to all parts of the kingdom of Christ." Thus the Congregationalists have become more fully organized for increased activity.

III. THE BAPTIST CHURCHES.

1. *The Regular Baptists.* Next to Roger Williams, Rhode Island was greatly indebted to John Clark, one of its ablest legislators. He founded the first Baptist church at Newport (1644), and was its pastor for thirty-two years. John Miles led over a small band from Swansea, Wales, and gave that name to their new home in Massachusetts. They endured hardness, they were heavily fined for not attending the legalized Church, they were treated as Anabaptists; but at last they organized their own Church (1663), and lived through the severities of the laws. "Elias, a wild youth," the son of the famous Benjamin Keach, a pastor in London, came into Penn's colony, assuming a black dress, bands, and clerical air. He drew a crowd to hear him preach. He progressed admirably until he was well into his sermon. He then stopped suddenly, became confused and betrayed his imposture, wept, confessed, trembled, and retired in great distress. From that time he dated his conversion. He went to a Baptist minister, who immersed and ordained him. In 1686 he organized a church near Philadelphia. He traveled through Pennsylvania and New Jersey, preaching the Gospel in the wilderness with great success, and he is called "the chief apostle of the Baptists in these parts of America."

In 1688 the Baptists had but thirteen churches* in the

*Of these seven were in Rhode Island, one at Middletown, New Jersey, and one in South Carolina.

American colonies. They grew more rapidly after 1706, when the pastors of five churches formed the Philadelphia Association, the first of its kind in this country. In 1740 they had nearly forty churches. They were all Congregationalists in polity, and most of them Calvinistic in faith. Immigration and the great revivals, in which George Whitefield was so eminent, rapidly increased their numbers. They shared with other Christians in the showers of grace. Wherever there was an established form of religion, they were bold dissenters, and, in some colonies, heroic sufferers. Dr. Hawks, a historian of the Episcopal Church, writes that, "No dissenters in Virginia experienced, for a time, a harsher treatment than did the Baptists. They were beaten and imprisoned, and cruelty taxed its ingenuity to devise new modes of punishment and annoyance. The usual consequences followed. Persecution made friends for its victims, and the men who were not permitted to speak in public, found willing auditors in the sympathizing crowds who gathered around the prisons to hear them preach from the grated windows." High fences did not keep the people away, nor rattling drums silence the prisoners. In 1770 there were scarcely ten Baptist churches in Virginia; in 1790 there were more than two hundred. They had then a church among the pioneers of Kentucky; "it is supposed to have been the first Protestant religious society organized in the Great West." Their writers claim that, at the close of the last century they had about nine hundred churches, eleven hundred and fifty ministers, and sixty-five thousand members in the United States.

One of their schools grew into the college at Providence, Rhode Island, largely through the efforts of Rev. James Manning, of Philadelphia, its first president. The charter (1764) provided that no religious tests should ever be enjoined, but the majority of its directors should be Baptists. It has since become Brown University. Its fourth president was Dr. Francis Wayland (1826-56), eminent for his enlarged views, his wise administration, his national influence, his contributions to mental, moral, and political science, and his efforts in raising the standard of education in his own body. He was the Chalmers in his denomination; which has established collegiate and theological institutions throughout the land. Their press and Publication Society are of a high rank. Among

their many prosperous foreign missions is one in Germany, begun in 1834 by Mr. Oncken at Hamburg, and now extended through several states, with more freedom of worship than they had during the first twenty years.

2. Among the Calvinistic Baptists of the colonies there were some bands who left them on account of Arminianism and peculiar views of the Sabbath. In 1681 Samuel Hubbard led a party out of the church at Newport, and they organized "the first Seventh Day Baptist Church in America." The toleration of Rhode Island must have sadly declined, if such severe laws were enacted that "John Rogers, a member of this church, was sentenced to sit a certain time upon a gallows, with a rope about his neck, to which he submitted." The differentiating principle is that the seventh, and not the first, day of the week is the Christian Sabbath. This sect, with a German branch, has about one hundred churches in this country. Benjamin Randall, a zealous revivalist in New Hampshire, 1780, insisting upon human ability and a general atonement, organized the Free Will Baptists; they united with the Free Communion Baptists, and now have about fourteen hundred churches. The Six Principle (Hebrews vi, 1-6) and Anti-Mission Baptists reckon one hundred and nine thousand members, and the German Tunkers (Dippers) half that number.*

3. "*The Disciples of Christ*," or "Reformed Baptists," are more popularly named from their eminent leader, Alexander Campbell, whose father came from the secession branch of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, settled in Western Pennsylvania, and resolved to attempt "the restoration of the original unity of the Church" upon some unsectarian basis. Of course his failure would at most produce another sect. His son was educated in his native Ireland and at Glasgow. They joined the Baptists in 1812, but Alexander did not rest with them. He assumed that all Christian sects had departed from the original faith and practice; that their defection was owing to excessive speculation, metaphysical dogmatism, creeds, liturgies, and books of discipline; and that his views of Scriptural

*The three branches of Mennonites baptize only believers, but by affusion; have bishops, and choose their clergy by lot, allowing them no salaries. Their population, with the new emigrants from Russia, is estimated from sixty thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand.

truth and polity were the exact teachings of the Bible itself.* He became the founder of a new body, which rapidly increased in numbers. In his zeal he provided the efficient means and agencies of propagation. He laid great stress upon the immersion of believers only as a means of grace. He was the founder and president of Bethany College, Virginia, where he died in 1855 at the age of sixty-seven years. Excepting baptism and perseverance, the Analysis of Doctrines presented by Dr. Richardson would be accepted by all evangelical Christians. But these are not obligatory upon the ministers and churches, whose polity is purely congregational, and among them exists a great variety of beliefs.

4. "*The Church of God*" is a sect usually named from its founder, John Winnebrenner, who was for five years the pastor of a German Reformed Church (Presbyterian) at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. In 1825 the surrounding churches were blessed with remarkable revivals. He earnestly promoted them and led many converts to grieve over the divisions in the Church of Christ. As a remedy he proposed the organization of free, independent churches, "without any sectarian or human name, and with no creed and discipline but the Bible" as he interpreted it. The plan was quite successful among the German people. In 1830 a convention of ministers and laymen affirmed "that there is but one true Church; namely, the Church of God, and that it is the bounden duty of all God's people to belong to her and none else." They assumed that their body was visibly the said Church, with her highest power in the eldership, clerical and lay, with an independent polity, and with an Arminian theology. Feet-washing was regarded as a positive and perpetual ordinance. The Lord's Supper was administered in the evening. Baptism was by immersion and of believers only. Great stress was laid upon efforts for revivals, benevolent work of every kind, Sunday-schools and missions, strict temperance and opposition to slavery, and the various Christian graces. When this body had extended itself west of the Ohio, elderships or synods were held annually for co-operation and advice, but not legislation.

* The sincere desire for a more visible unity in the Christian Church is to be respected; how to secure it is the great problem among Protestants; but wrong assumptions and methods only increase the divisions.

IV. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The wars in Germany drove many Lutherans to friendly lands. In 1626 there were a few of them in New York, where they had a church in 1664, with Jacob Fabricius as pastor. The Swedes were on the Delaware. After William Penn had offered a free province to the sufferers of Europe, they came in multitudes and settled in the middle colonies. The schoolmasters supplied the lack of ministers. The patriarch of American Lutheranism was Dr. Henry M. Muhlenburg (1711-87), highly educated in the school of the Pietists at Halle, and worthy of rank with Francke, Whitefield, and Edwards in the work of promoting revivals. The spiritual rain that was falling upon all Protestant lands brought reviving grace to the Germans. He preached in churches, cabins, barns, fields, anywhere that people would gather to hear the Gospel. He was active in organizing the synod at Philadelphia, in 1748, when there were but eleven Lutheran ministers in this country; three years later there were about forty for a German population of sixty thousand. One of his last long journeys was into Georgia to visit the Lutheran Salzburgers at Ebenezer, where was the grave of Martin Bolzius, who had led the exiles across the ocean and been their pastor and the manager of their affairs for thirty-two years (1733-65). An earnest patriot, he lived to see his Church rejoice in the new freedom of a country in which her zeal for education, her numerous colleges and theological schools, her presses, missions, benevolent enterprises, and her thirty-two hundred ministers, among whom are eminent scholars and authors, prove her a worthy child of the mother Church in the land of Luther, whence came her creed, her polity, and her ritual.

V. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES.

Leaving countries where the titles "Reformed" and "Presbyterian" were used, the colonists, of this order, came to America with different names. They spoke different languages—Dutch, French, German, and English. They brought over their national confessions, polities, and preferences. They formed separate organizations, the Huguenots excepted, and many of the old distinctions still remain, so that the fact of a common faith and polity is often overlooked.

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1. *The Reformed Dutch*—now the American Reformed—is the oldest Presbyterian Church in America. The first colonists of New York had no ministers, but certain “sick-comforters,” doubtless elders, read the Scriptures and the creeds to the people in a mill. The nucleus of a church was formed about 1619, and ten years later Jonas Michaelius organized it and served as pastor. He was succeeded in 1633 by Everard Bogardus, who brought with him the first school-master in the town. Albany claims as early a date for her church and Indian missions. There was a good degree of ecclesiastical prosperity even after the colony passed under English sway (1664), and the Dutch thought they had amply secured their spiritual rights, until Governor Fletcher said, in 1693, to the tolerant legislature: “While I stay in this government I will take care that neither heresy, schism, nor rebellion, be preached among you.” All who did not conform (as many did) to the English Church, most fully established in New York and four counties adjacent, had not long to discover what that meant. The Dutch, who had planted civilization there, were oppressed. The yoke was galling upon all dissenters until the spirit of 1776 brought them liberty.

The sons of John Livingstone, the exiled Covenanter, had become Hollanders. Robert brought to this country the blood and brain which made his children so famous in its history. John H. Livingstone, educated in Holland, became a leader among the Dutch ministers of New York. They had long been at strife in the attempt to establish a classis, or presbytery, independent of the classis of Amsterdam in the old country. Their churches were imperiled by the controversy. Young Livingstone mediated between all parties, and in 1772 the object was gained. After 1812 they had a General Synod of their own. They adhered to the formularies of the Holland Church. In 1764 Dr. Laidlie, a Scot from the Netherlands, did most to change the language of the pulpit from the Dutch to the English. It was no easy achievement. He preached to large audiences in New York and a revival followed. It is said that once, after a most refreshing prayer-meeting, the aged people gathered around him and said: “Ah! Dominie, many an earnest prayer did we offer in *Dutch* for your coming among us, and, truly, the Lord has answered us in English and sent

you." The long and earnest efforts to establish a literary and theological institution resulted in Rutgers College and the theological seminary at New Brunswick, New Jersey. One sharp controversy, in 1822, led to the secession of Dr. Freleigh and others, who insisted upon rigid orthodoxy and discipline, and organized the "True Reformed Dutch Church," a small body which declined fellowship with other denominations, and withheld support from the general objects of Christian benevolence. The Church which they left has a noble record of Christian and humane enterprise, enlightened faith, missionary zeal, and patriotism. Its missionaries were the first to enter Japan, in 1859, and they led the way to the recent organization of a Presbyterian body, self-governing, independent of foreign control, and entitled "the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ in Japan."

2. *The German Reformed Church.* Its pioneers in America brought from the Palatinate, so often desolated by wars, the Heidelberg Catechism. They were joined by Swiss and Huguenots. From 1740 to 1792 their ministers and churches, chiefly in Eastern Pennsylvania, were closely allied to the Reformed Dutch Church. In 1792 they formed a General Synod of their own. Language divides them into a German and an English element. Differences in doctrine have sprung up, but the "Mercersburg Theology," with its theories of sacramental grace, Christ's real presence and his mystical life in believers, has been ably controverted by the orthodox majority of its six hundred and fifty ministers. It has seven collegiate, and five theological, institutions.

3. *The Presbyterian Church* (specially so named). It had elements here long before it had organization. Cotton Mather says that, in the reign of Charles I, "divers gentlemen in Scotland wrote to New England inquiring if they might there freely exercise their Presbyterian Church-government. And it was freely answered that they might." But some of them, with Samuel Rutherford, who wrote in 1637, "If I saw a call for New England, I would follow it," were soon in London pressing the Solemn League, and its various effects led Presbyterians to think less of emigrating, until 1660. Still, Mather reckons the number who came before 1640 at about four thousand. They were not allowed to have a church in Boston. Finding good doctrine, elders, and no liturgy in the Puritan Churches, most of

these Scots entered them, and were absorbed in the Congregational body.*

Settlers from New England were a strong element in nearly all the early churches on Long Island, and that of Jamaica (1656) may be the oldest Presbyterian church in America; the same is true of New Jersey. Rev. Abraham Pierson, who seems to have been an Episcopalian in England, led about thirty families from Connecticut and founded Newark (1667); in his church were some Scots. He and his son, the first president of Yale College, "were moderate Presbyterians." His grandson was a pastor at Woodbridge, whose first settlers were "emigrants from Scotland, but principally from New England." These are samples of churches whose original polity is still a question, but which were Presbyterian early in the next century. Other elements were in the Scotch and Scotch-Irish families dispersed through the colonies, with no shepherds to collect them in flocks.

There was need of a man to travel far and near, to organize and superintend churches, to secure ministers and support for them, and effect the union of them all. A request, but not the first, went over the seas, and in 1680 the Presbytery of Laggan, in Ireland, which had to convene as a "meeting," thus made record: "Colonel Stevens from Maryland, beside Virginia, his desire of a godly minister is presented to us. The meeting will consider it seriously, and do what they can in it." Three men were ordered "to write about this" to other presbyteries. But four of the Laggan ministers were soon thrust into jail by a bishop, for observing a fast, and others were disturbed by the Revolution, so that their last record (1681) of their candidate, Francis Makemie, only shows that they were almost ready to license him. Dr. Reid says, "he was ordained on this call of Colonel Stevens." He next appears at Barbadoes, preaching there; then in Maryland, and thenceforth his wisdom, zeal, travels, and successes in organization won him the honor of being "the Father of American Presbyterianism."

Far down in the south-east corner of Maryland he organized four churches (1684-90); one was that of Snowhill, where his name yet echoes in the names of children whose Scotch and Irish ancestors formed it. He earned his own salary, chiefly

* In 1718 presbyteries began to be formed in New England.

from his commercial enterprises. It is hard to find where he resided—probably in the saddle, the rude pulpit, and the cabins of his wide parish, most of his time—until he married Naomi Anderson, the daughter of a wealthy merchant at Accomac, Virginia, and that place became his main center of operations. “He is a singular instance of a man engaging in the work of an evangelist and of a merchant, and prospering in both.” His father-in-law left him a large estate. It is not decided whether some of his many houses, here and there, were used for the storage of goods and produce, or for public worship, but probably for both; and he willed them, and certain town lots, to churches. If he was arraigned for preaching in Virginia, he proved that the Toleration Act allowed him to preach in his own houses. Nearly all salaries were paid in tobacco, and Beverly wrote, in 1705, that the Episcopal clergy went where it grew the best. “Those counties where the Presbyterian meetings are produce very mean tobacco, and for that reason can’t get an orthodox [Episcopal] minister to stay amongst them; but whenever they could, the people very orderly went to church.” Not being dependent on that kind of salary, Makemie had the larger liberty, and greater success. He noted it as “an unaccountable humor and singular to most rationals,” that the people did not build towns, and he published a plea for that mode of civilization. Through all the colonies, many of the early churches stood in the country. At a communion season (twice a year) the woods about them were alive with people, some of them in tents, there to spend four or five days, hearing good long sermons, and singing Rouse’s version of the Psalms.*

“And surely God was praised,
When David’s words to David’s tune
Five hundred voices raised.”

Makemie was anxious for help in the vast field. In 1704 Increase Mather, of Boston, who had a hand in forming a united society of Congregationalists and Presbyterians in London, introduced him to it. He urged his plea with good success. The Presbytery of Dublin also gave aid. From Ireland he brought back with him John Hampton† and George Mac-

* Before 1789 Rouse’s version began to give place to Watts’s Psalms and Hymns.

† The Presbytery of Laggan made this minute in 1692: “Each minister promises to give some help to keep John Hampton at scoole.”

nish, who began their work in Maryland. Other ministers had planted churches. Jedediah Andrews had come from New England to Philadelphia, about 1698, and gathered a church of Scots, Welsh, Huguenots, Swedes, and Puritans. He and Makemie were kindred spirits, both riding on wide missionary circuits, burdened with the care of the growing Churches, and convinced that more union and organization were necessary. Largely to their counsels the first presbytery in America owed its existence.

The First Presbytery—that of Philadelphia—is thought to have been formed in 1705,* in the “new meeting-house built for Andrews,” with seven ministers, and we know not how many elders. Makemie was moderator. It seems that no written constitution was thought necessary. Doubtless all the members adhered to the Westminster Confession of Faith, with no specific formula of adoption. Makemie cited it, probably the Scotch edition, in his famous defense at New York, in 1707. He had preached in a private house, and Hampton in some neighboring church. For not having Lord Cornbury’s license they were arrested as “strolling preachers;” the value of their certificates from Virginia was denied. They offered to take the required oath, but were imprisoned for a month, acquitted by a jury, and then fined heavily. The legislature denounced this outrage, Cornbury soon left in disgrace for England, and the affair was turned to the benefit of religious liberty.

In 1717 the Synod of Philadelphia was organized with three presbyteries—the new being those of New Castle and Long Island. It had twenty-five ministers and more elders. This Church had no higher judicatory for seventy-one years. In its rapid growth it received ministers who did not adhere equally to the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, as binding. Thus two parties arose. John Thompson, of Delaware, whose orthodoxy was not lifeless, nor fears needless, urged strict subscription, in 1727–8, as a means of warding off the errors which had made inroads upon the Reformed Churches of Great Britain.

* The first leaf of the Minutes was lost, but the third page bears the date of 1706. The eight ministers thereon named were of Scotch and Irish origin, except Andrews. John Wilson, of New Castle, a Scot, had come from Connecticut. Dr. Hodge says that, after 1716, “the proportion of New England ministers was considerably increased. . . . They formed, in 1728, from a fourth to a third of the whole body.”

On the other side the most eminent man was Jonathan Dickinson, who had been born (1688) and educated in New England, and been eleven years in the synod. He had grown into a leader, had won respect for his wisdom and Christian moderation, and proved his soundness in the Westminster theology. "He was, strangely enough, altogether opposed to creeds or confessions of faith drawn up by uninspired men;" but next to Edwards, there was no abler champion of Calvinism in America.

In the synod of 1729 Thompson and Dickinson were members of the committee upon the exciting overture which resulted in the Adopting Act. In it the extremes met harmoniously. By it the Westminster Confession and Catechisms were adopted "in all essential and necessary articles," except the clauses which admitted the coercive power of the civil magistrate in affairs of the Church. Provision was made for the good standing of ministers and candidates who had scruples about "articles not essential." There were still two parties. The question of subscription rose occasionally amid the rough waves of two others—education and revivals—in which neither party really understood its opponents. The "Old Side" insisted on a thoroughly educated ministry, but certainly valued piety, and disciplined men for the want of it. The "New Side" examined more closely into the religious experience of all converts, and required the clear evidence of vital piety in all candidates for the ministry, but certainly did not think that "God had any use for ignorance" in the pulpit. In Philadelphia was the school of Dr. Francis Alison, the finest scholar and a foremost man of the Old Side. Twenty-five miles above him, in Bucks County, was William Tennent, who had left the Episcopal Church in Ireland, and had reared the Log College. It sent out the young Tennents, the Blairs, and many of the first preachers of the great revival, with the founders of the Presbytery of New Brunswick.

Gilbert Tennent, Pastor at New Brunswick (1726-43), kindled most fires of the time. His mighty preaching, moral courage, zeal for his pronounced faith, and love for the work of saving souls, were enough to place him in the foreground of events; but his earlier want of charity, his rashness, his unwarranted censures of ministers who opposed his measures,

would have consigned an ordinary man to the silence of history. He was not the only one to detect a sad decline of spirituality in the churches, but he led in the efforts to arouse them. The reports of revivals in New England filled him with enthusiasm. Showers of blessing were falling when Whitefield came (1739). These two men walked triumphantly over the synod's rule (soon modified) which forbade one minister, uninvited, to hold meetings in the parish of another. They and Samuel Blair "made the woods ring as they rode, with their songs of praise," through Chester county, and the remembrance of God's wondrous work there has never perished. In Philadelphia Robert Cross was wary of "the itinerant foreigner." They said rather hard things of each other; but when the snow lay thick in the roofless "great house" of the evangelists Cross offered his church to Whitefield, and it was accepted. The whole city was absorbed in the mighty work of grace.

Robert Cross quite fairly represented the Old Side men. They said that they opposed, not the revival, but the censoriousness, the alleged extravagances and exciting methods of certain revivalists. Some of them must have welcomed Whitefield, who preached among them to immense audiences, and their churches were refreshed. But the revival was chiefly associated with New Side men. Was the glorious light too brilliant for partisans to see each other clearly? The best men on both sides came to feel and sorrowfully confess that they had erred exceedingly against each other. As they forgave, we may wisely forget, their mutual faults. Our wonder is that the great revival, which absorbed the minds of their people, and extended far beyond the field of their strifes, did not restrain them from schism.

The First Disunion was a result, not directly of the revival, but of the human nature which even refreshing grace had not subdued. The organizers of the Presbytery of New Brunswick (1738) were New Side men, anxious to see pious ministers in the wide and ripening field, but too independent of Church law and order. They were charged with hastening unqualified men into the ministry, and sending them uninvited into other presbyteries. The result was that the majority in the synod of 1741 took severe measures, and wrote, "We excluded the four

Tennents, Blair, and others." Another result was that the New Side men and the New York Presbytery, in 1745, united and formed the Synod of New York.*

Both synods were active in the two most pressing enterprises—missions and education. Many a pastor had his circuit of churches, and hardy young men to study classics and theology with him, and help in the vegetable as well as the spiritual kingdom. Pioneers gathered flocks in the wilds of the then South and West. The needed college was started at Elizabeth, New Jersey, and in charge of Jonathan Dickinson during the last year of his life (1746-47). It was then moved to Newark, with Rev. Aaron Burr as its president. In 1756 he went to Princeton with it, rechartered as the College of New Jersey. Who would secure its endowment?

Samuel Davies (1723-61), a farmer's son in Delaware, a student in Samuel Blair's school, was the first American orator whose sermons are still regarded as a model for the pulpit. He is celebrated as the father of the Presbytery of Hanover, the first in Virginia; the defender of the right of dissenters to preach in that State, from which John Rodgers had been expelled for the Gospel's sake; the promoter of revivals, bringing to the front the truly evangelical spirit of his Church and creed; and the collector of funds (along with Gilbert Tennent) in England and Scotland for the college at Princeton, in whose presidency he succeeded Jonathan Edwards and spent nearly the last two years of his life, dying at the age of thirty-eight. His successor, Samuel Finley, said of him: "He was strict, not bigoted; he gloried more in being a Christian than in being a Presbyterian, though he was the latter from principle."

All these five presidents were earnest to repair the broken unity. Gilbert Tennent and Robert Cross, both pastors in the City of Brotherly Love, now saw eye to eye, and had "pleasing views of a comfortable union." It was effected in 1758, both synods holding the Westminster Confession as they had always done, and agreeing in the education of candidates, and "in their sentiments concerning the nature of a work of grace." Thus the Synod of New York and Philadelphia was formed.

* In 1833 Dr. Ashbel Green wrote that "the New Side men were as strict Presbyterians as their opponents. The love of Congregationalism, or lax Presbyterianism, was not the cause of their separation from the old synod."

In it were ninety ministers. Ashbel Green (1762-1841), a soldier of the Revolution, may be taken as a representative of the new race of ministers who baffled the infidelity of the age, and led their Church through the war and its desolating influences, and into the great movements which enlisted her forces during fifty years.* The General Assembly, the highest judicatory of the Presbyterian Church, was created by the synod in 1788, when it slightly revised its standards, so as to adapt them to the laws of a tolerant republic. The effort to unite all the Presbyterian denominations of the country under this constitution was not successful.

From the first there had been voluntary comity between the Presbyterian and the Congregational Churches. Ashbel Green opened the door to a more systematic co-operation, and afterwards deeply regretted it. The assembly adopted, in 1801, "A Plan of Union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the new settlements." Under it missions were extended; but too many of the new churches were organized on a compromise of two polities—they had no elders, and yet belonged to presbyteries. The necessity for a division of labor, and for specific funds, produced those measures which finally resulted in the Presbyterian Boards of Missions, Education, and Publication. In 1812 the Theological Seminary at Princeton was established—the first of thirteen now existing. The Alexanders, Dr. Miller, and Dr. Charles Hodge, gave it a fame throughout Christendom.

The Second Disunion, like the First, began with questions concerning revivals and education. The wonderful revivals in Kentucky (1797-1805) created a demand for more Presbyterian ministers.† The aged David Rice, "the father of the Church

* In 1775 the Synod issued a pastoral letter to all the churches, prepared by Dr. Witherspoon and others, by which it took its stand on the side of the Congress and the union of the colonies. In 1787 it urged the education and liberation of the negroes in bondage, and recommended "the use of the most prudent measures, consistent with the interests and the state of civil society in the countries where they live, to procure eventually the final abolition of slavery in America." Dr. Green probably wrote the Assembly's famous deliverance of 1818 on slavery.

† Barton W. Stone and four other ministers withdrew from the Synod of Kentucky (1803); James O'Kelly left the Methodist Church in North Carolina; Abner Jones separated from the Vermont Baptists. These men, with their followers, opposing "sectarian names and human creeds," assumed the title of

in the West," thought that pious, practical men might be sufficiently trained in the standards, and licensed, without classical study. The Cumberland Presbytery licensed a few men of warm piety and experience, but of limited knowledge. The matter was before the Synod of Kentucky and the General Assembly for years (1804-14), and the presbytery was dissolved, partly for alleged errors. Three of the men in question—Ewing, King, M'Adam—having been ordained, assumed to restore the presbytery (1810), and thus founded the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Education was not neglected, but a high standard was not required. The Westminster Confession and Catechisms were modified, chiefly by articles that omitted the doctrines of predestination and limited atonement. Colleges and the press have greatly elevated the standard of education in this energetic and prosperous body, which enrolls several hundreds of energetic ministers.

The Third Disunion was the result of a controversy sharp, painful, long, and so recent as to present a most delicate theme. It seems to have had its roots in the Plan of Union (1801), and its chief occasion in the teaching and first trial of Rev. Albert Barnes (1830). Two schools of thought and policy arose, popularly designated as the old, or more strict, and the new. Between these there was what Dr. Green described in 1834, as "a host of peace men, moderate men, sound in the faith," although he questioned the estimates of Prof. Samuel Miller, who had written "that a very large majority—nay, nineteen-twentieths of the whole number of our ministers—are sufficiently near to the Scriptures, and to each other, in respect to all the essentials of truth, to be comfortably united in Christian fellowship and co-operation, I can not allow myself to doubt." But the complaints, warnings, testimonies, protests, and appeals, which lie thick in the records of six years after 1831, show that real and serious differences existed. During the first five of those years the strict interpreters of the Confession were a minority in the General Assembly. They felt that the Church was in great danger, and truth must be saved. They objected to the Plan of Union as fostering congregationalism in the Churches; to maintaining Christians, and formed the "Christian Connection." They are immersionists, with about sixty thousand adherents.

voluntary (undenominational) societies as equal or preferable to the Presbyterian Boards, for supporting missions and candidates for the ministry; to the theory that the General Assembly had only advisory powers; to the formation of presbyteries on the principle of "elective affinity," rather than by geographical lines; to alleged new measures in promoting revivals; to alleged errors in doctrine, for some of which trials were instituted against Revs. Albert Barnes, George Duffield, and Lyman Beecher; to the acquittal of these ministers actually or virtually by the General Assembly; to an alleged growth of "New England theology" in the Church; to the refusal of certain presbyteries to examine intransigent ministers; to the ordination of men who were said to be unqualified, unsound, and intent upon being evangelists, and not pastors; to the election of elders to serve for a limited time, and to other alleged departures from constitutional order, or defects in discipline. Many of them thought that all these were favored by the New School men, and that the "moderates" could not secure reform.

The New School objected especially to a demand for a more rigid adoption and construction of the Confession of Faith than the constitution required; to the imputation of their assent to the Confession in any other than "the obvious, known, and established meaning of the terms," or of putting some private, broad, and unusual interpretation upon the phrase, "the system of doctrine;" to appeals from the constitutional courts to the Church at large, through annual conventions, in which one party issued acts and testimonies against the alleged errors of another party, and thus (said the Assembly of 1834) "published to the world, ministers in good and regular standing as heretical or dangerous, without being constitutionally tried and condemned;" to construed censures upon the General Assembly by conventions which it did not authorize;* to the

* The Convention of 1833, at Cincinnati, issued its memorial; that of 1834 sent out an Act and Testimony against errors, and recommended all approving ministers, elders, sessions, presbyteries, and synods to subscribe it. The *Princeton Review*, of 1834, objected to this use of it as a "Test Act" or a "new Solemn League and Covenant," or an "extra constitutional method of ascertaining and rallying the friends of truth." The *Review* insisted upon order as well as orthodoxy. Opposing "New England theology" it sought to check extreme measures. In 1835 the Pittsburg Convention renewed the "Testimonies," and so did that of Philadelphia in 1837.

judicial condemnation of printed opinions in such modes as to condemn the author as heretical; to any "exclusive mode of conducting missions," and to restricting the support of voluntary societies, by according to the Presbyterian Boards a more imperative claim upon the gifts of the Presbyterian Churches.

The crisis came in 1837, when the General Assembly in Philadelphia, among other acts, testified against sixteen errors; abrogated the Plan of Union; disowned or excinded four synods in Western New York and Ohio, directing the strictly Presbyterian ministers and churches therein to join the strict presbyteries adjacent; required five other synods to take action upon reported errors; and barred from the churches the voluntary societies. Then came a year of intense excitement throughout the land, and a rallying of forces. The excinded synods asserted their right of existence, and their presbyteries sent thirty ministers and twenty elders as commissioners to the next Assembly in Philadelphia. Their commissions were refused. All motions for their enrollment were declared out of order. The minority resolved, amid all the confusion in the house, "to organize the General Assembly of 1838, in the fewest words, the shortest time, and with the least interruption possible." They elected clerks, and Dr. Samuel Fisher moderator, and, on motion, adjourned to the First Presbyterian Church. Dr. David Elliot had not left the chair, and the remaining Assembly proceeded with business.

Thus the Church had branched. There were two General Assemblies with rival claims to constitutionality. The first efforts to adjust their differences failed; they had to be left to law, time, and grace. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania decided in favor of the Old School, entitling them to the strictly denominational property of the whole body before its division. In each branch there were men of eminent ability, scholarship, spirituality, and devotedness to that system of doctrine and polity which was held in common. The pulpit, the press, the chair of theology, were means of power. Each branch increased its agencies for education, literature, and missions. As early as 1850 the New School Assembly adopted measures which brought into existence five permanent committees similar to the boards of "the other branch." Over-

tures for reunion began to appear, when each body was rent by slavery and war.

The Fourth Disunion was twofold. In 1857 four synods in Southern States withdrew from the New School Assembly on account of its deliverances against slavery. They formed a United Synod, and afterwards joined their brethren in the same States, who withdrew from the Old School Assembly during the civil war (1861-65). Thus a new Presbyterian Church was formed. Impoverished by war, it has shown great energy in educational, theological, and missionary enterprises.

The reunion of the Old and New School branches was the result of grace, wisdom, moderation, a growing mutual confidence, a desire for combined effort in the extension of the Gospel, and the discussion of plans, during five years. The deep interest every-where felt, while mistakes were cleared away, doubts removed, and the culmination reached, was voiced by one of the Assemblies when it discussed the plan favored by the other, and recognized "this proposal as a part of the great movement of our day, which is seeking better to express the essential unity of the Church of Christ;" and said that "the favor of God has been shown in the outpouring of the Spirit upon the joint efforts of Christians in revivals of religion. Our own hearts have here felt most convincingly the influences of that Spirit, when in joint supplications for the reunion of our separated Presbyterian family. Mutual love and confidence fill the hearts of believers. The spirit of wisdom seems to be imparted to our councils for reunion, and from all branches of the Church the prayer is going up for a speedy realization of that oneness for which our Redeemer prayed. And when God so manifestly points the way, and opens the path where was a sea of difficulties before, it is for his people to go forward." The reunion was theoretically effected by the two Assemblies in an adjourned and joint meeting at Pittsburg, 1869, and practically realized the next year in the one Assembly at Philadelphia, "on the doctrinal and ecclesiastical basis of the common standards." No new terms or tests were enacted. The Church expressed her joy, gratitude, and liberality in the Memorial Fund of five millions of dollars. In the union there is strength, as shown in the enlarged enterprises, home and foreign, of this Church.

As this Church was the first to take official action in regard to a great Council, postponed from Calvin's time, that movement may here be recorded. As early as 1868 the idea of such a council found utterance on both sides of the Atlantic. Among its chief promoters were Dr. James M'Cosh, and Dr. Philip Schaff, who were representatives of the Presbyterianism of Europe by birth and wide acquaintance, and of America by adoption, scholarship, and eminent position. In 1873, the official proposals of the Assemblies in the United States (north), and in Ireland, gave it a more definite shape. The conference in London, July, 1875, attended by sixty-four representatives of twenty-one Presbyterian bodies, formed "the Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the World, holding the Presbyterian system," to meet ordinarily once in three years, and to have simply advisory powers. The first meeting was held at Edinburgh, Scotland, July, 1877, and attended by some three hundred delegates from about forty-five Reformed Churches, and representing twenty-one thousand and five hundred congregations, existing in various parts of the earth. In these there were reported nineteen thousand seven hundred and ninety ordained ministers, of whom nearly seven hundred were missionaries, and about twenty-one thousand and five hundred congregations. Of these ministers two hundred and sixty-two were credited to Australia; one hundred and six, to New Zealand; and one hundred and thirteen, to South Africa. Certain members of this Council expressed the hope that it would be "the stepping-stone to a general assembly of all the truly Christian Churches of the whole world." A Pan-Protestant Council ought to be among the coming events.* The nearest approach to it is the Evangelical Alliance, organized in London, 1846, on a sound Protestant basis. Its sessions in different lands, especially that in New York, 1873, has greatly promoted the sympathetic union and active co-operation of evangelical Christians throughout the world.

4. *The United Presbyterian Church.* Its elements came from three denominations of Scotch origin, which adhered to the

* A Pan-Anglican Council was held in London, in 1867, and also in 1878; at the latter one hundred bishops were present, from the British Isles and Colonies, and the United States. Arrangements for a Pan-Methodist Conference are now in progress. (1881.)

Westminster standards, used Rouse's version of the Psalms, and held that sacramental communion with other bodies involved a sanction of their principles. Zealous for the distinctions in the Church of their fathers, the early settlers in this country reared patriotic sons for the battles of the Revolution. Our subject brings two of these bodies to the front.

(1) The Associate (Secession) was organized in Eastern Pennsylvania, mainly by Rev. Alexander Gellatly (1753-61), a firm defender of his principles, and earnest for the Scottish Covenants. After part of its two presbyteries left it, in 1782 (see below), it so prospered during seventy-five years that it had twenty-one presbyteries, and nearly one hundred and fifty ministers.

(2) The Associate Reformed Church was constituted, in 1782, by uniting a part of the Associate with the majority of the Reformed (Covenanter) body.* This new organization founded, at New York, 1804, the first chartered Theological Seminary in the United States. Under Dr. J. M. Mason it became very popular. He was not only a strong theologian, eloquent preacher, the advocate of open communion, and of union with the Presbyterian Assembly (into which he led a part of his synod), but a man of great public influence, "whose praise is in both hemispheres." This Church was considerably stronger than the Associate in 1858, when nearly the whole of the two bodies formed a union under the name of the United Presbyterian Church. Among its most prosperous foreign missions is that in Egypt.

VI. THE METHODIST CHURCHES.

It is a question whether the first Methodist Society in America was gathered by Philip Embury, in the city of New York, or by Robert Strawbridge, not far from Frederick, Maryland. After 1766 each was a model for others, and a base of operations. John Wesley sent over lay-preachers, and they had great success. Among the itinerant missionaries were Richard Wright and Francis Asbury, sent over in 1771, and the latter

*The Reformed Presbyterian Church was continued by the minority, and it still exists. The Presbytery of Pittsburg joined the Presbyterian Church in 1870. A minority of the Associates still have their synod. These bodies are also represented in the Southern States.

was soon appointed a general supervisor of the preachers and societies in the colonies. Their first conference was held in 1773, at Philadelphia, representing about one thousand one hundred and sixty members of classes. Dr. Bangs says that "in the year 1776, after the revolutionary contest had commenced, persecution against the Methodist missionaries found a pretext in the fact that most of them were from England, and that some of them had manifested a partiality for their king and country, and, moreover, that they were all under the direction of a leader (Wesley) who had written against the American principles and measures." And yet they seem to have increased. Nearly all the English preachers returned home, except Francis Asbury. He retired to the house of Judge White, one of the members, in Delaware, and preached in private circles for a year (1778), but Freeborn Garrettson was flogged and imprisoned in Virginia, for his earnestness in his wide circuit.

The Revolution helped to give the Methodist societies independence. It separated them from the Church of England, to which their eighty preachers had adhered. To meet the demand of nearly fifteen thousand members for the sacraments, Dr. Thomas Coke* was sent over as the first bishop (1784), and he began the systematic work which made the societies a Church—the Methodist Episcopal—one of the most thoroughly organized that ever existed. That year the conference at Baltimore elected Asbury a bishop, and adopted Wesley's abridgment of the Thirty-nine English Articles, which continue to be the standard of doctrine. The first General Conference was held in 1792 in Baltimore, and in 1800 it represented about two hundred and ninety preachers and sixty-four thousand and nine hundred members.† Already Bishop Asbury had started the first Sunday-school in America (1788), and toiled hard to rear a seminary at Abingdon, Maryland. Young men were taught in

* Chapter XXIII, Section III, 4. He resided in America only about half of his time, and died in 1814.

† The General Conference, the highest judicatory, meets once in four years. It is composed of the bishops and delegates from the annual conferences, each of which embraces the ministers of a certain State or territory. These are divided into districts, each with its presiding elder. The bishops preside at all conferences, and ordain ministers. The bishops are elected by the General Conference.

it during eight years, when it was burnt to the ground. Another was erected in Baltimore, and it went out in flames (1796), and the bishop said, "I feel convinced that our call is not to build colleges." Yet he would have a high-school in every conference. The number of his long journeys, his sermons, and his meetings with conferences, through forty-five years, would have astonished even John Wesley. When ordaining a brother, he lifted up a Bible, and most powerfully said, "This is the minister's battle-ax, this is his sword; take this and conquer." It is said that when he was ending one of his vast circuits, riding along with sad thoughts of the little good he had done, a woman hurried to grasp his hand and tearfully thank him for the sermon, a year before, to which she ascribed her conversion. "Glory to God!" said he. "One soul the fruit of a year's labors! I will gladly go round the continent again." Garrettson said, "He prayed the most and the best of any man I ever knew." Children were named after him; and, in executing his last will (1816), several hundred copies of the Bible were given to persons who bore the name of Francis Asbury.

In 1819 the Missionary Society was formed "to assist the several annual conferences to extend their missionary labors throughout the United States and elsewhere." Mission work has been a peculiarity of this body, not only in neglected districts, on the borders westward, and among emigrants of foreign speech, but also in nearly every land on the globe. It has been at the front in social and moral reforms, in benevolent enterprises and patriotism, and has taken a leading part in the recent advances of Sunday-school work.

After the year 1817 seminaries and colleges were rapidly founded. Dr. Wilbur Fisk gave an impetus to higher scholarship, won a more deserving respect for his Church among other denominations and public men, both in America and Europe, and was in demand, far and near, to address societies established in behalf of the Bible, Education, Tracts, Missions, Sunday-schools, and Temperance. Twice refusing to be a bishop, he devoted the last nine years of his life (1830-39) to building up the Wesleyan University, at Middletown, Connecticut, of which he was the first president. He must have deplored the human nature which too often has broken out in

large councils when he said, "A camp-meeting* is a heaven, compared with a General Conference." His successor, Dr. Stephen Olin, so attached to the Greek Testament, at home or in his tent by the Jordan, was among the men who gave Methodism a vigor which is manifest in ethical, scientific, theological, historical, Biblical, and cyclopædic literature; thus it holds fair rivalry with denominations which are credited with an earlier inheritance of scholarship. The Book Concern, founded in 1788, with its great variety of publications, has an immense influence. Wesley's antipathy to slavery was generally entertained by his early followers. They insisted upon emancipation.

The cleavage in American Methodism was due largely to race, slavery, episcopacy, and lay-representation, and not to doctrines of theology. The chief separations from the original body are: (1) The Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, the result of a peaceful secession soon after the war of 1812, and now having three annual conferences. (2) The Methodist Protestant Church, organized in 1830, without bishops, and with lay-representation; slavery divided it into two bodies, and the northern is now entitled the Methodist Church. (3) The Methodist Episcopal Church South, organized in 1845-46, on account of slavery. It has about one-half the strength of the body which it left.† The general rule of the mother Church has been to let her seceding children go in peace, with their property and her blessing. She has experienced no revolution.

The centenary of Methodism in America was observed, in 1866, "with devout thanksgivings, by special religious services and liberal thank-offerings." The contributions amounted to about \$8,709,500, showing that recent patriotism had not sadly affected the spirit of liberality. In 1872 lay delegates were admitted to seats and votes in the General Conference.

In 1849 this Church established missions in Germany, where it has an organized conference, about four hundred places of

* The Presbyterian conventicles of Scotland reappeared in their American camp-meetings at an early date.

† The Evangelical Association, popularly named from J. Albright, was organized (1803) independently among the Germans, on a Methodist basis. There are four colored, or African, branches of American Methodism. There are also the Wesleyan, Free, and Primitive Methodists, and "the United Brethren in Christ."

worship, an active press, and a flourishing theological school at Frankfort. Methodism has organized bodies in Australia, Africa, and the West Indies.

VII. UNITARIANS AND UNIVERSALISTS.

These bodies, assuming to be Liberal Christians, but having no authorized creeds, claim to be Protestants, though not evangelical. Nearly all Unitarians believe in the final salvation of all men; but some Universalists believe that Jesus Christ is the God-man, the Mediator, through whom alone the final salvation of all men will be effected.

After the American Unitarian Association was formed, in 1825,* it united the efforts of its members, but did not unify their beliefs. They were a school of thinkers, rather than an earnest sect intent on extending the fixed principles of a Church. William E. Channing (1780-1842) was their first eminent leader—gentle, kind, philanthropic, courteous, eloquent, and long the “bright particular star” of Boston, casting an influence through Europe, where his writings are still republished. His early Arianism did not satisfy him, and he wrote, the year before his death, “I am little of a Unitarian, have little sympathy with the system of Priestley and Belsham, and stand aloof from all but those who strive and pray for clearer light.” The position of others has been, not the positive denial of the Trinity, but the refusal to affirm the doctrine. Opinion has varied from a type of Sabellianism and Arianism to the eclecticism of Theodore Parker, who sought the primitive or absolute religion in all systems on earth, Christ being the chief among the sages of antiquity. Several of the young ministers—Sparks, Edward Everett, R. W. Emerson—left the pulpit and devoted themselves to historical, classical, or general literature, or exchanged Christianity for philosophy. Such men as Dr. Ware, Norton, and Sears either defended their system or made contributions to Christian apologetics, but quite generally culture and humanity overshadowed theology.

The Universalists in England began to be organized in 1750, by John Relly. One of his converts was John Murray, who came to America, 1770, preached his doctrines in all the colonies north of the Delaware, served as a chaplain in the revolu-

* Section II of this chapter.

tionary army, and gathered his first society at Gloucester, Massachusetts. A few preachers left the evangelical Churches and joined him. They were mainly orthodox, except in reference to future punishment, holding that God's love would finally annihilate all evil in the universe, and that after the last judgment those who had never repented and believed in Christ would suffer for a time in proportion to their sins, but finally be saved through the atonement of Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit. Hosea Ballou (1790), an Arian, taught that all punishment is visited upon men in this life on earth, and that all the dying pass at once into a state of bliss. This doctrine was the more popular for a century, but the former has now the prevalence, owing largely to the culture and more fully developed theology of the Restorationists. They claim sixty thousand adherents, or about twice the number of the Unitarians.

The Annihilationists, led by Storrs and Hudson, think that God will remove all evil from the universe by a different mode. They teach that death is the utter destruction of the souls of the impenitent, and occurs with that of their bodies. They form a school, rather than a sect, and have a few adherents even among evangelical Churches.

VIII. THE FRIENDS, OR QUAKERS.

In 1672 George Fox was struggling through "the great bogs" of the Dismal Swamp, in the Carolinas, "laying abroad anights by a fire," and seeking Friends who lived lonely in the woods. Here and there he had "a sound and precious meeting, opening many things concerning the light and spirit of God that is in every one." Thus he went up through all the colonies, renewing the courage and hope of his people, and leaving the New England for the Old, nine years before William Penn arrived. Penn's writings, with those of Barclay and Penington, kept them near to evangelical truth. They organized on the plan of local conferences, one within another, held monthly, quarterly, and annually, the Yearly Meetings (synods) being attended by the Friends within a State or a part of it. They were not aggressive. Many of their descendants passed into other denominations. They lacked the power of the pulpit. They abhorred war and every sort of oppression. They

advocated moral reforms and philanthropic movements. Their attempts to civilize the Indians have not been as successful as those of other denominations. They have a Tract and a Bible Society and Sunday-schools. The poet Whittier is their popular representative in literature.

Elias Hicks, of Long Island (1827), boldly denied the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, the divinity and the atonement of Christ, and led a party into mere deism. His followers are about two-fifths of the Quakers, and are strongly opposed by the orthodox Friends, whose numbers are about one hundred thousand.

IX. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

In the United States there is no other Church that pays allegiance to a foreign power. It is Roman, and, with all the care of popes, it made little advance during the colonial period. In 1775 it had scarcely twenty-five thousand adherents in the colonies. It extended mainly from three centers, from Maryland along the Atlantic coast, from Louisiana far up into the valley of the Mississippi, and from Canada. In 1789 it had a bishop at Baltimore. It grew by immigration, Jesuit missions, the activity of various celibate orders, nunneries, and schools for teaching the fine arts. Its priests have set examples of toil, hardship, fidelity, and pastoral care, following up the lines of new railways, hasting with a rude chapel in the villages of poor cabins, bearing the cross and confessional to the miners, or walking ten miles to warn a servant not to attend the family worship of her employers, nor listen to one word from a Protestant Bible. These earnest men have largely won the success which is evinced by the cathedrals, hospitals, seminaries, and bishops in our cities. Other men have sought to turn the stream of politics in favor of their Church, and, in the lowest ward-meeting, up to the highest legislature, their skill has been marvelous. Opposing "sectarian schools" they have urged their claim to a share of the public funds, as no other Church has done; or helped to secure the rejection of the Bible from the public schools.* They have had the help of unbelievers and

* This began in New York in 1840, and has extended to other cities. In 1852 the National Plenary Council of Roman Catholics condemned public schools.

of some Protestants, in an effort to exclude the sacred Scriptures from all places of education maintained by the state. The six millions of the Roman Catholic population in this land wield their greatest power through politics and education.

They have not been lacking in men of ability, with the pen and press. They have drawn two of their best editors from Protestant ranks—M'Masters and Brownson. They have been defended by strong controversialists—Hughes and Purcell. But none have eclipsed Dr. Kenrick, Archbishop of Baltimore (1797–1863), “who was esteemed among all denominations as an amiable and scholarly man, of great and varied learning, particularly in the department of dogmatic theology.* Though earnestly devoted to the work and interests of his own Church, he was not wanting in charity and kindness to men of other creeds.” He published a new version of the Bible with a full commentary. The American prelates in the Vatican Council of 1870 zealously maintained the dogma of papal infallibility. Four years later the long desire for a cardinal in this country was gratified, and the red hat was placed upon Archbishop M'Closkey, of New York.

X. THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

By the federal union of eight provinces, since 1866, this dominion extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Except its continued allegiance to Great Britain, and the Roman Catholic influence along the St. Lawrence River, it is quite similar to the United States in the history of its colonies and Churches. No Church is now established by the state, except the Roman Catholic in the Province of Quebec by the terms of the conquest. Newfoundland is not in the union. The population of the Dominion is estimated at nearly four millions, of which about one million five hundred thousand are Roman Catholics.

The spirit of union produced two notable results. Three Methodist bodies—the New Connection and two Wesleyan—united in 1874, and formed the “Methodist Church of Canada,” with over one hundred thousand members. The Episcopal and the Primitive Methodists did not enter into the union. In 1875 four of the several Presbyterian bodies were united on the basis

* His theological and ethical works were written in Latin, seven volumes, and republished in Europe.

of their common Westminster standards, with the title of "The Presbyterian Church in Canada." The union was enthusiastically effected in a country "where only ninety years ago there existed only one small presbytery of some four ministers; its first General Assembly being held in a province (Quebec) where popery is the dominant religion, and in a city (Montreal) where its chief strength lies; the union also taking place at a time very critical in the history of the Dominion, when, in the councils of Rome, a resolution had been registered to win back Canada to the Latin Cross." The Protestants of Canada have shown remarkable energy in missions, and in the establishment of collegiate and theological institutions.

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK.

Our history has necessarily followed out the diversities of the Church, in doctrines, politics, modes of existence and worship. Underneath them has been that vitalizing Christianity which has produced results common to all its true adherents, and is greater than any form of the Church. A volume might be written upon the spiritual unity of all believers who have trusted in the one Christ, received the one Spirit, and hoped for the one heaven, during the past centuries. To all who had justifying faith in Christ belonged the unifying name of Christians. They constituted the invisible Church of God. With that faith were "the things that accompany salvation," in varying degrees; the proofs were to be seen in their daily and spiritual life.

The common life of Christians has ever varied with the degrees of material civilization in different ages and countries. Tertullian said to the pagans, "We live with you, have the same food, dress, and furniture, the same daily wants: we trade and travel with you, serve in your armies, and in your fields, and meet you in the forum." Their best homes were once the ancient Greek and Roman houses: later, many of them dwelt in the rude cabins of the Germanic tribes, or gathered about the British hearth-stone in the center of a room, the smoke passing, without a chimney, through an opening in the thatched roof. Domestic comforts were rare in the New Europe, until Christianity made the people cleaner, more refined, kinder, more industrious, thrifty, honest, inventive of useful arts, and

intent upon personal culture. "The carpenter's son" was a teacher of civilization, by means of his elevating Gospel. Social life was long deranged by monastic modes of society, when "the religious" were monks and nuns.

The truly religious life of Christians has ever been most pure, simple, and blissful, when the Bible has most fully regulated their minds, consciences, hearts, habits, and labors, and when the home has been a school and a church. It has been most formal, servile, full of routine and ceremony, when they have been superstitious, ritualistic, and devoted to penances. It was more rigid and morose under popery than under Puritanism. The one made it mechanical with the notion of merit: the other, ethical with the idea of abstinence from sin and worldliness. The family worship of the early Church was lost in the Middle Ages, but restored by the great Reformation.

It is said that "surely no achievements of the Christian Church are more truly great than those which it effected in the sphere of charity. For the first time in the history of mankind, it has inspired many thousands of men and women, at the sacrifice of all worldly interests, and often in circumstances of extreme discomfort or danger, to devote their entire lives to the single object of assuaging the sufferings of humanity. It has covered the globe with countless institutions of mercy, absolutely unknown to the whole pagan world." The early Christians took care of the poor and the helpless. In the Middle Ages we often find a hospital connected with the church and the convent. But the later Roman monks made a virtue of begging rather than of labor. They increased the amount of poverty, when they deemed it meritorious, or encouraged hypocrisy. They created more wretchedness than they cured. The Protestants saw this fact, and gave another form to beneficence. If the hospital was separated from the house of worship, the infirm were aided by the worshipers. To Protestantism is largely due the asylums for special classes of sufferers, as the blind, the deaf and dumb, the idiotic, and the insane. To it also is due the fact that liberal education is no longer placed among the charities, but among the duties of parents, or guardians, and the rights of children.

In the days of Luther began the age which exceeds all others, since the apostolic days, in the development of the

powers divinely given to the Christian Church. It has been the age of Biblical studies, theology, controversies, preaching, revivals, and the extension of Christianity. But the most wonderful progress has occurred during the last hundred years. *The Presbyterian*, of Philadelphia, offers this summary: "In the religious world the changes might, in many cases, be fairly termed revolutions. In the aggregate they mark a reformation. And if not for startling positions, and grand and heroic deeds, yet for vast and substantial results, this reformation rivals that of the sixteenth century. We group a few of these events, without regard to their chronological order. Foremost in time, and well-nigh in importance, is the rise and development of Methodism—'a nation born at once.' We must read this as one of the grandest facts of Church history, and one telling especially upon the welfare of America. The rise and decay of Unitarianism in New England and Great Britain; of Rationalism in Germany, and the great advance all along the line of the Evangelical doctrine; the formation of the Evangelical Alliance; the secession of the Free Church of Scotland; the reunion of broken branches of the Presbyterian Church; the Federation of Presbyterians of all nations, recently consummated in London; the disestablishment of the Irish Church; the backward eddy of ritualism from the great current of the reformation; and the forward movement of the Reformed Episcopal Church; Infallibility brought to the birth, and almost at the same moment the death of the Concordat; the Old Catholic uprising, and Rome's temporal power kenneled in the narrow space of one of her seven hills; the rise and marvelous development of those mighty agencies for good, Bible and Tract Societies, and hundreds of kindred associations for practical benevolence; the total abstinence reform; and the exaltation and utilizing of the lay element in the Church, consummated in such evangelistic labors as those of Moody and Sankey. Last, and perhaps greatest of all, the growth of the Sabbath-school, and the birth and maturity of foreign missions."

The sixteenth century is especially marked by the development of theology; the seventeenth by the settlement of Church politics and toleration; the eighteenth by the revival of spiritual life; and the nineteenth by the apostolic spirit of missions. By these the universal Church is qualified to fulfill the commis-

sion of her Lord. "Probably the most powerful organizations in the Christian Church are those for missions to the heathen." They exist in nearly all denominations. They reach nearly every nation under heaven. Their reports, journals, and publications, in about two hundred languages, with versions of the Bible, and with cyclopædias of missions, evince the activity of the press in the movement. There are about two hundred missionary and Bible societies in Protestant lands. Women are heartily enlisted in the work. Protestant nations, by commerce, treaties, colonies, conquests, and national rule—as that of England over India, and recently over Syria—have secured more than toleration for Christian laborers. Little schools have grown into colleges in pagan lands; native preachers increase; native Churches promise to become national organizations—as in Japan and India—with members by thousands, and unconverted heathen are gradually adopting the manners, customs, laws, thought, and civilization of Christendom. The missionaries, reckoned by thousands, have greatly contributed to peaceful diplomacy, science, general culture, and the reform of laws, as well as to the direct work of teaching and translating the Gospel, founding schools, churches, and hospitals, and opening new roads into paganism. So rapid have been these moral conquests that the statistics of this year will hardly serve for the next.* The great missionary organizations recognize each other, not as rivals, but as co-workers in a common brotherhood. This comity has become a law, as well established as any law of nations. And distant co-workers of all denominations, laying stress upon the essential truths of Christianity, send back their plea for the more spiritual and real unity of Christendom, which is one of the great problems of to-day, and would be one means of hastening the conversion of the world. The vast work is not peculiarly foreign, so long as every nominally Christian nation has in it a large element of -

• unbelievers and intensely active agencies of infidelity. The children of pagan Africa were forcibly brought by thousands to America, enslaved, freed, and yet Christianized in a large degree. The sons of Japan and China come voluntarily, and the work of their conversion is now brought to American doors. This achievement might affect their native empires

* Notes I, V, VI.

and help to make Japan the Britain and China the France of the Asiatic continent.

With the hope of more unity in faith and effort, with the Bible never before so popularly studied, with the laity never before so roused and so active, with the ordained ministry never more intent upon efficient labors, with methods never more carefully devised, with agencies never more wisely adapted to the purposes of world-wide evangelization, with successes at home never more cheering, with invitations never more urgent from foreign lands, with a spirit for missions every-where and wealth to sustain them, the Christian Church is qualified, as never before, speedily to fill the whole earth with the knowledge of her Lord, from whom comes the promise and the power of victory.

"This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations. The Lord liveth, and the nations shall bless themselves in him, and in him shall they glory."

NOTES.

I. RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD. The best and latest authorities give the whole population of the world as 1,439,145,300, and, as to religious distinctions, divide this number as follows, by populations:

Roman Catholics,	270,000,000
Greek Church,	90,000,000
Protestants of all sects,	132,000,000
Jews,	7,000,000
All others,	955,917,000

Professor Schem estimates that, 1st, nearly one-half the population of the earth is under nominally Christian government; 2d, nearly two-thirds of the area of the earth are under Christian governments; and, 3d, nearly two-thirds of the Christian states (measured by populations) are Protestant.

II. LEADING PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS, estimated thus:

Baptists, Regular—In great Britain, 280,000 members; in Canada, by population, 245,000; in the United States, 2,133,000 members. Free-will Baptists in United States, 78,000 members; Seventh Day, 8,400; Church of God, 32,000; Anti-mission, 40,000; Disciples, 567,700; German Tunkers, 50,000 members.

Congregationalists, or Independents—In Great Britain, 370,000 members; in Canada, 24,000; in Australia, 12,000; in the United States, 383,000 members, with 3,840 ministers.

Episcopalians (Anglican)—In England and Wales, by population, about 13,500,000; Scotland, 66,500 members; Ireland, 151,000 members; Canada, 500,000 population; Australia and New Zealand, 260,000 population; United States, 3,430 clergy and 345,800 members; Mexico, 3 bishops and 70 congregations. Reformed Episcopalians, 15,000 members. Moravians, 14,200 in the United States.

Lutherans—In Germany about 26,500,000, by population, are Lutherans and Calvinists, most of them in the United Church. The majority of the populations of Denmark, 2,000,000; Sweden, 4,500,000; Norway, 1,850,000; Iceland, 72,000; and Greenland, 10,000, are nominally Lutheran. Lutheran populations, in Russia, 2,000,000; in Poland, 2,500,000; in Finland, 350,000. Lutherans in Canada, 37,000; in the United States, 703,400, with 3,200 ministers.

Methodists—By membership in Great Britain, with their missions, Wesleyans, 535,850; Primitive, 199,350; other bodies, 270,000. Wesleyans in Ireland, 27,300; in France, 2,000; Australia and New Zealand, with missions, 73,500. In Canada, Methodist Church, 127,700; Methodist Episcopal Church, 28,650; other branches, 18,300. In the United States, Methodist Episcopal Church, 1,724,800; South, 838,000; Evangelical Association, 113,700; United Brethren, 160,000; African, four branches, 529,300. Non-episcopal Methodists in the United States, five branches, 170,500 members. Total of Methodists in the United States, about 3,537,200. Grand total of Methodists, 4,698,990 members; 31,731 itinerant, and nearly 85,500 local, preachers.

Presbyterians (in parts of Europe, *The Reformed*), estimated chiefly by ordained ministers—In Germany (not in the Established Church), about 50; Switzerland, 1,100; France, 650; Holland, 1,890; Belgium, 36; Italy, 83, chiefly Waldensian; Hungary, 2,050; Bohemia and Moravia, 80; Russia, 40; Spain, 12; Norway, 3. In England, 260; Wales, 591, and 119,800 members. In Scotland, Established, 1,530; United Presbyterian, 600; Free, 1,060; other branches, 40. In Ireland, 665. In South Africa, 120; Australia, 260; New Zealand, 110; elsewhere, 83. In Canada, Presbyterian Church, 720, and 125,000 members; other bodies, about 100 ministers. In the United States, Presbyterian Church, North, 5,050; South, 1,020; United Presbyterian, 694; American Reformed, 530; German Reformed, 745; Cumberland, 1,400; other bodies, 320. Total of ministers, 21,691.

Presbyterians in the United States, by membership—Presbyterian Church, North, 578,700; South, 120,000; United Presbyterians, 82,100; American (Dutch) Reformed, 80,300; German Reformed, 155,000; Cumberland, 111,900; Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, 11,000; Reformed, two bodies, 17,000; Associates, 6,700. Total, 1,162,600.

III. OTHER RELIGIOUS BODIES IN THE UNITED STATES, estimated thus: Adventists, 25,000; Jews, 300,000; Mennonites, over 50,000; Quakers, orthodox, 100,000; Shakers, 6,000; Swedenborgians, 20,000; Unitarians, 33,000; Universalists, 60,000; Roman Catholics, by population, about 6,000,000, with 1 cardinal, 11 archbishops, and 6,000 clergy.

IV. HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES. Theological schools: Baptist, 15; Congregational, 8; Episcopal, 17; Lutheran, 14; Methodist;

Episcopal, North, 7; South, 2; other Methodist, 3; Presbyterian, North, 13; South, 2; other Presbyterian, 8; Roman Catholic, 18; other bodies, 13. Total, 120, with about 560 professors, and, in 1878, 4,150 students.

Colleges and universities, 356, classified as follows: Methodist, 52; Baptist, 37; Presbyterian, 22; Congregational, 15. Protestant Episcopal, 5; non-denominational, 81.

V. SUNDAY-SCHOOLS have become, especially in America, a part of Christian work within the Church; given rise to a special literature, and tended to more uniform methods of supervision and instruction. The course of Bible lessons, which began in 1872 to be international, is now used by more than 6,500,000 pupils in the United States; also used in Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland, Australia, the Sandwich Islands, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Turkey, India, and China. "There are 82,270 Sunday-schools in the United States, having 886,350 teachers and officers, and 6,624,000 scholars; total, 7,592,620. Only a little over one-third of the children between the ages of three and eighteen years are in Sunday-schools."

"There are in the United States and British Provinces 933 *Young Men's Christian Associations*; in England and Wales, 216; in Scotland, 64; in Germany, 136; in France, 47; in Switzerland, 49. These societies exist in all the countries of Europe, as well as in Japan, China, and Africa."

VI. PROTESTANT MISSIONS. The earliest permanent Protestant Societies especially for missions were these: English Propagation Society, 1701; Danish, 1706-15; Scottish Propagation, 1709; Moravian, in Germany, 1732; Wesleyan, in England, 1769; Baptist, in England, 1792; London Society, 1795; Scottish, at Edinburgh, and the Glasgow Society, 1796; Netherland, 1797. Since the year 1800 there have been organized societies specially for (1) Home Missions, in the British Isles about twenty; in the United States, twenty-two, and several in other countries. (2) Foreign Missions, organized on the European Continent, at least thirty; in England, seventeen; Scotland, five; Ireland, four; British Colonies, about ten; in the United States, twenty-five. We may say fifty Home, and one hundred and five Foreign, Missionary Societies; total, one hundred and fifty-five. These do not include certain smaller denominations which have acted without special societies, nor the Bible and Tract Societies of various lands.

Illustrations of Progress. (1) Nominally Christian Islands: the Sandwich group, Madagascar, Fiji, Tonga, and other South Sea Islands. (2) Largely Protestant colonies which have promoted Christianity among the native peoples, as in South Africa, Liberia, Ceylon, Australia, and New Zealand. British India, with a population of nearly 250,000,000, is credited with a nominally Christian population of great and increasing influence; and the membership of Protestant Missionary Churches seems to be over 110,000; an ingathering by twenty-six Missionary Societies, in whose schools are about 140,000 pupils. One writer says, "The rising generation of Hindoos has almost forgotten that suttee, Thuggism, female infanticide, and human sacrifice were once parts of their religion; they begin to speak of them with scarcely less horror than we." (3) Mission Fields. As exam-

ples: In China with probably 300,000,000 of people, there are more than ten American Societies represented, with 256 stations, 150 churches, and 5,380 native members; and fifteen European Societies, with 346 stations, 162 churches, and 7,735 native members. In these there are nearly 600 native preachers, and over 200 foreign ministers, with their wives, and lay-helpers. There are seven versions, or revisions, of the Bible in Chinese. "Forty years ago there were **only** three native Christians in all China, connected with Protestant missions; to-day there are at least 14,000 and the number is rapidly increasing." Japan, with 34,000,000 of people, may yet become the Britain of Asia. In 1870 there were scarcely ten Protestant converts in Japan. Since then the missionary societies at work there have grown from three to at least seven, and by one of them a native National Church has been organized. There have been great successes in Siam, Syria, Persia, Turkey, and Africa.

It is noticeable that 1st these vast movements come chiefly from the Germanic race, for to it belong the Germans, Dutch, Scandinavians, and English-speaking peoples, who take the lead in foreign missions. 2d. Most of the work is done by English-speaking peoples, of whom there are about eighty-two millions dispersed over the globe, or one-eighteenth of the earth's population; next in aggression are the peoples who speak some dialect of the German language. 3d. There may be reason to say of the German, English, and American nations, "On the moral union of these three great nations, whose intellectual culture has already been united, depends, we believe, the future welfare of the world."

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